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THE TIWA

ISLETA

RELATIONS AND HISTORY

ISLETA, the most southerly of the Rio Grande pueblos, is, like Taos the northernmost of the group, a Tiwa settlement. Isleta and Sandia in the south, Taos and Picuris in the north, the Tiwa division of the Tanoan stock is split asunder by intervening Tewa and Keres villages.

Of the Tanoan stock[1] there are three branches: Tiwa (Tigua), Tano, and Tewa (Tegua). Harrington subdivides these branches as follows:

Tiwa:
(1) Taos and Picuris
(2) Sandia, Isleta, and Isleta del Sur
(3) Piro

Tano:
(1) Jemez
(2) Pecos

Tewa:
(1) San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Pojoaque, Tesuque, and Hano

The Spanish name Isleta refers to the situation of this pueblo at the period of its discovery on an elevation which at times was rendered an "islet" by a mountain freshet on one side and the Rio Grande on the other. The native name, Shie-hwíb-ak ("flint kicking-race-stick at"), probably embodies a mythological allusion.

According to Castañeda, one of the chroniclers of Coronado's expedition, in 1540 the Province of Tiguex (the Spanish form of Tíwesh, the native name of the family) comprised twelve villages. Of these

1 Harrington regards Tanoan as related to Kiowa, basing his opinion on a comparative study of Kiowa and the Taos dialect. Taos and Picuris are known to have had early and intimate relations with the Kiowa and other Plains tribes.

we know positively but four: Isleta; Alameda, about twenty-five miles north of Isleta and on the west bank of the river;[2] Puaray, three miles north of Alameda and on the east bank; and Sandia, three miles north of Puaray and on the same side of the river. A ruin at Los Lunas[3] is said by Bandelier to have been a Tiwa settlement. He calls it Bejuituuy. Both Alameda and Puaray have been in ruins so long that the sites are not definitely known.

In 1629, according to Benavides, there were still eight Tiwa villages on the Rio Grande, and their population was given as six thousand, an estimate that may be regarded as too generous.

About thirty miles east of the Rio Grande, beyond the forbidding Manzano range and overlooking the salt lagoons of the Manzano basin, were other villages, eleven in all according to Chamuscado, who penetrated the region in 1580. Of these at least three of the northerly ones, Chilili, Tajique, and Quarai, formed a third geographic division of the Tiwa group. Exposed to constant attack by the dreaded Apache, and deprived of the aid of their kinsmen by intervening mountains, these eastern Tiwa abandoned their villages one by one, and before the uprising of 1680 all had fled the country, most of them joining their Rio Grande congeners. By that time also the twelve or more pueblos of "Tiguex" had become consolidated into the four named above. According to Vetancurt, Isleta then had two thousand inhabitants, Sandia three thousand, Alameda three hundred, Puaray two hundred.

The Tiwa were unfortunate in their first contacts with the higher civilization. Coronado's force passed the winter of 1540-1541 in a "Tiguex" village, the houses of which had been vacated for the Spaniards by the natives. The ensuing events were the direct cause of nearly four centuries of resistance, usually passive and undemonstrative but none the less resolute and bitter, the vast, silent opposition of the Pue-

2 Bandelier placed Alameda on the east bank of the Rio Grande, and Puaray on the west bank opposite Bernalillo. The true location of these pueblos has been pointed out by Hackett in *Old Santa Fe,* Vol. II, pp 381-391, April, 1915, his conclusions being based on documents copied in Mexico by Prof. H.E. Bolton and listed in his Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico, Washington, 1913.

3 Not *Las* Lunas. The settlement is named for the Luna family, hence the masculine article.

blo Indians to all that pertains to what they with some reason regard as a grasping, faithless race. Let the chronicler Castañeda tell the tale.

The general wished to obtain some clothing to divide among his soldiers, and for this purpose he summoned one of the chief Indians of Tiguex, with whom he had already had much intercourse and with whom he was on good terms, who was called Juan Aleman by our men, after a Juan Aleman who lived in Mexico, whom he was said to resemble. The general told him that he must furnish about three hundred or more pieces of cloth, which he needed to give his people. He said that he was not able to do this, but that it pertained to the governors; and that besides this, they would have to consult together and divide it among the villages, and that it was necessary to make the demand of each town separately. The general did this, and ordered certain of the gentlemen who were with him to go and make the demand; and as there were twelve villages, some of them went on one side of the river and some on the other. As they were in very great need, they did not give the natives a chance to consult about it, but when they came to a village they demanded what they had to give, so that they could proceed at once. Thus these people could do nothing except take off their own cloaks and give them to make up the number demanded of them. And some of the soldiers who were in these parties, when the collectors gave them some blankets or cloaks which were not such as they wanted, if they saw any Indian with a better one on, they exchanged with him without more ado, not stopping to find out the rank of the man they were stripping, which caused not a little hard feeling.

Besides what I have just said, one whom I will not name, out of regard for him, left the village where the camp was and went to another village about a league distant, and seeing a pretty woman there he called her husband down to hold his horse by the bridle while he went up; and as the village was entered by the upper story, the Indian supposed he was going to some other part of it. While he was there the Indian heard some slight noise, and then the Spaniard came down, took his horse, and went away. The Indian went up and learned that he had violated, or tried to violate, his wife, and so he came with the important men of the town to complain that a man had violated his wife, and he told how it happened. When the general made all the soldiers and the persons who were with him come together, the Indian

did not recognize the man, either because he had changed his clothes or for whatever other reason there may have been, but he said that he could tell the horse, because he had held his bridle, and so he was taken to the stables, and found the horse, and said that the master of the horse must be the man. He denied doing it, seeing that he had not been recognized, and it may be that the Indian was mistaken in the horse; anyway, he went off without getting any satisfaction. The next day one of the [Mexican] Indians, who was guarding the horses of the army, came running in, saying that a companion of his had been killed, and that the Indians of the country were driving off the horses toward their villages. The Spaniards tried to collect the horses again, but many were lost, besides seven of the general's mules.

The next day Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas went to see the villages and talk with the natives. He found the villages closed by palisades and a great noise inside, the horses being chased as in a bull fight and shot with arrows. They were all ready for fighting. Nothing could be done, because they would not come down onto the plain and the villages are so strong that the Spaniards could not dislodge them. The general then ordered Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas to go and surround one village with all the rest of the force. This village was the one where the greatest injury had been done and where the affair with the Indian woman occurred. Several captains who had gone on in advance with the general, Juan de Saldivar and Barrionuevo and Diego Lopez and Melgosa, took the Indians so much by surprise that they gained the upper story, with great danger, for they wounded many of our men from within the houses. Our men were on top of the houses in great danger for a day and a night and part of the next day, and they made some good shots with their crossbows and muskets. The horsemen on the plain with many of the Indian allies from New Spain smoked them out from the cellars [kivas] into which they had broken, so that they begged for peace. Pablo de Melgosa and Diego Lopez, the alderman from Seville, were left on the roof and answered the Indians with the same signs they were making for peace, which was to make a cross. They then put down their arms and received pardon. They were taken to the tent of Don Garcia, who, according to what he said, did not know about the peace and thought that they had given themselves up of their own accord because they had been conquered. As he had been ordered by the general not to take them alive, but to make an example

of them so that the other natives would fear the Spaniards, he ordered 200 stakes to be prepared at once to burn them alive. Nobody told him about the peace that had been granted them, for the soldiers knew as little as he, and those who should have told him about it remained silent, not thinking that it was any of their business. Then when the enemies saw that the Spaniards were binding them and beginning to roast them, about a hundred men who were in the tent began to struggle and defend themselves with what there was there and with the stakes they could seize. Our men who were on foot attacked the tent on all sides, so that there was great confusion around it, and then the horsemen chased those who escaped. As the country was level, not a man of them remained alive, unless it was some who remained hidden in the village and escaped that night to spread throughout the country the news that the strangers did not respect the peace they had made, which afterward proved a great misfortune. After this was over, it began to snow, and they abandoned the village and returned to the camp just as the [main] army came from Cibola. ...

It snowed so much that for the next two months it was impossible to do anything except to go along the roads to advise them to make peace and tell them that they would be pardoned and might consider themselves safe, to which they replied that they did not trust those who did not know how to keep good faith after they had once given it, and that the Spaniards should remember that they were keeping Whiskers [a Pecos head-man] prisoner and that they did not keep their word when they burned those who surrendered in the village. Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas was one of those who went to give this notice. He started out with about 30 companions and went to the village of Tiguex to talk with Juan Aleman. Although they were hostile, they talked with him and said that if he wished to talk with them he must dismount and they would come out and talk with him about a peace, and that if he would send away the horsemen and make his men keep away, Juan Aleman and another captain would come out of the village and meet him. Everything was done as they required, and then when they approached they said that they had no arms and that he must take his off. Don Garcia Lopez did this in order to give them confidence, on account of his great desire to get them to make peace. When he met them, Juan Aleman approached and embraced him vigorously, while the other two who had come with him drew

two mallets which they had hidden behind their backs and gave him two such blows over his helmet that they almost knocked him senseless. Two of the soldiers on horseback had been unwilling to go very far off, even when he ordered them, and so they were near by and rode up so quickly that they rescued him from their hands, although they were unable to catch the enemies because the meeting was so near the village that of the great shower of arrows which were shot at them one arrow hit a horse and went through his nose. The horsemen all rode up together and hurriedly carried off their captain, without being able to harm the enemy while many of our men were dangerously wounded. Then they withdrew, leaving a number of men to continue the attack. Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas went on with a part of the force to another village about half a league distant, because almost all the people in this region had collected into these two villages. As they paid no attention to the demands made on them except by shooting arrows from the upper stories with loud yells, and would not hear of peace, he returned to his companions whom he had left to keep up the attack on Tiguex. A large number of those in the village came out and our men rode off slowly, pretending to flee, so that they drew the enemy on to the plain, and then turned on them and caught several of their leaders. The rest collected on the roofs of the village and the captain returned to his camp.

After this affair the general ordered the army to go and surround the village. He set out with his men in good order, one day, with several scaling ladders. When he reached the village, he encamped his force near by, and then began the siege; but as the enemy had had several days to provide themselves with stores, they threw down such quantities of rocks upon our men that many of them were laid out, and they wounded nearly a hundred with arrows, several of whom afterward died on account of the bad treatment by an unskillful surgeon who was with the army. The siege lasted fifty days, during which time several assaults were made. The lack of water was what troubled the Indians most. They dug a very deep well inside the village, but were not able to get water, and while they were making it, it fell in and killed 30 persons. Two hundred of the besieged died in the fights....

One day, before the capture was completed, they asked to speak to us, and said that, since they knew we would not harm the women and children, they wished to surrender their women and sons, because

they were using up their water. It was impossible to persuade them to make peace, as they said that the Spaniards would not keep an agreement made with them. So they gave up about a hundred persons, women and boys, who did not want to leave them. Don Lope de Urrea rode up in front of the town without his helmet and received the boys and girls in his arms, and when all of these had been surrendered, Don Lope begged them to make peace, giving them the strongest promises for their safety. They told him to go away, as they they not wish to trust themselves to people who had no regard for friendship or their own word which they had pledged. As he seemed unwilling to go away, one of them put an arrow in his bow ready to shoot, and threatened to shoot him with it unless he went off, and they warned him to put on his helmet, but he was unwilling to do so, saying that they would not hurt him as long as he stayed there. When the Indian saw that he did not want to go away, he shot and planted his arrow between the fore feet of the horse, and then put another arrow in his bow and repeated that if he did not go away he would really shoot him. Don Lope put on his helmet and slowly rode back to where the horsemen were, without receiving any harm from them. When they saw that he was really in safety, they began to shoot arrows in showers, with loud yells and cries. The general did not want to make an assault that day, in order to see if they could be brought in some way to make peace, which they would not consider.

Fifteen days later they decided to leave the village one night, and did so, taking the women in their midst. They started about the fourth watch, in the very early morning, on the side where the cavalry was. The alarm was given by those in the camp of Don Rodrigo Maldonado. The enemy attacked them and killed one Spaniard and a horse and wounded others, but they were driven back with great slaughter until they came to the river, where the water flowed swiftly and very cold. They threw themselves into this, and as the men had come quickly from the whole camp to assist the cavalry, there were few who escaped being killed or wounded. Some men from the camp went across the river next day and found many of them who had been overcome by the great cold. They brought these back, cured them, and made servants of them. This ended that siege, and the town was captured, although there were a few who remained in one part of the town and were captured a few days later.

Two captains, Don Diego de Guevara and Juan de Saldivar, had captured the other large village after a siege. Having started out very early one morning to make an ambuscade in which to catch some warriors who used to come out every morning to try to frighten our camp, the spies, who had been placed where they could see when they were coming, saw the people come out and proceed toward the country. The soldiers left the ambuscade and went to the village and saw the people fleeing. They pursued and killed large numbers of them. At the same time those in the camp were ordered to go over the town, and they plundered it, making prisoners of all the people who were found in it, amounting to about a hundred women and children. This siege ended the last of March....

The twelve villages of Tiguex, however, were not repopulated at all during the time the army was there, in spite of every promise of security that could possibly be given to them.[4]

In 1580 three Franciscan friars escorted by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, with eight soldiers and seven Mexican Indians, set out from Santa Barbara in Chihuahua and proceeded to the Tiwa country, where the priests remained. They were slain almost before the escort had departed, and in consequence of this tragedy Antonio de Espejo late in 1582 left Chihuahua with fourteen soldiers for the purpose of verifying the report and pacifying the Indians. At Puaray, whose inhabitants at first fled, fearing punishment for the murder of the missionaries, he learned that this was the village where Coronado had lost nine men and forty horses, thus making certain its identity as one of the two besieged pueblos.

Castaño de Sosa in 1591 visited many of the Rio Grande pueblos, but there seems to be no ground for Bandelier's assertion that his itinerary included the southerly Tiwa. For, returning southward through the Tewa country, he visited four Keres pueblos, then three pueblos, which he called San Marcos, San Lucas, and San Cristóbal, southeast of the site of Santa Fe, and finally on the following day set out eastward for his camp on Pecos river.

In 1598 the colonizer Juan de Oñate visited the Tiwa on his way

4 Winship in *Fourteenth* Report *Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1896, pp. 495-501, 503

northward to establish in Tewa territory the first Spanish settlement north of Mexico. At Puaray, where he passed a night, he saw on the walls of his quarters a painting, imperfectly covered for the occasion with a gypsum wash, representing the killing of the missionaries whom Chamuscado had escorted eighteen years before. He diplomatically affected not to notice it.

In 1629 a Franciscan mission had already been established at Isleta, dating probably from the time of the arrival of Fray Alonso de Benavides in the province in 1622.

All the Tiwa except those of Isleta participated in the revolt of the Indians and the slaughter of missionaries and colonists in 1680. Numerous settlers who escaped the tragedy congregated at Isleta, thus severing its communication with the headquarters of the rebels at Santa Fe. In November of the following year Governor Antonio de Otermín, with a hundred and forty-six soldiers and a hundred and twelve Indian auxiliaries, took up the march from El Paso (the present Juarez, in Chihuahua) to reconquer the pueblos. A month later he surprised Isleta at night, captured the five hundred and eleven inhabitants, and burned the pueblo and such grain as he could not carry away, "in order that they might not be a watchtower and shelter for the apostates." This was fairly severe treatment for one of the few pueblos that had not stained its hands in Spanish blood. No other village was found inhabited by Otermín. Having already burned the Piro villages Senecú, Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, he proceeded up the river and applied the torch to the Tiwa pueblos Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, and sacked the Keres settlements of San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti. Meantime the rebels had been in evidence in the vicinity of Isleta, and a mounted band under the chief Luis Tupatu from a bluff across the river had called out dire threats against the inhabitants for their failure to rise against the Spaniards. On receiving this report from an Isleta messenger, Otermín ordered a retreat. At Isleta he found that a portion of his captives had fled, with practically all the population of Sandia, to the Hopi country. The remaining three hundred and eighty-five he compelled to join his force in its retreat to El Paso, and settled them at Isleta del Sur ("Isleta of the South"), where, a few miles below El Paso, Texas, their descendants, completely Mexicanized, now

reside.[5] The fugitives returned from the Hopi country and rebuilt Isleta in 1718,[6] and the Sandians were brought back in 1742. No other pueblo of the southern Tiwa was ever rebuilt.

Isleta, like all the other pueblos, was harassed by the Navaho. About 1862, at the instigation of Jemez, they sent a force of about twenty men to cooperate with Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Laguna, Sandia, and Zuñi in chastising the common enemy. Several isolated individuals were killed, and a half-hearted attack was made on a large camp south of the Hopi villages, but little was accomplished. More thought was given to securing spoil than to making a concerted attack, and the expedition threatened to end in a battle between Zuñi and Isleta over the division of captured sheep.

After the acquisition of horses Isleta used to make expeditions to the plains of eastern New Mexico and even into Texas to kill buffalo and antelope.[7] An informant, Pablo Abeita participated in the last buffalo hunt in 1886, when six of the animals were killed. Pablo himself, a boy of fourteen, lassoed a two-year-old, and after another hunter had his reata on it he severed its spinal cord with a pocket-knife.

In the days when buffalo were plentiful, large parties, usually accompanied by Mexicans, visited the plains and killed the animals with steel-headed lances about eight feet long. Pablo's father was a noted expert at this sport, and frequently he killed many buffalo out of a single herd. There was a man called "follower" who came along after the lancers and shot with a gun any animals not fatally wounded.

Antelope swarmed in the plains and were so easily killed that Pablo and a companion despatched sixty in a single day. The last inter-pueblo antelope hunt took place about 1896, when some four hundred men

5 On Otermín's attempted reconquest see Hackett in *Old Santa Fe,* Santa Fe, April 1916, after documents gathered by Bolton and listed in his Guide to Materials for the History of the United States, etc., Washington, 1913. For the best account of the revolt and the retreat of the Spaniards, see Hackett in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* Oct. 1911, Oct. 1912, Jan. 1913.

6 Bandelier in *Papers of the Archæological Institute of America,* IV, 1892, p. 234.

7 Pecos river in New Mexico was called Rio de las Vacas by Antonio de Espejo in 1583, "for, traveling along its banks for six days, a distance of about thirty leagues, we found a great number of the cows of that country." — Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1916, page 189.

from Isleta, Jemez, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Santa Ana went to Estancia valley. Only bows and arrows were used, for guns would have alarmed the animals. The war-chiefs selected one of their number to be the leader, and he sent hunters in equal parties on two sides of a large circle, where they posted themselves at intervals of about a quarter of a mile. Others in equal numbers formed the two sides of a smaller concentric circle, and the remainder under the chief himself went forward along a diameter of the circle. The men in the outer line on one side drove the enclosed animals forward at the best speed of their horses. When the antelope passed between the men in the second line, the latter took up the chase, which continued at top speed until the animals were nearly exhausted and were easily shot down. When a hunter killed an antelope he immediately started away with it; and if he succeeded in getting about a quarter of a mile from the spot without being accosted by another claimant the entire animal belonged to him. If however another came up where the kill was made, or before the killer had gotten far away, he claimed the right shoulder and right hind-quarter. The second arrival took the left quarters, the third the intestines and internal organs, the killer retaining the hide, the head, and the ribs.

In primitive times buffalo were caught in pitfalls.

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT

Isleta, twelve miles from the largest town in New Mexico, a station on a transcontinental railway, skirted by an automobile highway, beset by tourists whose vehicles thread their narrow, haphazard streets to the imminent peril of toddling infants and frightened fowls and whirl past the kiva to the undoubtedly intense annoyance of the priests, one expects to find so altered by all these contacts as to hold little of interest to the investigator. And on the surface such is the case. But the native religious system still prevails, though not in full vigor, and not even at recalcitrant Santo Domingo, Jemez, or Taos is there greater difficulty in penetrating the barrier maintained by common understanding against the probings of the outsider.

Isleta has the following clans:[8]

1. Íye-patûnin, Corn White (east)
2. Íye-funí^{n}i^{n}, Corn Black (north)
3. Íye-ch!o*ṅ*^{n}i^{n}, Corn Yellow (west)
4. Íye-shû^{n}*ṅ*^{n}i^{n}, Corn Blue (south)
5. Íye, Corn (middle)[9]
6. Shíwide, Eagle (middle)
7. Kûi^{n}de, Goose (middle)
8. Pa-chi*ṅ*ide, Water Shell (south)[10]
9. Ná*ṅ*ide, Aspen (north)[11]

Elsie Clews Parsons,[12] on the authority of a Laguna man who had lived at Isleta, names Day, Bear, Lizard, and Eagle as Summer clans, and Chaparral-cock, Parrot, Goose, and Corn as Winter clans. She notes also that Bandelier omitted Lizard, Chaparral-cock, Parrot, gave Sun instead of Day, and added four Corn clans and Deer, Antelope, Water-shell, Moon, Duck. Charles F. Lummis recorded a list much the same as that of Bandelier, omitting Bear, Moon, Duck, and adding Parrot, Mountain-lion, Earth, Mole, Turquoise, Wolf. Lummis's list was available to the present writer, but his informant refused to recede from his position that the nine names given above comprise the entire sum of the clans. It is evident that much remains to be learned about the identity of Isleta clans.

The clans are matrilineal but not exogamous, and they are associated with the different world-regions as indicated in the list. The only practical effect of this association thus far noted is in assigning the work of repairing and cleaning the kiva. White Corn, for example,

8 To the clan name add *tainin,* people; but in the last four omit the objective suffix de.

9 Varicolored corn is said to be implied, but the attributive is not used in naming the clan.

10 Extinct in 1893.

11 Extinct about 1825.

12 Notes on Isleta, Santa Ana, and Acoma, *American Anthropologist,* 1920, pages 56-59.

plasters the east wall of the building and cleans the east segment of the floor. The clans associated with the "middle" take care of the roof and the central part of the floor.

Isleta clans are more than social divisions, for they function as religious groups at the summer and the winter solstice, when they retire, one after another, and supplicate deities whose names correspond to the clan designations, White Corn, Black Corn, *et cetera*.

Names for children are invented, are not ancestral, and frequently refer to clan affiliations either directly or by implication. Colors play a large part in this identification of name with clan. Typical masculine names are: Shíw-patû^{n,n} ("eagle white"), White Corn clan; Shíech!o*ŕ*^{n,n} ("flint yellow"), Yellow Corn clan; Tu*r*-shán ("sun rise"), White Corn clan, this being the clan associated with the east; Ba^{n}qí^{n} ("rainbow"), which might belong to any clan; Shíw-t!û ("eagle spotted"), Eagle clan both by reason of the name Eagle and because spotted color belongs to the nadir.[13] The following are feminine names: Íye-patû^{n,n} ("corn white"),[14] Túe-pahlû crook bright "),[15] Pa^{n}-pahlû ("road bright"). The last two are appropriate to any clan.

For ceremonial purposes there are two divisions of the people of Isleta: the Shifunín (singular, Shí-funíde, "eye black-one") and the Shu*ŕ*én (singular, Shu*ŕ*éde, gray-squirrel), which correspond to the Winter people and the Summer people of the Tewa, and Turquoise and Squash of the Keres. Each party controls the ceremonies occurring in its season, although both join in all religious activities. Thus the Black Eyes, before participating in a summer dance, must obtain permission of the head of the other party. The Shurén are commonly called Red Eyes, but the name has no such meaning nor do the natives ever employ an equivalent term. The heads of these parties are called respectively Shífun-kavéde ("eye-black leader") and Shu*ŕ*é-kavéde.

Clanship has nothing to do with membership in these parties. Every child at birth is "given to" one or the other, and the party selected by the parents may be that of either the father or the mother, if they

13 White Eagle, however, is regarded as a White Corn rather than an Eagle name; in fact the eagle, held in high ceremonial regard, is a name-object for all clans.

14 Among the Pueblo Indians the corn spirit is universally regarded as a female.

15 *Túe* is a bent stick used in making feathered offerings to the spirits.

happen to belong to different parties. Marriage does not change the party affiliation of either spouse. Thus in the Isleta system husband and wife may belong to the same clan or to different clans, and to the same ceremonial moiety or to opposite moieties; while their children, belonging to the mother's clan by birth, may be members of either moiety or of both. If husband and wife are members of opposite parties, it is customary to apportion the children between both.[16]

The usual dual system of government prevails. An official of the aboriginal system is called *kavéde* ("leader"), and a civil officer in the system introduced by the Spaniards is *chachíde*.

The actual head of the pueblo is the chief priest, *taí-kavéde* ("person— that is, native — leader "), or cacique. This office is always filled from the White, Black, Yellow, or Blue Corn clan, and the honor passes from one to another of these four in the ceremonial sequence named. The same rule applies to the cacique's assistant.

The specific duty of the cacique is to fast and pray in seclusion for the good of the people. He has no civil duty nor authority; but if the people show a tendency to disregard their governing officers he is called upon to exhort them to good conduct. If the council is in doubt as to the proper course in important matters of public business or policy, he is invited to advise it. He holds his position for life, and annually appoints the governor and the war-chief. Public approval of his choice is sought, not because disapproval, if any were so bold as to voice objection, would have the slightest weight, but because popular acclaim of the new incumbents gives to the unthinking ground for feeling that they have elected their officers and must therefore yield strict obedience to them.

Tukíde ("watcher") is appointed for life to guard the house of the cacique while the priest is in religious retirement.

The other aboriginal officials are the war-chief, *hwi-hlawéde ("*bow chief"), his assistant, *hwihlawéde-auhíi* ("bow-chief next-to"), and their five deputies, *hwihlawe-ún* ("bow-chief little"). The office of

16 Dr. Parsons, in the paper previously referred to, definitely assigns the clans to membership in the moieties. Her information was from a Laguna man, who perhaps read Keres practice into that of his adopted pueblo. The writer's informant was unequivocal on the points mentioned in the paragraph above, illustrating them with actual instances in his own family.

war-chief customarily alternates from year to year between the two ceremonial parties, except when an unusually satisfactory incumbent is continued in office beyond the normal term. He appoints three deputies from his own party, and his assistant, who is always of the opposite division, selects two from his own moiety.

The war-chiefs have charge of the practical management of native religious affairs, while the governor and his subordinates are concerned with civil and ecclesiastical matters. The governor is particularly charged with the duty of enforcing orders issued by the war-chief and the mayordomos (ditch foremen), and punishing the disobedient.

The civil officers are the governor, two lieutenant-governors, two alguaciles, and two mayordomos. Isleta is the only Rio Grande pueblo that has no fiscales, who elsewhere manage the affairs of the church. The alguaciles are local police officers, and the mayordomos have charge of ditch work and the distribution of water for irrigation. When the ditches are to be cleaned and repaired, all the able-bodied men except those who occupy or have occupied the office of cacique, war-chief, or governor, assemble at the appointed place and the work is apportioned and overseen by the mayordomos. A man busy with other affairs may hire a Mexican substitute. No matter how many men there may be in a family, all must do their share; and no matter how much land one man may own, he does only as much work as one who owns none whatever, the logic being that when a landless individual becomes the head of a family and consequently a landowner he will thus have acquired rights in the irrigation system.

Desiring to take up land, a man must ask permission of the governor, who, if he sees no possible objection, sends a deputy to mark off one hundred by fifty paces, a milpa (Spanish), which is the maximum allowable in any one year. Continuous cultivation for five years gives title. Land is sold among the populace, but not to outsiders except by action of the council. Before the United States government ruled against the alienation of Pueblo lands, considerable tracts were obtained, by purchase or occupancy, by Mexicans. Transfer of title among themselves is evidenced only by spoken agreement before witnesses. By purchase and exchange a certain individual has acquired a single plot of about a hundred acres, a most unusual thing: for the limit of one milpa annually has resulted in numerous small scattered holdings. Under these conditions much of an individual's time is wasted

in going from one plot to another, and the restricted area of the plots discourages the use of modern implements and methods. This condition prevails at all the pueblos.

Half of the land of a deceased man is inherited by his widow, half is shared equally by the children. But a widower has no rights in the estate of his deceased wife. The house is always the property of the woman, and she may sell it without consulting her husband; he on the contrary must obtain her consent before disposing of any part of his land.

The principales are an advisory council of the governor, and their decision he is not permitted to ignore. This council in recent times usually numbered from twenty to twenty-five, and included the most intelligent of the older men, especially those who had been governor or war-chief. When a meeting is to be held, the governor notifies each principal. In recent years some governors have failed to summon men whom they disliked or feared, and after a time an elective council was organized. These difficulties arose mainly over the question of leasing grazing land and especially of collecting the money: some thought the governor was misappropriating funds and therefore called into the meetings only those who would uphold him because their interest lay in the same direction. At present there are twelve principales, six selected by the governor and six by the School Superintendent. In primitive times the councilors were the advisers of the war-chief.

The following description by Pablo Abeita of the procedure of selecting and installing officers concludes with an interesting account of the struggle for popular, representative government, a movement now general among the Pueblos and attended by the same difficulties that have beset all such revolutions. The Isleta insurgents have not yet come to regicide, but a fearless judge has sentenced a governor to imprisonment.

During the four days of dancing at the Christmas season old men can be seen in groups, talking earnestly; and at night they get together in three or four houses and talk of old times, of the coming of the new year and of the new officers. They exchange views as to the fitness of various men for the office of governor, each advocating his candidate.

In the meantime the governor and his officers also have been holding meetings. On the twenty-ninth or the thirtieth day of the month the governor and the war-chief meet at the governor's house and go to

the house of the cacique, who is the head-man for all these secret and ceremonial affairs. They start by asking his pardon for the intrusion, and the cacique offers a prayer to Wé^{n}yide, the supreme being, that all errors may be forgiven. After a smoke the governor reminds him that the end of the year is approaching, and that they, the governor and the war-chief, having made one mind and thought, have directed their steps toward him; that he, as chief, has given to the governor the symbol of authority and with it the care and control of the people; that as governor he has done his best and tried to lead his people in the right path as of old; that now, at the end of the year, he had come to turn all his people over to the cacique so that the latter may choose another to take the office of governor.

The cacique thanks them both and offers another prayer, the three agree that the governor shall call the principales to his house the next night, and after another smoke the visitors depart to their houses.

The next day early in the morning the cacique summons his assistants and lays before them all that the governor and war-chief had said the night before, and apprises them of the calling of the principales. They decide to choose a man for governor and one for war-chief. The cacique names one whom he favors, his assistants name another and then another, always looking for good men. After mentioning perhaps four or five men, they settle upon one for governor and one for war-chief. Having made their choice the assistants are allowed to go to their homes, but the first or the second assistant is asked to return that night to accompany the cacique to the governor's house and talk with the principales.

In the meantime during the day the Governor has sent his lieutenants and deputies to invite the principales to his house that night. Before dark they assemble, and smoke and talk about all things except the selection of officers. When all the principales have come, the governor sends one of his assistants to summon the cacique. Soon the cacique and one or two assistants come in and are seated. After a smoke or two the governor stands up and asks forgiveness of Wé^{n}yide and of all those present, and then repeats to the cacique and to the principales more or less the same things that he told the cacique at his house the night before, concluding by urging all to be of one mind and to think hard. The cacique now tells the principales that what the governor has said is true, that it is time to select new officers, and that

all must be of one thought and of good mind and must think hard what is best for their people.

The principales thank the cacique, and continue to smoke thoughtfully. Soon one of them rises, asks the pardon of those present, and requests the cacique to name his choice. With another prayer to Wé^{n}yide the cacique mentions his choice, and the others thank him. "Now it is your turn," says the cacique. Again they thank him, and one of them mentions a name. So one by one they propose four, five, or six names. But the cacique reminds them: "All these are good men, but we will have to settle upon two of them. If the one I have mentioned does not suit you, you are at liberty to name another in his place." After talking over the suggested names for several hours, they finally agree upon two. Sometimes the names proposed by the cacique are ignored, but usually his choice is accepted. Then the cacique prays that tomorrow all may have good thoughts and harmonious minds for the election of the new officers, and the governor dismisses the meeting.

The next morning the assistants of the governor and of the war-chief circulate through all the streets and alleys, calling the people to the meeting, and by noon two-thirds of the people are present at the council-room. The governor and the war-chief again call at the cacique's house to notify him that all is ready. In a short time the cacique comes with two or more assistants, and all stand up while he offers a prayer that all be given good hearts, good thoughts, and that no unpleasantness occur. They all sit down and smoke. The governor stands before the cacique, and after asking forgiveness of Wé^{n}yide and of those present, he hands his canes to the cacique, telling him that, as the end of the year has come and as he received these symbols of authority for a single year, he now surrenders them.

The cacique takes the canes, rises to offer a prayer, and then turns to the people and reminds them that the end of the year is at hand, that it is time to choose a new governor and a new war-chief. "Last night," he continues, "at the governor's house we met and decided to choose. Wé^{n}yide guiding us, we went all over the pueblo and through all the streets, coming in and going out from all the houses; and on the east [north, west, or south] side of the pueblo our steps were first directed to the home of our retiring governor. From there we went again, our steps always being, directed by Wé^{n}yide, and on the north [west,

south, or east][17] side of the pueblo our steps were directed to the house of so-and-so, he also being pointed out to us as a good man to be governor for this year and from there again our steps were directed to the house of so-and-so, he also being pointed out as being a good man to be governor for this year. Now I ask blessings and turn these men over to you, so that you may select one out of these three men, whichever Wé^{n}yide directs. But be sure that you do not go ahead of your fathers, who have raised you up from childhood, and never fail to show the respect that you owe them. And now in the name of Wé^{n}yide you are at liberty to name your choice."

The cacique sits down. No sooner is he seated than an old principal stands up and asks forgiveness of all present, and says that all three are good men, but his thought is directed to so-and-so, naming one of the three. Another follows with approval of the same man, and another and another, so that before five or six have spoken the multitude shouts, "We want so-and-so, we like him, we want him!" The cacique, to make sure, demands, " Do you want so-and-so for governor?" And all shout, "Yes, we want him ! Yes, yes!"

The governor then calls this man before the cacique, who tells him, "Now, my son, you have heard the people; your people say that they all want you to be their governor for this year." The man asks forgiveness of all present and says that he is not a fit man to be their governor, that he is not capable. He offers excuses of every kind, but none is accepted. Then he turns to the people and asks them if it is their wish and will that he be their governor, and all shout, "Yes, yes!" "Will you obey me?" "'Yes, yes, we will obey!" "Will you respect me?" "Yes, yes!" "Will you support me, stand by me, obey all my orders?" "Yes, yes!"

When he finds no more excuses to make, he asks forgiveness of Wé^{n}yide and then of the cacique for the trouble he had caused in trying to excuse himself, but now he finds that the people want him to be their governor and he stands ready to act. The cacique thanks him and asks him to kneel; and while the others stand he asks forgiveness and blessing for the people, and for the new governor a good, strong heart

17 The office passes from one clan to another in the ceremonial sequence, north, west, south, east.

so that he may guide the people and keep them in the right path as of old. And after making the sign of the cross with the cane on the forehead and breast of the new governor, he gives him the cane, and the governor kisses it and takes a seat beside the retiring governor. Now the cacique again addresses the people, and tells them that the governor needs assistance. They answer, "Let him select his assistants; let him say who he thinks will help him and obey him and respect him."

The governor rises and asks if that is their wish, and all answer that so it is. Then he says, "If that is your wish, I want so-and-so for my first lieutenant-governor and so-and-so second lieutenant-governor." These also are brought before the cacique, who in turn repeats the same methods used for the governor, finally giving each lieutenant a smaller cane. Then the constables or alguaciles are named.

Next the war-chief is named and installed in similar fashion, and he selects his assistant, and these two name their deputies. His duty is to oversee the Indian dances or ceremonial customs. His assistants are six, and those of the governor are four.

The retiring governor now asks forgiveness of all those present for any misdeeds he may have committed during the year, and urges them to obey and respect the new officers; and he submits himself to the authority of the new governor. His successor makes the closing speech, asking the people to respect his orders, which they promise to do, and after a prayer the meeting is dismissed.

The retiring governor now comes to his successor and asks him to expect the recent officers on the following day at his home. About the middle of the following morning the former governor and his assistants come in, carrying the archives — land patents and other official papers — together with any letters they may have received during the year. Once seated, they turn these over to the new governor and his assistants in the presence of the principales. One or two young men who can read and write English are called in to examine the documents. Any funds on hand are surrendered, and a full accounting is made of disbursements and receipts.

In 1912 we had as governor one Domingo Lucero. He did not get along well with his assistants. Our attorney called his attention to some important matters pertaining to lands and irrigation, urging him to act. The governor called to the meetings some principales, but others he ignored, though they had long been recognized as councilors. It became

so bad that at some meetings there would be only four or five of us. Of course there never was a fixed number of principales, but I had served in this body for over twenty years, so that I knew who they were, and there always were more than fifteen, sometimes more than twenty.

Now at this particular time when the pueblo was in urgent need of good heads, the old governor would not call all the principales, because they disliked his methods. Once I made bold to ask the governor why certain men were not present. He answered merely that he had not called them. Nothing could be done with only a few principales, for the few would not act in the absence of the others. They were afraid of the responsibility. And at the next meeting some of those who had been present at previous sessions did not attend, knowing that not all had been called.

I began to think very seriously, and I spoke to some of the older members of what I had in mind; which was, to have a fixed number of councilors whom the governor should be compelled to call whether he liked them or not. This idea the older men approved, and at the next community meeting I laid this proposal before the people and explained my reason. They agreed with me and asked me how the selection could be made, who were to be considered as councilors. I had beforehand prepared a list, on which I wrote down the names of practically all the men who had been principales up to that time. They numbered twenty-two, and I added six younger men who had some schooling and intelligence. I even included the name of the cacique. I read the names one by one, and all were approved. At the end, when they observed that my name was missing, they insisted that it be added to the list, which made the number twenty-nine.

This was a good start, and we got along well. But soon the cacique discovered that his word was not any stronger than the word of any other member of the council. Then he withdrew, saying that he did not think that with the position he held it was a proper thing for him to be a member of the council. He also found that he could not control the governor as he formerly had done, and from that time he began to sow the seed of discord, especially among the older men, so that in a few years other older members began to drop out. And of course once they were out they began to speak against the principales, so that the path of a councilor was not an easy one. Soon it was observed that the cacique was appointing as officers only those who would oppose any

and all progress, wishing to preserve his former authority. Some of his appointees went so far as to intimidate the people, saying that if they did this or did not do that, or walked out of the path of the cacique, they would be deprived of all the benefits that would come by following the cacique, and would not be allowed to participate in any ceremonial dances.

The majority of the people, ignorant of the new way and intimidated by the others, formed a prejudice against the new way. Finally the cacique in 1916 made Juan P. Lente governor, and Lente told Superintendent Lonergan that he, as governor, had no use either for a superintendent or for a council. He named men of his own choice as principales, men who at his command would eject the Superintendent from the pueblo. When the Superintendent was told about this, he instructed the real principales to continue to act until their successors were elected and qualified.

The annual feast day came. The principales with the consent of the Superintendent appointed a committee of four to preserve order and to issue licenses to Mexicans for dance pavilions and lunch stands. The governor also had license forms prepared, but the Mexicans would have nothing to do with him when they learned that the Superintendent was supporting the committee. Several times during the fiesta the committee was annoyed by the governor and his followers, at one time coming to blows. But the members had been cautioned by the principales and the Superintendent to avoid conflict, so that nothing serious happened.

A week later at another fiesta the governor and his followers planned to assault the Superintendent. The plot was carried out, and but for some of his friends the official would have been seriously injured. Juan Lente, the governor, was arrested by the alguaciles and tried in my court for inciting riot. I found him guilty on the testimony, which was all taken down in shorthand, and sentenced him to forty days in the Isleta jail. He appealed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, then to the Secretary of the Interior, both of whom sustained me. He tried to apply to the President, but they would not listen to him there. So he served his sentence, and after he was released he became worse and worse.

To even things up the cacique reappointed Lente the following year, 1917, and during that term the pueblo lost all the money that

the governor collected for grazing permits, some of which were written contracts and some mere oral understandings with the governor. It became so bad that in 1918 Bautista Zuñi was elected governor.

Zuñi, a prominent figure in the pueblo, was much opposed to the Superintendent and the principales, and to having everything down in writing, so that all would know what was being done with the public funds. The first thing he did was to select his own councilors, and he openly said that he had no use for the regular principales. But soon he found that checks could not be drawn against the public funds without the approval of the regular principales; and after doing business with them he had to go to his own selected councilors, the old reactionaries, for their approval or disapproval. While in Washington on pueblo business Zuñi sought a ruling on the extent of the governor's authority; and the reply convinced him of his error. On his return he went to the Superintendent, acknowledged his mistake, and proposed to join hands with that official to work for the best interests of his people. At a meeting of the regular principales and those whom the governor had selected, two-thirds of the former and one-third of the reactionaries were elected, and peace was once more established. The cacique and his few malcontents were ignored. Progress was made, money began to accumulate. There were no more holes in the pockets of the governor. Frank Lucero, a good, reliable, honest Indian, was elected treasurer. He received something like three hundred dollars in money belonging to the pueblo, the result of more than ten years of leasing grazing lands. Today [1921] he has more than eighteen thousand dollars in the bank, accumulated in three and a half years.

The year 1919 came and we had a good governor elected, and peace was more firmly established. The cacique opposed him, but could not make headway. But 1920 found us again with a governor of old, a reactionary. His first assistant was a good man, his second assistant a reactionary. When the governor found that he could not dip his hands into the funds, he revolted openly and threw his strength with the cacique and his followers. The second lieutenant-governor joined hands with them, and the year 1920 came to an end amid turmoil.

The cacique revived the old method of selecting officers; but when he found that his chances of securing approval of a reactionary were slender, then he lied to the principales, proposing for governor the incumbent first lieutenant-governor. To this choice the principales gladly

agreed; but when the time came to announce the names of the new selections he presented the name of the second lieutenant-governor. The principales present protested, but the governor, the cacique, and all their followers were there in force and would not listen to the protest. The second lieutenant was made governor, receiving the cane and the cacique's blessing.

The first thing the new governor said after receiving the cane was that he had no use for the principales, as they were the cause of all these troubles; and when the retiring governor delivered the papers and accounts, his successor called men of his own choice, those who would do his bidding and oppose any progress.

Summing up the situation as it exists today: the governor and his followers, headed by the cacique, want the methods and customs of thirty years ago, especially as regards the handling of money. They want the governor to be prosecutor, judge, jury, and executioner, with no one empowered to raise his hand or voice in protest. They want a Superintendent, but the Superintendent must do what the cacique tells the governor should be done. They want the Secretary of the Interior to order the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to order the Superintendent to do whatever the governor wants, and no more.

[In 1924 the public funds amounted to approximately twenty thousand dollars, an increase of about two thousand dollars - in three years. Apparently the pockets of the governor are again in need of repair.]

RELIGION

The ceremonial system of Isleta is based on the clans and the two religious moieties called Shifunín ("eye blacks"), or Winter people, and Shurén ("gray-squirrels"), or Summer people. All children at birth are dedicated to one or the other of these moieties. An infant is taken to the house of the selected party's chief, who holds it up to the different world-quarters and prays for its health and long life, offers meal to the spirits of the world-quarters, breathes into its mouth, and announces a ceremonial name selected by its ceremonial godfather. Formerly such names were reserved for ceremonial use, but at present either the secular or the religious name may become the one by which the

individual is commonly known.[18]

There is only one kiva, *túhla*. The two religious parties meet respectively in the houses of their leaders, and when a party chief dies, the house of his successor becomes the meeting-place of the party. As their own houses are the ceremonial headquarters of the party chiefs, so the kiva is the religious headquarters of the cacique, and his watchman has physical charge of it.

Isleta is said to have no esoteric societies of shamans, its medicine-men are actually healers who use curative herbs and massage.

In December and in June the head of the appropriate religious party, the cacique, and the heads of the clans, retire to fast and pray. This is at the time when Father Sun starts on his return journey from south or north. Travelling to the south, the sun reaches its resting place about the third of December, at which time the head of the White Corn clan, with his two assistants, retires to pray for four days. After two or three days the Black Corn chief retires, and so it goes in the proper ceremonial sequence. Two or three days after the head of the last clan, Goose, has begun his rites, the leader of the Shifunín retires, and last of all the cacique. The Shurén chief does not participate. During the four-day retirement of the cacique, nobody leaves the village. His vigil is supposed to finish the work of the others.

Each clan chief prays to the deity of his own world-quarter, a personage bearing the same name as the name of the clan, who "turns the prayers and good deeds over to Shífun-kavéde, the spirit to whom the Shifunín chief prays, whom he represents, and whose name he bears as a title. Shífun-kavéde delivers the prayers and good deeds to Father Sun through the medium of the cacique, Father Sun gives them to Wé^{n}yide[19] of the south, who in turn gives them to the supreme being, Wé^{n}yide-piyáwide. All these prayers, good thoughts, good deeds are accumulated and given to the supreme one as a reserve fund to counterbalance any misdeeds that may be committed during the coming six months." The same procedure occurs in June, except that the Shurén chief prays to Shurén-kavéde and his Shifunín colleague is idle. At this

18 Besides the bestowal of a ceremonial name, there is a form of initiation into the moieties, the details of which the informant would not reveal.

19 Cf. Wéñima, home of the Keres masked gods.

season Father Sun carries the prayers to Wé^{n}yide of the north.

In the latter part of February occurs a ceremony called Na-hlí^{n}wa^{n}-fûarû ("season Kachina dance"), popularly known by its Mexican name Baile de los Pinos, or Dance of the Pines, which refers to the adornment of the dancers with pino real (royal pine), or Douglas spruce. Its purpose is to bring snow for the replenishment of irrigation water.

When the time approaches, the chiefs of the two religious parties confer, and the leader of the Shifunín visits the war-chief to ask permission to perform the ceremony. The war-chief inquires if they wish to dance two days or four days, and is told that they will inform him after the matter has received consideration. The head of the Shurén (Summer people) then visits the war-chief by himself to ask permission to join in the dance; for this is not his season. Each party chief selects from his group certain young men to engage in the dancing, and the parties meet in their respective houses on several successive nights to practise singing. Many new songs are composed, and some old ones are rehearsed. On the last night the chiefs instruct their young men as to their conduct during the next four days: they may go about their ordinary duties, but must sleep in the kiva; they must entertain only good thoughts, must lead exemplary lives, must not kill any creature, nor cohabit. On the third morning of this intervening four-day period, each party chief selects about six of his dancers, and to the leader gives a prayer-plume to be deposited at a spring in the mountains to the Hlí^{n}wa^{n}de of that place. They are to bring in Douglas spruce boughs for the dancing, and the plume is in payment for the damage that will be done to the trees; for the Hlí^{n}wa^{n}de of this place is the spirit of the spruce.

They start out early on this same morning, running rapidly in order to reach the mountains sixteen miles distant before sunrise. There are several springs in the locality visited, any one of which may be chosen for the placing of the prayer-plume. After praying to the world-quarters and offering meal, the prayer-plumes are laid on the ground at the foot of a Douglas spruce, and each leader tells his men they are now permitted to break off branches. They scatter to the work with loud shouts, imitating various animals, and after preparing bundles as large as they can carry they gather again at the spring and each leader gives his men permission to breakfast. If the weather is favorable, they start out almost at once, say about ten o'clock, and proceed at such a

pace as to arrive at Goat spring, halfway home, at dusk, timing their departure from this point so as to be within a mile of the pueblo at dawn. If the weather is disagreeable, snowy and windy, they camp on the mountain around a fire for a part of the night, and then start out walking slowly, coming in sight of the village at dawn. just before the sun appears they come to the bank of the river and remove their clothing. On the opposite side the people have assembled to watch them. Word having been sent to the kiva that the Hlí^{n}wan are coming, the leaders of the two religious parties with a few of their principal dancers come to the river-bank and pray to the rising sun, offering meal. In the meantime the Hlí^{n}wan are crossing (sometimes having to break through the ice), and when they reach the other side the Shifunín chief leads them away to the kiva, making a trail of meal. The line of Hlí$^{n-}$wan is followed by the Shurén chief. At the kiva the assistants of the two chiefs relieve the young men of their burdens.

In the kiva the other dancers sprinkle meal on the spruce boughs, and food is brought by the female relatives of the dancers. It is now the fourth preliminary day, and the watchman of the cacique has already been requested to have the kiva in readiness. The dancers must be in their respective party houses by dusk, ready to be painted, and the war-chief comes to give them the word, whereupon they proceed to paint in whatever fashion pleases them, the Shifunín with black pigment and the Shurén with white. Lightning-lines and figures of animals are some of the favored devices. The costume consists of moccasins, loin-cloth, a kilt of spruce boughs from waist to knees, a tasselled ceremonial sash over the upper part of the kilt, a spruce ring about each biceps with sprigs thrust down under it from above in such fashion that the outer side of the upper arm is covered with spruce, a large wreath of the same material about the neck and hanging in front nearly to the waist. No masks are worn in this or in any other Isleta dance.[20]

When the painting and dressing are completed, they notify the head of the party, who comes with his assistant and leads them to the kiva, where the people have already assembled. The Shifunín come first and dance three songs, returning to their house after the cacique

20 On the authority of the informant. But his identification of the Hlí^{n}wan with the Katsina points to a different conclusion. See pages 105-106 on the probable identity of Hlí^{n}wa^{n}de and Shíwanna. It is quite likely that masked dances are secretly held.

has thanked them for the supplication made for good in their songs and has offered a prayer giving these supplications in one body to Wé^{n}yide. The Shurén are notified at once, and their chief leads them in, to perform in the same manner as the Shifunín. Thus alternating, each party dances thrice to three songs, by which time it is past midnight, and the dancers spend the remainder of the night in their respective party houses.

About sunrise the Shifunín dance one song on the east and one song on the west side of the plaza, return to their house, and are followed likewise by the Shurén. Each party dances thus three times, after which their female relatives bring food to the party houses.

If it is to be a two-day ceremony, there is nothing done this night and the following day; but the night of this second day repeats the dancing of the first night, and on the third morning the dancing in the plaza is repeated. In the afternoon of this third day the alternating dancing in the plaza is resumed and continued without any specified number of appearances until the sun is nearing the horizon. After their last dance the Shifunín are given into the custody of the war-chief, who leads them from the plaza to the cacique's house, outside of which they dance in front of the cacique himself, thus leaving with him their accumulated supplications from the time when the ceremony was first thought of. All these, with their good thoughts, he will offer to Wé^{n}yide, asking for good thoughts, good hearts, health, happiness, good crops. From there the dancers are led back to their party house, where they dance before their chief and his assistant, and the head of the party does the same as the cacique did. Next they are taken to the Shurén house, to dance before the party chief and his assistant, and then return to their own house. While these are dancing at their own house, the Shurén are being led to the cacique's house by the assistant war-chief. Thence they are conducted to the Shifunín house, and then to their own, thus passing in the plaza the Shifunín returning from their dance before the Shurén house. After the end of the ceremony there is a general exchange of thanks and felicitations between the dancers and the various officers. Inside their party houses the chiefs instruct the dancers to bury the spruce boughs in their fields with the tips directed toward the pueblo, so that the rain for which they have been asking will be directed to the same place.

Evidence of the former existence of snake worship at Isleta is con-

tained in the following quotation from an informant interviewed in 1909:

A witch was jealous of a man and changed him into a snake. It was always kept at the house of the chief of the Shifunín, because he was considered the highest man on account of the Shifunín emerging first from the underworld at Shipápuna. The snake was kept until it died, a long time ago, because the people knew that it was really a man. It ate cornmeal and was fed by the Shifunín chief.[21]

"The Tiwa: Isleta"
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The North American Indian: Volume 16
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21 This refers, of course, to the ceremonial offering of cornmeal.