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THE TEWA

THE Tewa Indians, a branch of the Tanoan linguistic stock, occupy five villages in the Rio Grande valley north of Santa Fe and a single pueblo adjacent to the Hopi villages on East mesa in Arizona. The Tewa pueblos in New Mexico, from north to south, are: San Juan, Santa Clara and San Ildefonso on or near the banks of the river, and Nambé and Tesuque in the broken country where the valley floor gives way to the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo range. Hano, the Tewa settlement in Arizona, was founded by refugees from the Rio Grande after the Pueblo revolt of 1680. Pojoaque, another foothill town east of the Rio Grande, still exists, but within the present generation its population has become almost entirely Mexican. Oñate in 1598 mentioned eleven Tewa villages, one of them Yunque, which was voluntarily abandoned by its inhabitants in order to permit the colonizer to establish San Gabriel, the first Spanish settlement in New Mexico. This site is now occupied by Chamita, a Mexican hamlet across the Rio Grande from San Juan. Benavides, a generation later, credited the eight Tewa towns of his day with a population of six thousand. The local census of 1924 reported a total of 1133.

The farther north one goes among the Tewa the more evident it becomes that there is a strong infusion of Plains Indian blood. The resemblance of most San Juan men to the Plains type is rendered the more striking by their habit of dressing the hair in two braids wrapped or tied with strips of fur or cloth, and by their use of hip-length leggings and shirts of deerskin. These garments are of course now worn only on gala occasions.

The following data on the customs of San Juan, San Ildefonso, and Nambé make no pretense of completeness. Among the New Mexico pueblos the investigator learns what he can, and is inordinately gratified when the outer portal is left ajar for a few brief moments. The full tale of Pueblo cults will never be told, for knowledge of many a rite will be buried with the last of its devotees, as already is happening. Much repetition might be avoided by presenting these data as a composite account of Tewa practice, but such a method would involve either generalizing to an extent not warranted by the present state of knowledge of the subject, or a constant reference of specific statements to this pueblo or that, which would tend to defeat the very

purpose of a generalized account.

SAN JUAN

ORGANIZATION

THE civil officers of San Juan are the governor, *tu*^{n}*yó* ("leader"); two lieutenant-governors *iu*^{n}*yó-ko* ("leader arm"), who are regarded as the governor's right arm and left arm; the peace-officer, alguacil (Spanish), and two fiscales (Spanish) who are in charge of the local church.

The officers of native origin are the Summer cacique, Pá^{n}yoo-ke ("summer strong") or Poá^{n}-tu^{n}yo ("water-running leader"), the Winter cacique, Oyí-ke ("ice strong"), the war-chief, *akóno-tu*^{n}*yó-po* ("country leader head"), two assistant war-chiefs, *akóno-tu*^{n}*yó-ko* ("country leader arm"), and four deputy war-chiefs, *akónge* (for *akóno-e,* "country little"; plural, *akóngei*^{n}).

The functions of the two caciques, who divide the year between them from one equinox (approximately) to another, are mainly hierarchical. They rule for life, and in consultation with their advisers they select the other officers for the ensuing year. The governor and his staff, subject to the advice and suggestions of the caciques, control the civil affairs of the community, while the war-chiefs have physical charge of ceremonies, guarding the meeting-places of the priests, looking after the dancers, ordering the people to the assembly. Formerly they were appointed for life and were charged with the duty of guarding the village at night from enemies.

No fewer than thirty-three "clans," of which twelve are extinct, are named by San Juan informants. Twenty-one clans in a population of four hundred and fifty-eight are not perhaps an impossibility, but the probability of such a status seems remote. These "clans" are patrilineal, but exogamy is an institution now unknown to any Tewa Indian even by tradition.[1] The usual explanation offered by natives is that "the clans are just like family names," which of course is a fair descrip-

1 In 1895 an old man at Nambé informed me that within his lifetime exogamy was the rule at his pueblo. The patrilineal feature of Tewa clans may be the result of Tanoan (and especially Tiwa) connection with the Kiowa.—EDITOR.

tion of a clan. But what is to be said of San Ildefonso, with a population of twenty-five families and ninety-seven souls, and seventeen clan names exclusive of forty-one extinct? Or of Nambé with a population of thirty-five families and a hundred and nineteen souls, and thirty-four clan names exclusive of thirty-four extinct?

There are two moieties, which are purely ceremonial in function. The Pó-tówa ("squash people") are identified with the summer season, and in local parlance are generally known as Summer people. An optional native term is Haye, which is said to mean "piece of gourd" and to be the equivalent of *pómbe* ("squash round"), the implement used in shaping pottery. The Kuyá^{n}-tówa ("turquoise people") are identified with the winter season, hence are generally called Winter people. They are known also as Qá^{n}*r*i ("sticky-gum," "pitch"), referring doubtless to the use of this adhesive in making inlays of turquoise. Probably both Háye and Qá^{n}*r*i were originally esoteric terms.

Normally a child belongs not only to the father's clan but to his ceremonial moiety as well; but an adult individual may change his party affiliation if he finds conditions in his father's moiety uncongenial.

The clans belonging nominally to the Summer moiety are as follow:[2]

1. Ta^{n}, Sun
2. Po, Moon*[3]
3. Ágoyo, Star
4. Ohúwa, Cloud
5. Na^{n}, Earth
6. Ku^{n} Corn
7. Kú^{n}-tsá^{n}wa^{n}, Corn Blue*
8. Kú^{n}-tséyi, Corn Yellow*
9. Kú^{n} pii, Corn Red*
10. Kú^{n}-tsá^{n}yi, Corn White*
11. Kú^{n}fé^{n}di, Corn Black*
12. Po, Squash [3]
13. Ta, Grass

2 To the clan name add *tówa*, people. The asterisk indicates an extinct clan.

3 The difference between *po*, squash, *po*, head, *po*, moon, *po*, water, *po*, trail, is inflectional.

14. Te, Cottonwood*
15. Nána, Aspen
16. Keá, Badger
17. Yée, Weasel[4]
18. Kawó, Eagle [5]

The clans belonging nominally to the Winter moiety are:

1. Ts!e, Douglas Spruce
2. Qa^{n}, Oak*
3. Ke, Bear
4. Ku^{n}yó, Wolf
5. De, Coyote
6. Ka^{n}, Cougar*
7. Ta, Elk
8. Pa^{n}, Mule Deer
9. Tse, Eagle*
10. Tyughá, Chicken-hawk
11. Tse-pín, Eagle Mountain [6]
12. Te, House
13. Fe, Wood
14. Ku-píi, Stone Red[7]
15. Ku-yá^{n}, Turquoise [8]

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

4 The Handbook of American Indians gives Ye, Lizard, D'ye, Gopher. San Juan informants say these should be *yéii*, lizard, *yée*, weasel. But a San Ildefonso man gives *ye*, lizard; and a Nambé man *ye,* a species of poplar.

5 A large eagle that kills rabbits and fawns.

6 The golden eagle?

7 Usually translated coral. But the present informant identifies this "red stone" with a reddish bivalvular shell. He has a very old shell of this kind, an heirloom from his great-grandfather, with transverse bands of inlaid turquoise and jet. Jet is still obtained from the Navaho country, where it doubtless occurs in the coal measures of that region, and the shell probably came from the Gulf of California.

8 *Ku,* stone; ya^{n} unexplained.

Marriage was generally arranged by negotiation between the families concerned, and was accompanied by exchange of gifts. Sexual experience before marriage was general, and the birth of "illegitimate" children was regarded favorably. These conditions are still largely prevalent.

On the fourth morning after an infant's birth two women who attended the mother and bathed the child return for the ceremony of bestowing a name. During the night certain herbs have been added to a bowl of water, and sacred meal has been laid out in readiness. At the first streak of dawn the two women step outside the house, one with the infant in her arms, the other with a besom and a fire-brand. The torch lights the spot and calls the attention of the beneficent powers to this, their newborn child. The woman with the infant tosses a bit of meal to each of the cardinal points, and as she and her companion turn slowly to the left they catch impressions of objects and colors, which suggest a name. Or they may bestow a name esteemed by the parents or suggested by some circumstance or casual occurrence at the time of the child's birth. Having announced the name for the information of the spirit powers, they reenter the house, return the brand to the fireplace, give the infant and the mother a sip of the medicine-water, and then pass the bowl among all those present.

Infants are kept laced in cradle-boards which swing from the roof-beams.

There are of course numerous pseudo-religious customs and taboos connected with parturition and the care of young children. The water in which a newborn infant has been washed is poured out very carefully, for violence would react on the child and cause it to cry. Puerperal blood was smeared on the tips of arrows used in fighting. A tray of corn is placed at the head of a cradled female infant, and a bow and arrows at the head of a male infant, in order that they may become industrious in their appropriate pursuits. The shed milk-teeth of boys are cast away with a prayer to the sun for strong permanent teeth, and similar supplication to the moon is made by girls. Young children eat bits of the uncleaned intestines of a beef in order to prevent abdominal cramps. The first animal killed by a boy is offered to the head of the society of hunters, who in turn gives him a bow and a sheaf of arrows. In early spring young boys, aided by their fathers, make hair snares and set them on sunflowers to catch bluebirds, and each boy takes three

birds to the Summer cacique.

Every child belongs automatically to the ceremonial moiety of its father. Each moiety has a kiva. Pó-tee ("squash kiva") is in the southeast quarter of the pueblo and Oyégi-tee ("frost kiva") is in the northeast quarter. Formerly the moieties were known as South People and North People. At the head of these two parties are the Summer cacique, Pá^{n}yooke, and the Winter cacique, Oyíke, who also are the respective heads of two esoteric societies of limited membership bearing the same names. In the latter capacity the caciques may be specifically referred to as Pá^{n}yooke-séndo ("summer-strong old-man") and Oyíke-séndo ("ice-strong old-man"). In ceremonies the Summer cacique is usually addressed as "my old woman" and the Winter cacique as "my old man." The Summer cacique is the religious head of the pueblo from the end of February to the middle of October, and his colleague rules during the remaining four months. The Winter cacique is even more deeply venerated than his fellow highpriest. Both hold their positions for life.

When a cacique dies, that member of his society who has been occupying the position at his right hand takes his place pending the naming of a permanent successor by Pí^{n}-ká^{n} ("mountain cougar"), the head of the society that ceremonially controls game animals. Normally the temporary incumbent is confirmed in his position, but if he is in feeble health a more vigorous colleague may be installed. According to his capability a new member of any society is assigned to the last position on the one or the other side of the leader, who sits in the middle of the row, and his only promotion is by gaining a seat nearer the leader through the death of an older member. One cannot move from the left to the right side of the leader. It is only in the societies of the two caciques that Pí^{n}-ká^{n} selects the successor to a deceased leader; in other cases the right-hand assistant automatically takes office.

It is the duty of the caciques to see that the numerous ceremonials are maintained in unbroken sequence. Specifically, the Summer cacique prays for rain and growing crops, employing in his rituals meal made of blue corn, symbolic of the blue summer sky; the Winter cacique prays for snow and fertile seeds, using meal of white corn, symbolic of snow-covered fields.

Two days before a cacique resumes his place as head of the pueblo for the coming term, his society retires to the appropriate house to

feast on viands contributed by all the women.

Biennially the Winter cacique after praying to the sun gives the war-chief a message to the people, who one and all in their own homes place a bit of piñon-gum on the forehead and on each large joint, a symbol that they will cleave to Father Sun.

The activities of the caciques as heads of their respective societies will be discussed later.

The Ohúwa ("cloud") are the Tewa equivalent of the Hopi Kachinas and the Keres Kátsina, or Shíwanna. These masked personators of the cloud-gods perform in the kivas, the Summer people in April or May, the Winter people in December. On such occasions neither ceremonial moiety participates out of its appropriate season.

All boys and girls are supposed to be initiated into the Ohúwa by whipping, after which the secrets of the masked gods are gradually revealed to them. Before this, one is like an alien, ignorant of the religious secrets. The rite occurs every seventh year, each party initiating its own children. Boys, but not girls, are stripped to the loin-cloth, and the ordeal consists of four vigorous strokes with bundles of yucca-leaves wielded by two masked men, who represent Té^{n}-ohúwa[9] and Ts!é-ohúwa (" Douglas-spruce cloud"). When all have been flogged, the Ohúwa remove their masks to show that they are only men representing gods. The initiates sit down and are briefly instructed in the cult, and are told that they must now practise dancing. They do so in company with the young men of the kiva, and the elders select the best ones to be the dancers in the coming ceremony. The initiates and others thus selected spend that night and the four following days and three nights in the kiva practising song and dances.

In any masked dance of the Winter people there appear always six Ohúwa: Té^{n}-ohúwa and Ts!é-ohúwa ("Douglas-spruce cloud"), the two whippers; TénYo-ohúwa ("white-fir cloud") and Ká^{n}-ohúwa ("cougar cloud"); Ta^{n}-ohúwa ("sun cloud") and Kaañá^{n}-ohúwa ("white-pine cloud").[10] Every seventh year, in the dance following an initiation,

9 Cf. *ténYo* (*te*^{n} with augmentative *yo*), white fir. Since three of the characters appearing in company with Té ^{n}-ohúwa represent as many species of evergreen trees, it is evident that *te*^{n} also is some such tree.

10 The informant could recall the names of only three Summer Ohúwa:

besides these six are eight others, four of whom dress like women, and the eight dance in two rows. These eight are called Ohúwa-enú^{n} ("cloud boys") and Ohúwa-añú^{n} ("cloud girls").

The people having assembled in the kiva, two Kósa clowns amuse them with jokes and antics, perpetrating obscenities in the manner of their Keres confréres, the Kû'sa*r*i. The Ohúwa then make their appearance, scattering seeds among the spectators, and their leader explains by signs the object of their visit, the Kósa interpreting to the two caciques, who stand side by side. After receiving the thanks of these two, the six Ohúwa perform in pairs, one of each couple remaining nearly stationary while his companion dances around him. After about an hour they retire to the house in which they dressed to remove the masks and resume their clothing.

This dance was revived about 1920 after a lapse of nine years, following a division of the people into two factions as a result of the killing of a San Juan Indian who was bringing a bagful of whiskey into the pueblo. On the side of the man accused of the killing (who happened to be innocent but pleaded guilty in order to save the life of his friend, the actual killer, who had an aged mother without other means of support, while he himself had only a young wife able to care for herself) a small group arrayed themselves, and this group happened to include the two men who possessed the winter and the summer masks and costumes. During these years, and even until 1923 or 1924, the annual pilgrimage to the shrine at Tsikúmu^{n}pi^{n} also was given up, because they could not approach the gods with offerings while their hearts were divided. The annual ceremonial retirement of the societies, however, continued to be observed, for the reason that this is more in the nature of a thanksgiving to Mother Earth for good crops, and if a member or two of any society happened to be in the opposite faction from the others, he remained absent. The two caciques happened to be on opposite sides in this controversy, but neither faction was made up entirely of Summer or Winter people. The difficulty has been patched up.

The major religious practices of the Pueblo Indians are intimately

Naposhú $^{n.n}$i^{n} ("black mud"), Pá^{n}-kátsina ("mule-deer Kachina"), and Tsigowénu ("lightning").

connected with esoteric societies. At San Juan there are, or were, eight societies, which all informants name in the order here given.

1. Pá^{n}yoo-ke ("summer strong") is composed entirely of men from the Squash (Summer) moiety. Its head is the Summer cacique, in which capacity he is properly known as Poá^{n}-tu^{n}yo ("water-running leader"), although he is also referred to by his society title of Pá^{n}yooke. There are now four members of this group.

2. Oyí-ke ("ice strong") is composed entirely of men from the Turquoise (Winter) moiety, and its head is the Winter cacique, Oyíke. There are seven members at present.

3. Pufónu is the society of shamans, who exorcise disease from individuals and drive away malign influences that threaten the community, especially witchcraft. There are now nine Pufónu, besides some female lay members who cook for the society and assist in the singing. The principal shaman is called Pufónu-séndo ("shaman, old-man").

4. Kósa, a group of clowns, has ten members besides a number of women who participate in the dancing of the society. They paint horizontal black stripes on a ground of white around torso and limbs and black ovals about the eyes and the mouth. A close-fitting skin cap terminates in two slender, upright horns The Kósa hold a dance of their own, besides which two members participate as fun-makers in all other dances. Kósa-séndo is the title of the chief clown.

5. Qírano, another society of clowns, has now a single member. The Qírano costume is a suit of white deerskin and a skin cap terminating in a single horn. This cult is said to have "come from the south," while the Kósa cult was established by the culture hero Poseyémo.

6. Pí^{n}-ká^{n} ("mountain cougar"), or Samá^{n}yu, is a society concerned with maintaining the supply of game animals. In the recent past there were never more than three or four members, and now there is but one. The title of the chief of the group is Pí^{n}-ká^{n}. He has charge of all communal hunts like the cougar man of the Keres, and is a leading figure in any of the numerous dances in which animals are simulated, on which occasions he wears a deerskin suit and carries a bow, a cougar-skin quiver filled with arrows, and a stick.

7. Tséoke,[11] now defunct, had ceremonial charge of the scalps

11 Tséoke is possibly from *tsi*, obsidian, ke, strong, seize, bear (the "strong"

taken in war. The last member of this group has died since 1909, at which time he was custodian of two Navaho scalps, one taken from a white-haired ancient, the other from a young man. Each was stretched on a small hoop. He had also a heart-shape piece of obsidian, a charm against the power of the enemy.

Kú^{n}-tsá^{n}yu^{n}-qíyo ("corn blue [plural] old-woman"), now reduced to two members, formerly gave a public dance in which they moved slowly in a sinistral circle with gestures interpreting their songs. They wore moccasins and wrapped leggings, white mantas and white cotton mantillas *(seghá),* which sometimes were embroidered. Their specific function is not known, but the name of the society, if such it was, leads to the inference that they ground corn for the ceremonial use of the caciques, as did a group of females among the Keres.

A large majority of the population belong to no society. Such persons are called *fényávi* ("weeds"). The head of the female "weeds" is called Sá^{n}shu^{n}-qíyo, and her male colleague is Sá^{n}shu^{n}-séndo. When the "weed" men (or women) wish to hold a dance, they consult their leader, who asks the war-chief for permission, and that official takes steps to inaugurate the festival. Any non-secret dance may be so initi-

one). But to say nothing of the unnecessary change from *tsi* to *tse,* the interpolated *o* is an obstacle. The same difficulty appears in the translation of Pá^{n}yooke as "summer strong." Summer is *pá^{n}yo.* Here the interpolated *o* might be regarded as a lengthening of the final syllable of *pá^{n}yo,* although it is uttered as a fairly distinct syllable. On the other hand, if the second component of these two words is *oke,* rather than *ke,* one would expect it to appear in the same form in the similarly constructed title of the Winter cacique, Oyíke. With one exception all the numerous Tewa informants were unable to offer an unequivocal translation of the final component of these words, and the translation proposed by that one was clearly fanciful. It should be noted that most, if not all, of the Tewa pueblos have shamans who were initiated into the cult by their Keres neighbors, and these are known as Téma-ke in distinction to the shamans initiated at home, who are Téwa-ke. These words are ever recognized as signifying " Keres bear" and "Tewa bear." The bear is the principal tutelar of the shamans. As for *tséoke,* Harrington, in his Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians, says that it "is said to mean 'hard metate face' (*tse,* 'face'; *o*, 'metate'; *ke*, 'hard')." The sense of this translation as applied to a scalp-custodian is peculiarly appropriate. Compare our epithets, "granite-face," "iron-visaged."

ated, and the male and female performers are selected respectively by Sá^{n}shu^{n}-séndo and Sá^{n}shu^{n}-qíyo. In 1909 the Sá^{n}shu^{n}-qíyo was Juana María, a blind young woman, and her predecessor was Francisca Archuleta, Póvi ("flower"').

Cacique Societies

The Summer society, Pá^{n}yooke, is said to have been the first society established by the culture hero Póseyémo.[12] It is held in very high esteem, for its function is to pray for rain, for the growth of cultivated and wild products, and for the good of the entire world regardless of tribe or race. Disaster would inevitably follow a lapse of attention to this duty. The Winter society, Oyíke, performs a similar service in its season of the year.

At the summer solstice the Summer cacique, accompanied by one of his subordinates and by two members of each of the other societies except Blue Corn Women (but with four of the Pufónu, or shamans), makes a pilgrimage to a lofty peak about twenty miles west of the pueblo. On this mountain, which they call Tsi-kúmu^{n}-pi^{n} ("obsidian covered mountain"), is the shrine of Yellow Cloud Man, Ohúwatséyise, the rain-god of the west, to whom they pray and with whom they leave offerings which the deity will distribute among all the cloud-gods and Sun, Moon, Stars, and war-gods.[13]

The shrine consists of a large circle of stones with a main entrance from the east for San Juan priests, and another from the west for the use of the Navaho. Double lines of stones mark the trails leading to these entrances. North of the San Juan entrance is a dimly marked trail reserved for Taos and Picuris, and south of it are four others, almost if not quite obliterated, for other Tewa pueblos. The sequence of the trails corresponds to the relative situation of the pueblos themselves.

12 The preëminence assigned to the Summer society is inconsistent with the greater veneration for the Winter cacique.

13 Douglass, Notes on the Shrines of the Tewa and Other Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, Washington, 1917, calls this "the world-center shrine." Tsikúmu^{n}pi^{n} is in fact the sacred mountain of the west. Offerings to the spirits residing at zenith and nadir are always made at a shrine near the pueblo, whether San Juan or any other.

The Keres and the Jemez visit a shrine on this peak, but whether this identical one or another is not known. San Juan and Navaho pilgrims once met here by accident at a time when the two tribes were bitter enemies; but hostilities on this sacred spot were unthinkable, and the Navaho permitted the others to make their offerings first. The reservation of the principal trail for San Juan worshipers confirms the often-heard statement that in ceremonial matters that pueblo was supreme, not only among the Tewa but among their neighbors. The probable interpretation of this idea of supremacy is that in the southerly migration of the Tewa the more conservative element, which of course would include the priesthood, lingered in the rear and founded San Juan at the northern limit of Tewa territory. The more adventurous, footloose groups were the ones that pushed boldly forward, seeking better homes, and when they finally became sedentary in their present habitat they were compelled to look to the nucleus of the tribe for their ceremonial institutions.

The first visitors at the shrine clear the enclosed space and the trails. San Juan priests, making the pilgrimage in 1923 or 1924 after a lapse of nine years, found in the shrine sagebrush and coal, which they supposed sorcerers had placed there for the purpose of preventing rain: for the shrine is regarded as a spring from which the rains proceed, and an accumulation of rubbish will stop the flow. Within the circle the pilgrims erect the Summer society's altar and offer their supplications and feathered prayer-sticks, which are rudely marked with a face on the tip to represent a cloud-god.

The only other shrine admittedly visited by San Juan priests is that of Ku-séne ("stone man-that "), the highest peak in the Truchas mountains.

In preparation for these pilgrimages, the Summer cacique calls the heads of the societies to his house to discuss plans, and each head then selects the men to represent his group. They leave in separate pairs and assemble at a designated point. While they are absent the societies meet separately and engage in prayer.

On the morning of the fourteenth of August, after three days in which they are very careful of their conduct, especially as to continence, the Summer society goes into retirement in the house of their leader, which is guarded by the war-chiefs against intrusion by Mexicans and Americans. They arrange their sacred objects in an altar, and

throughout the day and until midnight they are engaged in prayer, sitting naked on rolled blankets in a row behind the altar, with the cacique in the middle. At night the village officers attend, and about midnight, the women of the members' families having brought quantities of fresh fruits and vegetables, the people crowd in promiscuously, seize whatever they can of these products, and go out. Not until this has been done are the people permitted to pluck any fruits of the soil.

Immediately after the rites of the Summer society have been completed, their cacique goes to the house of his colleague to notify him, in a formal speech, that it is now his turn to work for the people and that he must make his best efforts. On the fourth succeeding morning, after three days of personal purification, the Winter society meets for a day and a night of prayer, in the course of which they perform the trick of planting corn and almost immediately exhibiting a developed plant.

The altar of the Winter society consists of a bed of meal on which certain figures are drawn with colored earths. At each rear corner stands a *yiyá-qiyo* ("mother old-woman"), an unblemished ear of corn covered with feathers of varied colors. All societies have these fetishes except the Kósa, who use stone figurines carved crudely in the likeness of human beings. Excepting the Pufónu, who have one each, each society has only two *yíya,* and the head of the group has charge of them. At Zuñi and the Keres pueblos each member of a fraternity has one of these fetishes. Between the two *yíya* is a round medicine-bowl, the symbolic home of the "mothers." Around the altar lie flints, which represent thunderbolts and lightning. This society uses no stone animals like the fetishes of the Pufónu. The cacique prepares the medicine while the others observe him, and having finished he fills with native tobacco a blue stone pipe[14] with long wooden stem, and blows smoke on the altar and the bowl. He then asperges in the six directions and orders his fellows to prepare for the songs. After chanting a number of their songs, they rest and then sing again. Throughout the day intervals of song are interspersed with prayer and the offering of meal and small feathers to the world-regions, and finally the cacique addresses the members to the effect that their prayers will be heard and they will

14 This pipe has been in the possession of the society for very many generations. The material is probably serpentine.

receive what they have asked. The concluding song follows:

Tamu^{n}yóa-enú^{n}, tivihéwûnu púye-a^{n}tó só^{n}pa tsígoa-tagiwagi,
morning big youths, get-ready, deerskin moccasins, porcupine quills , sparkling much

Ho-só^{n}pa tsígoa-tagiwagi, púye-a^{n}tó tsígoa-tagiwagi, tsíhu^{n}-wirinke.
Leggings quills, dark eyelashes

Tówa-tá^{n}ki tewóaaítuyi.
people all bring to life

"Morning Youths, prepare your deerskin moccasins with brightly gleaming porcupine-quill:, your brightly gleaming quilted leggings, your brightly gleaming deerskin moccasins, your dark eyelashes. Revive all your people."

Having finished his rites, the Winter cacique notifies Pufónu-sendo, and on the fourth morning thereafter the shaman society retires for a day and a night. In this manner all the societies offer their supplications in turn.

At the Winter solstice, in the latter part of December, the Winter society meets again, and on that day, as well as on the four days preceding it, ashes and rubbish must not be removed from the houses. At the end of the ceremony the houses are swept clean and new fires are kindled.

On the fifteenth of October, approximately the autumnal equinox, when the Summer cacique gives place to his colleague, he arranges his altar and sends a messenger to Oyíke, who builds a fire and sets up his altar. The Summer cacique then enters and delivers a speech exhorting him to do his best, concluding, "I turn over my children to you." On February the fifteenth the Winter cacique in similar manner relinquishes control.

Another ceremony connected with the summer solstice takes the form of a relay race in the plaza for the purpose of giving strength to the sun for his return from the north. Formerly the contestants were opposed according to moiety affiliations, Winter people against Summer people, but this opposition is said to have been abandoned because the former, tying yucca-leaves to their ankles, consistently defeated the

latter, who put their faith in the weaker magic of quickly withering grass. That the race now occurs on the twenty-fourth of June, the feast day of the village patron, Saint John the Baptist, is fortuitous.

When the irrigation ditch is opened in the spring, a part of it below the intake is cleared in preparation for the formal opening. The leaders of the societies go to the head of the acequia and stand in the following order: Winter cacique, Summer cacique, Pufónu-séndo, Kósa-séndo, Qíranoséndo, and Tséoke-séndo. The Summer cacique passes around his colleague to the head of the line, and they proceed, walking in the middle of the ditch, to the other end, the Summer cacique scattering meal and fish-scales along the way. In the fall they observe a similar custom at the closing of the ditch, starting at the lower end and proceeding to the source under the leadership of the Winter cacique.

In the spring the Summer cacique fills a large deerskin ball with seeds of various kinds, and starting from the plaza two groups of young men representing the two moieties drive it with clubs successively into all the houses. A woman of each household wraps a piece of thin bread about the ball and throws it out, and the young men scramble for the prize. They proceed then to drive the ball over the fields until finally it bursts and the seeds are scattered far and wide. Everyone is eager that the ball be driven over his fields, for not otherwise could he hope for good crops. Sometimes two days elapse before the ball is broken, and the moiety parties alternate in stopping to rest and eat.

Society of Shamans

The Pufónu exercise powerful influence, for the reason that serious sickness cannot be overcome without them, and furthermore because of the fear their supposed power of witchcraft inspires. The Pufónu-séndo is inferior only to the caciques, and even with them his word has great weight. In 1909 there were about fifteen shamans, in 1924 the number was reduced to nine. There has been no initiation since about 1918.

A candidate for initiation spends eight days under instruction by the chief shaman, during which period his only food is boiled corn. Early in the morning of the last day he is accompanied by the society to the river, where he wades out until the water touches his mouth. He drinks, and spews out the water to cleanse himself, and all return

to the leader's house for a feast provided by the initiate's family.

Each shaman possesses a *yíya* ("mother"'), his personal fetish in the form of an ear of corn. A covering of the white, under tail-coverts of an eagle is held in place by wrappings of strings of beads, — turquoise, garnet, and quartz, — and the whole is incased in a covering of parrot tail-feathers, nicely arranged and rising from the base up beyond the tip of the ear. Equally prized is a miniature white, soft-stone bear, representative of the animal which most powerfully aids the shamans.

The Pufónu participate as a society in the series of ceremonies at the Summer solstice. What secret rites of their own they may perform is not known, except the public healing ceremony.

Requiring the services of the Pufónu, the father or other relative of a sick person calls on any one of the shamans with a small quantity of meal and tobacco. The shaman so selected at once informs his fellows, and they meet that night at the house of their leader, where the ceremony will occur unless the patient is too ill to be moved, in which case they proceed to his home. Wearing only loin-cloths they at once arrange an altar, upon which they set their stone bears. Here and there are scattered flints and several skins from the forepaws of bears. The shamans sit in a row behind the altar, and their *yíya* are set upright in a row between them and the altar. In the midst of the altar is a bowl, in which they proceed to mix medicine while singing, each shaman dropping into the water bits of pulverized herbs and roots. Each has in his right hand a gourd rattle and in his left a pair of eagle tail-feathers. While all sing, the chief dips his feathers in the medicine and with an upward flip against his rattle he successively scatters the sacred water in the six directions.

After a brief rest another song is begun and two men, one from each end of the row and hence the youngest members in point of service, rise and dance about the room, striking one feather upward against the other as if ridding the place of malign influences. They turn and dance at the outer corners of the square altar, and sit down.

During the third song the leader again asperges the medicine-water in the six directions, and a man from the right side of the row takes up two "lightning-stones"' (pyrites) from the altar and strikes a spark in each of the directions and then toward each shaman. He next dips a feather in the medicine and draws it transversely between the lips of each one.

A fourth song having been concluded, the leader gives to each of his helpers a sip of the medicine and a bit of "bear medicine" from his pouch, which they retain inside the lower lip. This gives them power to detect and drive out sickness. They at once begin to circulate promiscuously about the room, all except the leader, stroking the patient with their feathers. Some have drawn the bear-skins over one forearm and with these they vigorously slap him with a movement similar to that made by a bear. From his body they pretend to extract by suction various foreign objects, such as sticks, stones, thorns, bones, rags, all supposedly injected into his body by sorcerers. All these are piled on a cloth spread on the floor.

Now the Pufónu-séndo announces that witches or wizards are trying to prevent a cure, and the others proceed with loud cries to rummage the house and rush out of doors in search of the evil ones. They return, panting from the desperate struggle, and exhibit a rag doll, which they tear to pieces and deposit on the cloth.

They now resume their seats and begin another song, during which they rise and dance about the room, stroking with their feathers the bodies of the spectators. The two men who danced during the second song gather up the corners of the cloth and carry out the objects removed from the sick person, to cast them away outside the pueblo.

The shaman originally sought by the family of the patient now gives him his stone bear, which is to be kept on his person four days, at the end of which time it is to be returned to the shaman with whatever payment the family see fit to make for his services. At the conclusion of the healing ceremony, the shamans carry home large baskets of meal for their fee.

In August of 1924 a sick man was being treated by the Pufónu. After pursuing the sorcerers, they brought in a rag doll dressed in the manner of a Pí^{n}ká^{n}, with deerskin suit and flowing hair. The sick man was informed that a Pí^{n}ká^{n} wizard seemed to be oppressing him, and probably if he would promise to join that society the malevolent one would cease troubling him. This was a palpable effort to recruit a member for the important but nearly defunct hunters' society.

Clown Societies

The Kósa and the Qírano are societies of fun-makers, and function

almost exactly as do the Kû'sari and the Kwí'ranna of the neighboring Keres pueblos. They paint in the same manner as the Keres clowns, the Kósa white with black horizontal bands and black ovals about the eyes and the mouth, the Qírano white on the face with a black stripe from each angle of the mouth across the cheek. The former are distinguished by dry corn-husks attached to the hair, and wear deerskin caps having two slender upright "horns," which correspond to the Keres arrangement of the hair in two shocks stiffened with white clay. The Qírano are distinguished by hawk-feathers attached to the hair, and a skin cap terminating in a single "horn" like the shock of hair affected by the Keres Kwí'*r*anna. They wear white deerskin leggings and shirts.

The Kósa "came from the north," that is, the society was instituted in the ancient home of the Tewa,[15] while the Qírano "came from the south," that is, from the Keres. Of course two such similar cults could not have grown up independently among two neighboring stocks. The suggestion has been made that originally the Keres Kû'sa*r*i were a warrior society acquired from the Pawnee, the arrangement of the hair in the Pawnee style and the intimate connection of the Acoma Ka*sár*i with the scalp-dance supporting this conjecture. Also a possible etymology of the Keres term has been offered in Tewa Kósa-hyáre ("Kósa dance").

As to the origin of the term Qírano: (1) The San Juan and San Ildefonso Winter moiety is esoterically called Qá^{n}*r*i ("pitch"). (2) The statement is frequently made that the Kósa are Summer people and the Qírano are Winter people.[16] (3) At Nambé the Qírano are called Kwá^{n}*r*i (Qá^{n}*r*i) and are recognized as a Keres institution, the Kwí'*r*anna. (4) The affix *na* in Kwí'*r*anna is the regular Tanoan objective. These facts lead to the hypothesis that both of the clown societies were originally, in this region at least, Tewa, one pertaining to the Summer moiety, the other to the Winter; that the Keres acquired both, along with the names, from the Tewa; that for some reason the Kwá^{n}*r*i (Qá^{n}*r*i) society became defunct among the Tewa, was later revived by initiation at the hands of the Keres society, and became known, at some of

15 But the Tesuque Kósa are said to be initiated at Cochiti.

16 This is just the opposite of Keres practice. As a matter of fact membership in the Tewa societies is not dependent on moiety affiliation.

the Tewa pueblos, by an adaptation (Qírano) of the Keres adaptation (Kwí'ranna) of the Tewa original.

Fun-makers of one society or the other participate in all dances, in the same manner as their Keres counterparts. A secret dance is held annually in the mountains. Whether the Kósa are the only performers on this occasion or make merry while the masked personators of the cloud-gods dance, as at Cochiti, is not known; but the latter is probable.

In July the Kósa go fishing, and the entire catch is given to their chief. In the non-secret Turtle dance the Kósa performers eat raw, or at least tear apart with their teeth, any chickens the spectators give them; and they are privileged to enter any dwelling, take what they desire, and overturn and break utensils. They are required to eat in a gluttonous manner. Three nights before Christmas day they go through the streets singing and roistering, carrying a small jar of water from which anyone suffering from a malady may drink with benefit, and in many cases such a one vows to join the society if he recovers. In the public dances the Kósa draw a circle with ashes, and anyone caught inside of it is compelled to join. Only in these two ways are members recruited.

Snake Cult

There is no doubt that the Tewa and probably other Pueblos formerly and within recent years kept large rattlesnakes in captivity as creatures to be venerated and propitiated. Whether the custom still persists, and whether human sacrifice was made to the reptiles, which many native informants declare to have been the case, cannot be proved. The evidence regarding this cult is necessarily fragmentary, but the witnesses are surprisingly numerous considering the danger attending revelations of this sort. Besides the following quotations, additional evidence bearing on snake worship will be given as applying to Nambé. All the statements of natives were recorded in 1909. Prior to that time the only published references to the cult had appeared in the writings of Bandelier:[17]

17 *Papers Archæological Institute of America,* III, 1890, pages 305-307; I, 1883, page 126.

The Sa-jiu[18] ... is the keeper, in every village where the office exists, of a greenish liquid called "Frog water," ... which the Indians use as an infallible remedy against snake bites.... The common belief in New Mexico, that the Pueblo Indians keep, or at least kept until recently, enormous rattlesnakes in their villages, treating them, if not with veneration, at least with particular care, is not unfounded. Gigantic rattlesnakes are killed now and then, — animals of enormous size. One of these, six feet long was killed on the lower Rio Grande last year. In 1884, a rattlesnake, the body of which I saw myself, was killed at San Juan. It measured over seven feet in length. Tracks of gigantic snakes, or trails rather, have been met often. I saw a fresh one in the mountains west of Santa Fe that indicated a very large serpent. But the Indians, though generally reticent concerning these facts, have confessed to me that there exists among the Tehuas a special office of "Keeper of the Snake." This office is in near relation with that of the Sa-jiu, and under her quasi control. Until not long ago (and perhaps to-day) eight large rattlesnakes were kept in a house at San Juan alive, very secretly, and it was the Po-a-nyu,[19] or keeper, who had them in charge. When the one that I saw was killed, five years ago, the Indians of the pueblo showed both displeasure and alarm.

It is positively asserted that the Pecos adored, and the Jemez and Taos still adore, an enormous rattlesnake, which they keep alive in some inaccessible and hidden mountain recess. It is even dimly hinted at that human sacrifices might be associated with this already sufficiently hideous cult... It has always been the natural tendency.... to make bad look worse and good better than it actually is.... I have previously mentioned that Ruiz had been called upon by the Indians of Pecos to do his duty by attending to the sacred fire for one year, and that he refused. The reason ... appears to have been that there was a belief to the effect that anyone who had ever attended to the embers would, if he left the tribe, die without fail. Even Ruiz affirmed that the tale, so far as the Pecos were concerned, was certainly true. He never

18 Sánshun, head of the women who are not members of a society. The present writer has no information regarding the connection of this personage with the snake cult.

19 Pánñun, rattlesnake.

could get to see the reptile, however. It was a rattlesnake (*Cascabel*).

Mariano Ruiz, from whom Bandelier derived information about Pecos customs, was a Mexican who as a boy became so intimate with the Indians that he was later adopted by them and when the pueblo was abandoned in 1838 he received such of the community land as was not sold. In 1924 an effort was made to obtain from the Mexicans now living near Pecos ruin such traditions as they might have preserved regarding the snake cult. Through the good offices of Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren a man who, as it happened, was the grandson of Ruiz, was induced to repeat what he had heard his grandfather tell about the Pecos snake; and a dramatic recital it was. The snake, he said, was kept in an underground room in the village, and at stated intervals a newborn infant was fed to it. The elder Ruiz was asked to assume the duty of custodian of the sacred fire, an annual office, which he declined because he had observed that the fire-keeper always died soon after being released from confinement in the subterranean chamber where the fire burned.

(Whether the fire and the serpent were housed in the same cell the grandson did not know, but possibly such was the case and the refusal of Ruiz to accept the proffered position was really due to his horror at the idea of spending a year in proximity to the reptile. But there appears to be no good reason why he should not have imparted this information to Bandelier, if such was the case.) Strolling about the environs of the village, Ruiz one day came upon his most intimate friend bowed in grief. To the Mexican's inquiry the Indian responded that his newborn child had been condemned to be fed to the snake, that already he had been forced to yield several children to the sacrifice, and had vainly hoped that this one would be spared. This was the first time Ruiz had heard that children were fed to the snake. He proposed that they hoodwink the priests, and acting on his advice the Indian poisoned a newborn kid with certain herbs, wrapped it up as if it were a baby, and threw it to the reptile. That night terrifying sounds issued from the den as the great snake writhed in its death agony, and in the morning it lay with the white of its belly exposed. The populace was utterly downcast, for this presaged the extinction of the tribe.[20]

20 If Ruiz really had a hand in doing away with the Pecos snake, he of

About the year 1913 Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson published in a New Mexico newspaper certain information she had received from a San Ildefonso man regarding Tewa snake worship, especially mentioning the subject of human sacrifice. Her informant was promptly executed by a Keres delegation from Santo Domingo, and such a stringent ban was placed on further revelations of ceremonies that it is now more than ever difficult to induce natives to discuss such subjects, especially the snake cult. Mrs. Stevenson's data have not been published, but the following generalizations appeared: [21]

The most shocking ceremony associated with the zooic worship of the Tewa is the propitiation of the rattlesnake with human sacrifice to prevent further destruction from the venomous bites of the reptile. The greatest secrecy is observed and the ceremonies are performed without the knowledge of the people except those directly associated with the rite which is performed quadrennially. Although many legends of the various Pueblos have pointed indirectly to human sacrifice in the past, it was a relevation to Mrs. Stevenson when she was informed that this rite was observed by the Tewa at the present time; and, while it is said to exist only in two of the villages, she has reason to believe that they are not exceptions. In one village the subject is said to be the youngest female infant; in the other village an adult woman is reported to be sacrificed, a woman without husband or children being selected whenever possible. The sacrificial ceremonies occur in the kiva. The subjects are drugged with *Datura meteloides* until life is supposed to be extinct. At the proper time the body is placed upon a sand painting on the floor before the table altar and the ceremony proceeds amid incantations and strange performances. The infant is nude, and the woman is but scantily clad. After the flesh has decomposed and nothing but the bones remain the skeleton is deposited, with offerings, beneath the floor of an adjoining room of the kiva. The entire

course would not have revealed the fact to Bandelier, for publication of such a confession would very likely have been his death warrant, even though Pecos itself had been abandoned for forty years. The tradition is here recorded for what it may be worth. The most the writer can say for it is that there seems to be nothing inherently impossible in it.

21 *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections,* Vol. 63, No. 8, 1914, pages 79-80.

ceremony is performed with the greatest solemnity.

The details of the alleged sacrifice, as given in the preceding quotation, are unconfirmed.

A San Juan man, whose name must of course remain secret, says:

When I was a youth of about fourteen I herded my father's cattle. It was in the month of August, and just after midday. Going down an arroyo I saw a track as if someone had been dragging a heavy log. Some small bushes were broken. I followed it to see who was dragging this log. It was strange that the track was not in a straight line. I went up on a small hillock to see where the cattle were, and I was just about to jump down the slope on the other side, when I saw in front of me under an overhanging rock a very large snake. I could not run. It was coiled. It had an arrowhead mark on the back of its head and smaller ones on its body. Its head was raised. It did not rattle. It seemed a long time before I could jump back and run home to tell my father and uncle. They did not believe me, and would not go back with me to see. A short time after this a Frenchman was quarrying rock for Samuel Eldodt, and while he was cooking he heard a sound like a man snoring. He investigated, and in a cave saw a big snake. He killed it. He told my society brother about it, and that is how I know. He brought the snake to Eldodt, and only one Indian was allowed to see it. This was Luis Kata, who is now dead. There was no excitement among the Indians, only surprise that there could be such a large snake.

The last sentence of the statement was in reply to a direct question.

The San Juan snake was killed in 1884 by a Frenchman quarrying rock. He was cooking his supper, and the snake came to the door of his cabin. Almost paralyzed with fright, he seized a sharp pinch-bar and struck. The bar passed through its neck, but the snake was so large that the implement simply punctured instead of severing it. To make sure that it was dead he cut the body in three pieces with a shovel, and then came to San Juan and informed Samuel Eldodt, who went to the quarry and brought it home in a large packing-case. They found the place from which the snake had come, a small cave in the rocks walled in with stones and pots. The village that night was in an uproar, and Eldodt, though thoroughly familiar with the Indians and not given to false alarms, was uncertain that he and his household would live through the night. The snake was seven feet six inches long and "as

thick as a stovepipe."[22]

The positive denial of the native informant quoted above that there was any excitement in the village after this occurrence is good proof that in denying the existence of snake worship at San Juan he is equally disingenuous. Both Eldodt and Bandelier, who saw the snake after it was killed, testify to the intense excitement of the Indians. The discovery of the man-made den of the serpent sheds light on the refusal of the old men of the pueblo to accompany the boy back to the place where he saw the reptile: realizing that it had escaped from its den, and unwilling that a child should know this secret, they doubtless went out secretly and drove it back.

Another San Juan man says:

Snakes were formerly kept in the hills and fed by the people of the village. There were two snakes, but one went away and was lost, the other was killed by a man who was quarrying rock in the hills east of San Juan. It was so large that he became afraid to stay there afterward. The Indians were much incensed that the snake had been killed. It was fed tortillas and meat by Juan Pedro twice daily, early in the morning. and late in the afternoon. There used to be a man here who, on seeing a snake, would wave his hat over the reptile until it became passive and could be handled.

An old Mexican who as a boy spent so much of his time among the San Juan Indians that he still, in 1909, spoke the language like a native, said that he once accompanied two playmates on burros to a wild nook in the hills, where his companions threw meal and small tortillas bearing the snake symbol into a small cave filled with a writhing mass of rattlesnakes.

Some years ago freshet water rushing down the acequia flooded the village of Santa Clara. Early in the morning a white neighbor, entering the village to secure help in repairing her roof, found the men crowded about a kiva at the edge of the elevation on which the pueblo stands. Some were bailing water from the subterranean room. They motioned her away, and appeared greatly concerned lest she approach closer. The man she sought said that he could by no means leave at the moment. Some time after this she was told that the Santa Clara

22 Information from Samuel Eldodt, 1924.

snakes had been drowned; and though her informant did not say that the event had taken place at the time of the flood, the supposition is that such was the fact.[23]

In 1924 the same observer saw in the road a mile or two from Santa Clara a rattlesnake gaily decorated with stripes of red paint. This recalls the Zuñi custom of adorning a rattlesnake caught in a cultivated field and releasing it outside with supplications for its good-will.

The Santa Clara Indians say that by inserting into a snake's mouth the tip of a twig moistened with saliva they can render the reptile unconscious. In order to convince a skeptical American neighbor a young man caught a non-venomous snake, secured a toothpick, placed the tip in his mouth and then in the snake's mouth, which he distended by pressing a forked stick on its neck. The reptile almost at once became lethargic, and soon was as motionless and limp as a piece of rope. It lay in the patio some hours before disappearing unnoticed.[24]

Public Dances

Numerous dances, or portions of ceremonies, are performed publicly, not because they are mere entertainments (for the religious element is always present), but because neither esoteric rites of a secret society nor vulgarities objectionable to American spectators are involved. In some of these dances game animals are personated, and on such occasions, which fall only in winter, Pí^{n}ká^{n}, the head of the hunters' society, is the master of ceremonies. The underlying thought of the animal dances is to increase the supply of game. Other dances occurring in spring and summer have for their purpose propitiation of the rain-gods and influencing the growth of crops. Besides these there are numerous dances, mainly for enjoyment, in imitation of the tribal celebrations of Comanche, Ute, Apache, Navaho, Kiowa, and Mexican Indians.

One of the most prominent of these public ceremonies is Okúhyáre ("turtle dance"), which takes place annually on Christmas day. In the month of October, in preparation for the Turtle dance, the village

23 Terrestrial snakes of course are not helpless in water; but the captives may have been too closely confined to keep their heads above water, or they may have been so recently fed as to be too torpid to swim.

24 Information from Miss Clara D. True, 1924.

women congregate in groups in various houses and grind corn while several men sing for them. This meal they will give to the dancers in reward for their service to the community. On Christmas day the dancers file out of the kiva and dance in a row, first on the east, then on the south, last on the north side of the plaza. They are painted black from neck to ankles, and wear white and black loin-cloths terminating in a tail, moccasins with skunk-skin anklets, and turtle-shell rattles on the right ankle. Below the left knee is a yarn band with bells or rattles depending from it, around each biceps is a green band with spruce sprigs thrust fanwise under it, and on the head are upright eagle-feathers and transverse parrot-feathers. In the right hand is a gourd rattle, in the left a bunch of Douglas spruce. The Kósa clowns dance grotesquely behind the line, and between dances circulate about the village collecting bread in the blankets wrapped about their loins. With them are two men called Savi-yó ("Apache big"), wearing respectively a white and a black mask. Appearing only on this occasion, they represent cannibal giants from the mountains, and are supposed to catch young men not participating in the dance and to frighten children into good behavior.

Kóo-hyáꞃe ("buffalo dance") is celebrated early in January. The performers are two men, a girl, and the head of the hunters' society. The men are painted black above the waist, white from waist to knees, yellow below the knees. Small bells and eagle-feathers dangle from yarn leg-bands. On the head, but not concealing the face, is a striking mask of buffalo-hair and horns. The girl is fully clothed in native costume, including white leggings and moccasins with skunk-fur anklets, and a black manta. On her head is a pair of small horns, and down the back hangs a band of turkey-feathers terminating with an eagle-tail. This is a very strenuous dance, and the performers, of whom there are two sets which appear alternately, are under training with the singers and the war-chiefs for five nights in the kiva. The dance is a striking one. Scarcely moving from their places, the performers portray the actions of the buffalo, hunted, stampeding, charging, drooping with exhaustion, reviving for another effort to escape, all this in faultless accord with the sudden changes of tempo in the songs. Before they finish they are dripping perspiration, and the seasoned observer of native dancing, astonished that an Indian girl, usually the personification of deliberation in movement, can use her feet with such incredible rapidity and vigor, wonders even more at the source of her stamina in

keeping the rhythm during the four repetitions of a rather extended song. Watchfully guarding the Buffalo is Pi^{n}ka^{n}, with his deerskin suit, his cougar-skin quiver and cougar-claw necklace, and his baldric of deerskin.

In the Deer dance, Pá^{n}hyáʌe, the performers wear horned headdresses of deerskin and the usual accoutrement of dancers, and have the face blackened. They first appear in the hills and come warily into the village and disappear in the kiva. Soon they emerge and perform in imitation of deer, leaning forward and partially supporting their weight on short canes, one in each hand.

The Eagle dance, Tsé-hyáʌe, usually occurs in January or March, but is not given annually. Two men have their arms completely covered with broad bands of cloth on which eagle-feathers are sewed, with which they give a convincing imitation of an eagle using its wings. Tail-feathers are worn behind in a fan-like band, and the hair is arranged in a ridge with an overhanging point, suggesting a beak. Stepping slowly, raising the feet high, peering here and there, flapping their wings, they portray the actions of the great bird which all Indians revere.

In the Basket dance, Tú^{n}-hyáʌe, which occurs in February or March, the principal feature is presented by the women, who, in a row opposite the male dancers, kneel on blankets, place the ends of short sticks on inverted baskets, and rub notched sticks across them, thus simulating the sound produced in grinding the corn for which they are praying. The blankets are spread by Qírano-séndo, and watchfully guarding the performers is Tséoke, the scalp custodian, holding under his robe his heart-shape obsidian charm to ward off the evil spells of enemies. The juniper sticks used by the women are the property of the scalp-keeper.

In February, at the time when the Summer cacique resumes his ceremonial control of the village and just before the opening of the acequia, the Corn dance, Kú^{n}-hyáʌe, takes place. Slightly in advance of the row of dancing and singing men are two women, separated by a space equal to about half the length of the row. At a certain point in the song they dance forward, holding aloft in each hand an ear of blue corn. Soon they turn and dance toward each other, pass, turn again and dance back toward the men, having thus exchanged places. Coming the second time from the kiva, the men are accompanied by a new pair of women, who dance with yellow corn-ears, and on the third occa-

sion another pair dance with white ears. These women are appointed by Sá^{n}shu^{n}-qíyo. They paint the face red, have an upright fan of eagle-feathers on the head, and wear a broad, white baldric.

What is popularly called the Corn dance, or the Tablita dance, is known to the Tewa as Kohéye-hyáre. *Kohéye* is the head-piece worn by the female dancers, a broad, thin piece of wood curved at the lower edge to fit across the crown of the head, terraced at the upper edge, and painted with symbols of clouds, lightning, rain, and flowers. The dramatic and colorful spectacle occurs on the thirteenth of June. The men have moccasins, skunk-fur anklets, a tortoiseshell rattle behind the right knee, bells at the left knee, Douglas spruce twigs in the arm-bands, the skin of a fox or coyote swinging from the belt in the rear, a ceremonial sash, an eagle-feather upright in the hair, forearms and lower legs white but the rest of the body black, the face streaked with red from the corner of the eyes. The performers are equally divided, male and female, and dance in various formations to inspiriting songs suggesting the approach of clouds, lightning, thunder, and rain. The singers, uncostumed, stand in a separate group about the drummer, and with impassioned gestures interpret the significant phrases that intersperse the vocables, while the Kósa clowns here and there dance with exaggerated care and from time to time make gestures appropriate to the song.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

Belief in the existence of sorcerers is a part of the very fabric of Pueblo Indian life. These malevolent creatures are human beings, usually resident in the village which they afflict with their magic, who are able to assume the form of an animal or a swift-flying ball of fire. When a witch-animal is shot, the human individual is found to be wounded and thus the identity of the evildoer is fixed. In 1909 no fewer than five members of the shaman society at San Juan were suspected of using their occult power for evil.

In the course of several seasons among the Pueblo Indians the writer has listened to some scores of "witch stories" told with bated breath and apprehensive glances into the outer darkness. Very many of these tales were palpably *ex post facto* attempts of credulous minds to account for two entirely unrelated occurrences: I shot an owl one

night, the next day a man in the pueblo had a severe pain in the side and died suddenly, therefore he was a wizard who went to his nefarious business disguised as an owl. But when the narrator embroiders his tale with thoroughly sincere statements of conversation held with the owl, who answered to the name of the man that subsequently died, how shall we account for it? First, there is the tendency of man to exaggerate his unusual experiences and eventually to believe his own fabrications; second, there is the phenomenon of dreams remembered as actual events.

There is a smaller class of witch tales that suggest the possibility of hypnotism.

My uncle professed that he did not believe in the Pufónu and witches. In the course of a healing ceremony he was sent as one of two guards with two of the Pufónu on their search for witches. At the edge of the bluff on the upper side of the pueblo one of the shamans moistened his fingertip with saliva, rubbed-it across my uncle's eyes, and commanded him to look down the slope. At the bottom he saw a number of people in the pool of water dancing about the two shamans, who were fighting against them. At last the shamans caught one of the sorcerers and dragged him up the slope. He rubbed his fingers across my uncle's eyes, and the scene disappeared.

The writer has heard but one witch story that can stand on its own feet: A Santa Clara young man some years ago saw a strange light outside the window of his isolated ranch house. By all the rules of the game this should have been a wizard. But the young man happened to have the courage of his conviction that the native religion was largely nonsense. At the same time he exercised commendable caution. He fired first and investigated afterward. He found an old man lying in the field with a bullet-hole in his chest. "Well," his victim gasped, "you got me!" After a time he staggered home, and a day or two later he died, but not before he had admitted to the young man that he had produced the ghostly light by rubbing a bunch of phosphorus matches on the palm of his hand, his purpose being to frighten the apostate into belief in sorcerers and the native gods.

When the evidence against him, or her, is sufficiently convincing, a sorcerer is flogged or hung up by the arms. Formerly such a malefactor might be confined in the stocks, a Mexican inheritance, until death

ensued.[25]

Outside the pueblo of San Juan, facing the cardinal points, are four stones about thirty inches high. The one on the north is painted blue, the one on the south white, and around the base of each are small white stones and offerings of turkey- and eagle-feathers. The other two are not painted, but the one on the east side is pitted with numerous small holes. At the winter solstice the war-chief early in the morning visits first the northern then the southern shrine and sprinkles sacred meal. At the summer solstice he reverses the order. On the preceding and again on the following night all the people assemble while a guard is posted on the housetop. What occurs on this occasion is not known, but it may be assumed that the war-chief addresses them, urging good conduct and attention to religious duties. It is said that in former times every individual made meal offerings each morning at the four shrines, and many still do so.

White wood-borers from mountain trees are eaten in order to keep the teeth white and firm. Borers from soft, lowland trees would not have this effect. Some observe a custom said to have been borrowed from the Apache and Navaho, never turning cooking meat with a knife lest it injure the teeth.

When a hunter brings home a deer he invites the two caciques, Pí^{n}ká^{n} and Sá^{n}shu^{n}-qíyo, head of the non-society women. After the meal the three men advise the hunter regarding his future conduct and foresightedly encourage him to kill more deer. Three days later the woman sends him a basket of meal with a twig of Douglas spruce thrust into the mass. The significance of the spruce is not known. Douglas spruce of course is used in nearly all ceremonies and is held in high regard as the chief of trees, and in this case it probably is a good-luck token. In former times when a successful buffalo-hunter returned, a bag filled with the dried meat was laid on the floor and the principal men were invited. They stroked the bag reverently and sang two songs of the Buffalo dance, and the hunter opened the bag and distributed the meat.

25 For witchcraft trials by the local Spanish authorities see Twitchell, Spanish Archives, II, index, s.v. Sorcery, Witchcraft. Bandelier *(Papers Archaeological Institute of America, III,* 1890, page 35) mentions witchcraft as a cause of the reduction in the population of some of the pueblos, including Nambé and Santa Clara.

After the feast, the guests thanked him and gave him good advice and encouragement.

Hunters returning from a communal rabbit-hunt are met outside the village by the women, who snatch the rabbits from their hands. Later they reward the involuntary donors with baskets of bread.

Facial and pubic hair is removed; and in order to keep it out of the hands of evil shamans who might use it for sorcery against one, it, like parings of the nails, is thrown away secretly or burned. Removal of the eye-brows is thought to improve vision, and of the axillary hair to prevent local perspiration. The presence of pubic hair is believed to be injurious, and some women apply the blood of a bat as a preventive of growth.

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