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NAMBÉ

GENERAL CUSTOMS

Nambé[1] is situated in the lower foothills of Truchas peaks, a spur of the rugged Sangre de Cristo range, sixteen miles north of Santa Fe and on Nambé creek, an easterly tributary of the Rio Grande. Like San Ildefonso it is painfully decadent. The population in 1924 was one hundred and nineteen, and of course the native religious rites were largely obsolete or seriously impaired by the paucity of priests and dancers.

Nambé culture differs little from that of other Tewa pueblos; but the following data are recorded because they either corroborate statements heretofore made, or present new details, or refer to subjects avoided by individuals of other localities. Of the last class is the interesting propagation ceremony, which undoubtedly exists at all the Tewa villages but was repudiated by all informants except those at Nambé and Tesuque. Incidentally, a San Ildefonso man, under some pressure it is true, showed such familiarity with the Tesuque rites that he reluctantly repeated the songs; and his version tallied exactly with records made fifteen years before by a Tesuque informant. But he would not admit that the custom ever obtained at his own pueblo.

Marriages at Nambé are still arranged by the family council. Having decided to marry, a man approaches the war-chief, who calls on the girl's parents to acquaint them with the proposal. A few days later the family solemnly assembles, and each one, beginning with the father and the mother, asks the girl if she is willing to marry her suitor. If she consistently refuses, and the consensus is that the match is advantageous, gentle pressure is brought to bear and generally her consent follows sooner or later. Actual compulsion of a girl sufficiently inflexible to withstand continuous argument and persuasion, a rare thing in an Indian maid, would hardly be attempted. Having secured her assent, they fix a not distant day, on which the bridegroom's parents bring to

1 Nam-bée signifies "earth round," referring to the numerous sandstone and clay turrets and cones that are a conspicuous feature of the surrounding scenery. A round object is called be, and the added syllable e is perhaps an elision for ge, the locative affix. Harrington gives be'e, equivalent to begi, "smallness and roundishness."

the prospective daughter presents of trifling value. In aboriginal practice the actual wedding was probably unceremonious mating. It has long been a function of the church. The bride is at once taken into her husband's family.

Adultery is said to have involved a unique punishment. The guilty man was made to stand all day on the roof of a kiva with a heavy gun at his shoulder as if about to shoot, while the woman swept the plaza with a short besom and without a moment's respite in which to rise from her strained, stooping posture. When, thoroughly exhausted, they begged forgiveness, they were severely reprimanded and released.

Before her child is born a mother selects another woman to sponsor and name it. This godmother attends when the infant is delivered, and she cuts the umbilical cord by pressing a knife against a bit of wood. She then bathes the child, and repeats the act daily until the fourth day, when she comes before dawn to give it a name. Carrying the infant and leading the mother, she passes outside and tosses meal in the six directions, asking Poseyémo to grant health and long life to the child that is about to be named. But she does not then utter the name. If the infant is a female she takes it to a certain shrine and prays to Sayá ("grandmother"').[2] Sometimes there are several godmothers, each of whom gives a name; but god-fathers rarely act in this capacity.

Returning into the house, the godmother places the infant in its swing-cradle and deposits beside or beneath it two ears of blue corn, saying, "These Corn Mothers will care for you." These remain beside the child until the next planting season, when they are used for seed. In a new bowl especially made for this occasion the godmother now mixes water, meal, desiccated blue flowers of a species native to high mountains, and scrapings of what appear to be a white shell and a bone. These last are really carved out of a soft white mineral, which is not the gypsum used in making whitewash. The meal is to give sustenance to the infant, the scrapings of the "shell" hardness, the "bone" a sturdy, symmetrical body. The purpose of the blue flowers is obscure. Having prepared the "medicine," the godmother takes a sip from the "shell," injects a small quantity from her own mouth into that of the

2 Nothing has been learned as to the identity and character of this personage.

child, and at the same instant utters for the first time the name she has chosen. The bowl is carefully preserved by the mother as an article indispensable to the wellbeing of her offspring.

The child belongs automatically to the ceremonial moiety of the father; and not many days after the bestowal of the name many of the principal persons of that division come to make medicine in the manner described and inject a few drops into the unoffending infant's mouth.

Several times annually the governor reports to each cacique the number of children added to his moiety.

Personal names frequently refer to prevailing conditions of weather or season. Thus, a certain woman born in November has two names: Oyíhe-tsá-wa^{n} ("ice thick blue") and Támu^{n}-yégi ("morning hoarfrost"); and her husband, also born in the autumn, is Póyo-taa ("pumpkin ripe-color").

Every seventh year in the spring the Summer society meets in its kiva for twelve days, during which time all girls who have not previously been initiated into the Ohúwa ("cloud") order are taken in charge by an old woman of the Summer party. She keeps them for portions of each day in a darkened room, where they receive daily a small quantity of unsalted mush. They use wooden scrapers, never the nails, in scratching body and scalp and spend a large part of the time grinding corn. They do not remain constantly in the room, but are frequently dismissed with orders to return at a certain time.

Uninitiated boys are kept in another house by one of the Summer men. They also are limited to a small quantity of mush and are frequently sent out to bring wood for the cacique, or to hunt rabbits and birds under the charge of their custodian. They must not touch a female.

On the twelfth day the children are brought to the Summer kiva, where they receive medicine-water and are whipped by the masked Ohúwa. They are now regarded as members of the ceremonial organization of the tribe, and the boys are fitted to participate in the masked dances. During the initiation the members of the Summer society perform magic feats of planting seeds of melons, piñons, and corn, and causing it to appear that they sprout, grow to plants, and produce ripe fruit, which they distribute among the spectators.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

No fewer than sixty-eight so-called clans are named at Nambé, and of these exactly half were said to be represented in 1924, when the population was smaller than four times the number of existing clans.

The clans nominally belonging to the Summer moiety are:[3]

1.Tan, Sun
2.Orúwa, Cloud*
3 Ágoyo, Star
4. Ágoyo-sóyo, Star Big*[4]
5. Tsé-ka^{n}-qíyo, Yellow Dim Old-woman*[5]
6. T!ighíni, Pleiades*
7. Hwiŕíini, Orion's Belt
8. Po, Moon*
9. Tsigowéno, Lightning
10. Qa^{n}tá^{n}, Thunder
11. Qa^{n}tembé, Rainbow
12. Po, Water*
13. Po-chunó, Waterfall
14. Qa^{n}, Rain
15. Poqí^{n}, Lake
16. Pá^{n}yo, Summer
17. Ta, Grass
18. Ye, Poplar
19. Tényo, White Fir
20. Nána, Aspen
21. Te, Cottonwood
22. Káwo, Pine*[6]

3 To the clan name add *tówa*, people. A star indicates a clan extinct in 1924. In explanation of discrepancies in assigning clans to the ceremonial parties, as exhibited in comparison of various Tewa lists, it should be said that every informant is uncertain in some few instances with which moiety a name should be associated.

4 That is, morning star.

5 That is, evening star.

6 Species?

23. Po, Squash
24. Hu^{n}, Corn*
25. Hu^{n}fé^{n}di, Corn Black*
26. Hu^{n}-tsá^{n}wa^{n}, Corn Blue*
27. Hu^{n}-pi, Corn Red*
28. Hu^{n}-tsá^{n}, Corn White*
29. Hu^{n}-tséyi, Corn Yellow
30. Na^{n}, Earth
31. Ku, Rock
32. Tsi, Obsidian*
33. Kwáa-tsa^{n}yi, Bead White*
34. Ká-tsí*r*e, Leaf Small-bird[7]
35. Tétse, Oriole
36. Se, Jay*
37. Okú, Turtle
38. Pá^{n}ñu^{n}, Snake*
39. Keá, Badger*
40. A, Bow*
41. Su, Arrow*

The clans nominally belonging to the Winter moiety follow:
1. Oyí, Ice
2. Fo^{n},Snow*
3. Oyí-su^{n}yon, Ice Slippery*[8]
4. Oyégi, Hoarfrost*
5. Pi^{n}, Mountain*
6. Fa, Fire*
7. Fe, Wood*
8. Kuyá^{n}, Turquoise
9. Ku-pí, Stone Red [9]
10. Qa^{n}, Oak
11. Ts!e, Douglas Spruce

7 That is, yellow summer warbler.

8 Oyí-sunyon, Ice Slippery, is apparently the same as San Ildefonso Oyí-sañ̃án, Ice Crystal, though the informant thought not.

9 Red Stone is commonly supposed to be for "coral."

12. Qá^{n}-*ri*, Gum Sticky*[10]
13. De, Coyote
14. Ke, Bear
15. Tsí-ke, Obsidian Bear*
16. Hu^{n}yó, Wolf*
17. Ka^{n}, Cougar*
18. Tse, Eagle[8]
19. Kawó, Eagle* [11]
20. Tse-pí^{n}, Eagle Mountain*[12]
21. Tyughá, Chicken-hawk
22. Hwa^{n}-pí, Tail Red*[13]
23. T!óun, Antelope*
24. Pa^{n}, Mule Deer
25. Óhu^{n}, Whitetail Deer*
26. Ta, Elk
27. Ko^{n}, Buffalo

The clans are patrilineal and not exogamous, and are divided between two ceremonial moieties called Turquoise people and Squash people, which are identified respectively with winter and summer.

The clan apparently has no function whatever at present, and no informant has heard of a time when conditions were different. The clan names are said to be "just like your family names," and in fact such they appear to be, though of course they are not actually used as surnames of individuals But "when they send for a shaman, they mention the clan name of the sick person." And when a new official or a performer in a dance is selected, his name is announced and also his clan; as, "Morning Flower of the Water People."

Normally a child belongs to its father's moiety, but an adult person may join the opposite party. This sometimes, but not often, occurs, the usual cause being the presence of close friends in the other moiety, or a quarrel of the individual concerned with some member of his own

10 That is, pitch.

11 Species?

12 That is, eagle of the mountain.

13 That is, redtail hawk.

party.

The Summer cacique and the members of his priesthood are chosen from any of the Summer clans, and the Winter cacique and his fellows from any of the Winter clans. In no other society does membership depend on moiety or clan affiliations. Participants in dances, whether secret, masked ceremonies or public celebrations such as the Turtle or the Buffalo dance, are not chosen exclusively from the ranks of the moiety associated with the prevailing season; Summer men, for example, may be appointed to perform in the winter Ohúwa dance.

There are only two kivas: Pá^{n}yo-tee ("summer kiva") and Oyí-tee ("ice kiva"). The former is a circular and partially subterranean structure at the west side of the plaza; the latter is simply a room in a dwelling on the east side, but it is devoted exclusively to ceremonial use, having a door on the street level for arriving and departing spectators and an entrance through the roof for participants in the rites.

In the order of their relative importance the officers are the Summer cacique, the Winter cacique, the governor and two lieutenants, the two war-chiefs and three subordinates, and two fiscales to manage the practical affairs of the church and to bury the dead. At Nambé the Summer cacique, Pá^{n}yoo-ke ("summer strong [one]"), or Poá^{n}-tu^{n}yo ("water-running leader"), is more important than his colleague, Oyí-ke ("ice strong [one]"). He controls the ceremonial cycle from the end of February to the middle of October, and at the former date he and his fellows, the Summer society, remain in their kiva twelve days praying for the people and eating, each one, a single piece of thin bread daily. The penitents are said to be very weak at the conclusion of their fast. The Winter cacique performs a similar service in November, but his daily ration is an ear of corn.

The governor and the two war-chiefs are appointed annually by the caciques. The governor is the civil head of the village, but he follows the instructions of the caciques in matters of any importance, using his own unsupported judgment only in circumstances that we would consider of small concern. Nevertheless the position is one of great honor, besides conferring the coveted lifelong exemption from manual labor for the community. The war-chiefs are the secular managers of native ceremonies, naming the participants in dances, seeing that the people assemble-whenever there is occasion to do so, guarding the kivas or houses in which secret rites are in progress.

About the year 1914 the Summer cacique died, having failed, like his colleague, already deceased, to train a successor. The officers in power perforce continued in office, since there was none to appoint new ones. After some years an appeal was made to the caciques of Tesuque, who proceeded to instruct two men in the lore of the highpriesthood. In 1924 it was expected that the period of instruction would terminate in that year, and the new caciques would appoint successors to the officers so long in power.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

The ceremonial organization as it formerly existed included nine secret societies.

1. Pá^{n}yoo-ke ("summer strong [one]") were a priesthood centering in the Summer cacique, whose title, as its head, was the same as the name of the society, or more definitely Pá^{n}yooke-séndo ("summer-strong old-man"), while as the village highpriest he was Poá ^{n}tu^{n}yo.

2. Oyí-ke ("ice strong [one]") were a similar group headed by the Winter cacique, Oyíke.

3. Ke ("bear"), or Pufónu ("shaman"), the society of shamans, still rid individuals and the community of occult disease and sorcerers. Formerly they were specifically called Téwa-ké in distinction to the following.

4. Téma-ké ("Keres bear") were a society, now extinct, of shamans initiated by the Keres.[14]

5. Kósa, the society of fun-makers, sometimes called Téwa-kósa in allusion to their supposed origin among the Tewa, are still active.

6. Qá^{n}-*ri* ("gum sticky," that is, pitch), recognized as equivalent to the Keres Kwí'ranna and therefore sometimes differentiated as Téma-kósa, are another society of clowns.

7. Samá^{n}yu were the priesthood charged with the duty of insuring abundance of game animals. At other Tewa pueblos, and probably here, they were also called Pí ^{n}-ká^{n} ("mountain cougar"), which also was the title of their head-man.

14 The shamans of Santa Clara are Wá n-ké ("Jemez bear"). Their initiation is begun at Jemez and finished at Agáchani lake on Lake peak east of Nambé.

8. Hu^{n}-tsá^{n}yu^{n}-qíyo ("corn blue [plural] old-woman") were a society of women whose function probably was the ceremonial care of growing crops and the grinding of sacred meal for the caciques.

9. Tséoke were the society of scalpers. Their leader, having the same title, played the part of guardian of the performers in public dances.

Excepting Tséoke, the societies fall naturally into four pairs: two cacique priesthoods that pray for the return of the sun; two groups of shamans; two societies of clowns; and two priesthoods concerned with food supply. And if Nambé like other Tewa pueblos, had Powi ^{n}ká, the female scalp-dancers, there were two societies concerned with war.

Cacique Societies

It has already been observed that the Summer society about the end of February, and the Winter society about the middle of October, spent twelve days in their respective kivas doing penance by fasting, praying, singing, making offerings to the fetishes disposed about their altars, and depositing prayer-plumes about the pueblo, all for the purpose of compromising the religious derelictions of the people.

At the June solstice the Summer priesthood performed certain secret rites, at which time the first fruits of the fields were brought to the cacique, and only thereafter was it permissible to garner such products. Prayer-plumes made on these occasions were thrown with meal on the surface of Nambé creek and then deposited at shrines. At the December solstice the Winter society retired, and during four days it was prohibited to cast refuse out of doors.

Shaman Societies

In 1909 there were seven Pufónu, or members of the society of shamans. The group known as Téma-ké ("Keres bear") was then defunct. In their capacity of healer by herb remedies, which they employ for sickness diagnosed as due to natural causes, in contra-distinction to those maladies supposed to be visitations of witchcraft, the Pufónu are called *wokándi*.

Requiring the services of a shaman for a sick relative, a man calls upon any one of the society and addresses him somewhat as follows: "I

am bringing meal in behalf of one of my family. Will you receive it and cure him? He has aching bones, he falls down aching. Go, with mouth and feathers, and remove sickness."

The shaman answers: "Yes, my son, with our mouth and our feathers we will go. We are willing to help you."

The shamans may treat an individual patient in his own home or as a part of a general public ceremony in the house of their leader. In the former case the only spectators are the immediate relatives of the patient. The war-chiefs stand guard.[15]

On the night of a public healing ceremony the people assemble

at the house of the chief Pufónu, and the patients (there are usually more than one) are placed in the middle of the room. Male patients wear only a loin-cloth, and women are naked above the waist. The side opposite the door is reserved for the shamans, who when they enter are entirely nude, except that they wear loin-cloths and moccasins. A small deerskin bag containing medicine and a stone bear hangs from the belt. They have already placed on the floor numerous stone figurines of the bear, and a medicine-bowl. The figurines are called*kuhaíye* (Keres, "bear"). The only light is furnished by a small fire. Two of the men offer meal to the images with a prayer:

15 Some years ago, when Joaquin Tafoya, now dead, was chief of the Pufónu, the shamans were in their house preparing for the public healing ceremony. The guards were posted as usual, but a Mexican from a neighboring hamlet, unaware that secret work was in progress, happened to pass them unseen and entered the house in which the shamans were engaged with their *kuhaíye*. When he saw what was going on, he stood transfixed with astonishment. The head-man ordered him to stand still, and issued some instructions to his men. They seated the intruder and gave him a handful of parched meal. Just as he placed a quantity in his mouth the medicine-men rushed upon him, simulating bears. In his fright the Mexican choked on the pinole and died, doubtless with such assistance as was required. They wrapped the body, and at night carried it into the hills and set it upright under a tree, placing in the hands a quantity of juniper-bark, so that it would appear that the Mexican had frozen to death while trying to start a fire. Luckily there was that night a fresh fall of snow, for which the medicine-men gave themselves full credit. To this day Mexicans and Indians generally believe that the man met his death by freezing, but the informant thinks the medicine-men choked him to death.

Hôma![16] *Bi*^{n}*ko, navi -séndo! Sighia -ké -nami.*
eat my old man make bear me

Ivi -pi^{n} *-napahéma, navi-séndo, wiripénipi.*
your heart take-to my old man cast not away

"Eat, my venerable one! Make a bear of me. Take to your heart my prayers, my venerable one, cast them not away."

The shamans sit in a row along the wall, and smoke long pipes when not praying. The "bears," as the shamans are sometimes called, begin to sing in a low voice, holding a gourd in the right hand and eagle-feathers in the left. After the song two of them step forward to the fireplace, from which each takes a handful of ashes and places it in a separate heap on the floor. They stand then in front of the sick people and dance, while the others sing. The two scatter the ashes over the heads of the people in all directions, dance facing the medicine-men, and return to their places in the row along the wall. On the floor are numerous baskets of meal brought by the women of the audience, and at some time during the ceremony two of the men fill their hands with meal, which they hold before the mouths of the patients, who one by one breathe on it. The meal, thus filled with impurities and evil influence, is then thrown into the fire.

The chief Pufónu never leaves his place behind the altar, but sits with lowered head, chanting and praying; but his companions now circulate among the patients and with a long eagle-feather in each hand stroke their bodies with a deliberate, downward gesture and then sweep the feathers upward and outward. Returning to their places, they draw them between their fingers as if to clean them and expel breath in order to blow away the sickness.

Each shaman except the chief now inserts a hand and forearm into the skin of a bear's forepaw, and they rise and sing after depositing inside the lower lip a bit of medicine taken from the small individual

16 In addressing any spirit or fetish one draws the hand from it to the mouth, inhaling through that organ, and exclaiming, "Hôma!" Thus one takes into the heart the power and "long life" of the personage so supplicated.

bags. This medicine, *sá*^{n}*wo*, transforms them into real bears, and only thus can they exorcise sickness. Following is the song used at this time:

"To Káti[17] in the midst of fog we go down, in the midst of thunder-flash, rain, and dew we go."

The shamans begin to growl and otherwise imitate their tutelar, and approach the patients, slapping them with the bear-paws and sucking their bodies, pretending to extract thorns, sticks, bones,[18] frogs, rags, which they expel within a circle of ashes. They return then to their places, and another song is chanted.

Now the chief shaman announces that a sorcerer, *tyugé,* is hindering their work, and he commands that it be caught. Sometimes this is done by cornering it in the room, but usually the shamans troop out of doors in pairs and rush about the streets with loud cries as if engaged in a fierce struggle. Each pair is followed by a war-chief or one of his deputies. At last the witch is brought into the room, a doll of rags, and the shamans tear it to pieces and burn it. In its efforts to escape the shamans the witch flees to the church, to the underworld, to the sky, but they project their spirits even to these remote regions.

The singing is resumed, and simulated lightning is struck from flint and pyrites. Then two gather up the objects extracted from the sick persons and throw them into the river. After another song and a prayer the shamans take up their images and other sacred objects and depart, and the spectators crowd forward to rub over their bodies the meal with which the images had been fed. The baskets of meal are taken in charge by the war-chiefs, one for each ordinary shaman and the remainder for their leader.

Clown Societies

17 Káti, a lake on Baldy peak, ten miles east of Nambé.

18 A person from whom a bone is thus removed cannot live. In general it is not until after death takes place that the occurrence of this fatal omen becomes known, the Pufónu then announcing that they had been aware of the impending misfortune. But Miguel Padilla is said to have died three days after a shaman, to his knowledge, removed a bone from his body. This is easily credited, for death resulting from suggestion, or at least hastened by it, is certainly not unknown among Indians.

The two societies of fun-makers are Kósa and Qá^{n}*ri*.

The Kósa wear deerskin caps having two upright conical horns, to which corn-husks are attached. The naked body is white with horizontal black bands, and the eyes and mouth are encircled with black. The loincloth terminates in a long "tail," and at the right ankle is a turtle-shell rattle. On the chest, strung on a cord passing over the right and under the left shoulder, are numerous rings of flat bread. The female members have the same caps and the same painting, but they wear ragged mantas which leave the arms, one shoulder, and the lower legs exposed.

The Qá^{n}*ri* are recognized as a Keres institution, the Kwi'ranna, and a new member takes the first steps of initiation either at Santo Domingo or at San Felipe, where he receives medicine-water, a short baton, a feathered ear of corn (his "mother"), and a stone bear (*kuhaíye*). With these objects he returns to Nambé, where the initiation is completed. In 1924 there were only three members, two men and a woman. They paint in the manner of the Kósa, wear a cap with a single horn and hawk-feathers (both of which are symbols of the Keres order), and have on the back a small bundle of mature grass stems hung on a cord passing over one shoulder and under the other.

Members of either society participate as clowns in public dances as well as in the secret masked performances, in the latter case functioning also as interpreters for the cloud-gods. As clowns they perpetrate the vulgarities that everywhere characterize the actions of the cult. Each society also presents a public dance of its own on the fourth day of its initiation rites.

Initiation comes as the result of trespass on the members when engaged in their practices or of a vow exacted by the shamans from a patient. Most people are reluctant to join the Kósa because the members are compelled to devour large quantities of food when performing as clowns in conjunction with a public dance, and because of the duty to summon the cloud-gods, many persons fearing too close intimacy with these beneficent but dreaded personages.

A new Kósa is taken by the male members of the society, guarded by two war-chiefs, either to Agáchani, a body of water on Lake peak, which is at the head of Nambé creek, or to Káti, a lake on Baldy peak a few miles north of Lake peak. Agáchani seems to be preferred. They plan to arrive at dawn, so that no Mexican may observe them. just be-

fore reaching the lake they strip, then go on, and each individual casts into the water prayer-plumes, corn-husks, meal, and tobacco. The novice then wades into the lake, having about his waist a belt to which is attached a rope held by some of the initiators. He must completely submerge his body, and on rising he must not blow nor wipe his face. The others bathe, then gather various kinds of medicine, and return by night. One of the "medicines" sought at this time is a red blossom, which they wear next the skin as they come down the mountain. In a short time,, as they say, this causes giddiness, and the flowers are discarded. In such years as no candidates offer themselves the society nevertheless makes the pilgrimage to Agáchani or Káti. The Qá^{n}*ri* have the same custom.

In their kiva the initiators find their chief waiting behind his altar. They feed their *kuhaíye* (bear fetishes), make medicine in a bowl, secrete their sacred objects, and bid the war-chief summon the populace. The people crowd in, and a Kósa carries the bowl among them, holding it up for each to take a sip. Part of it is swallowed, the rest is spewed into the hands and rubbed over the chest and arms. Any young men ambitious to be fearless fighters or tireless hunters ask for a special medicine, which is given them. Others desire instruction in tracking animals, and are told to return on the following night, when they will find the floor covered with sand or ashes on which various kinds of footprints are indicated. (This used to be the duty of the now defunct Samá^{n}yu.) During these activities the novice attentively observes his instructors, but takes little or no part.

Shortly after an initiation the new member is taken by one or two of his fellows to a certain secret place in the mountains, where a soft black mineral is found. Out of this they make for him a small bear, furnishing it with greenish turquoise eyes. This represents the personal tutelar of the new member, and will be kept in his own house, carefully guarded from sight and touch of others. When a Kósa or a Pufónu dies, the head-man of his society comes at once and claims the *kuhaíye*. Whether he buries it in a secret place or adds it to the *kuhaíye* of the society is not known.

A feature of the initiation rites is the calling of the Ohúwa, the cloud-gods. After singing and dancing in the kiva in the presence of the people, the Kósa make clouds of ashes by clapping the hands together and announce that they see people coming. When this has continued

for a time, the masked personators of the gods enter and dance, finally distributing fruits of the fields before departing.

On the fourth day of an initiation the Kósa make their appearance here and there on the housetops about the plaza, sing there for a time, and then come down into the square to dance in two opposing lines between which one of their women dances forward and back. Then they dance in a group, and their female relatives, especially those of the novice, throw bread, corn, and various fruits among the crowd. The Kósa make four appearances, dancing to four different songs.

Ohúwa, Cloud-gods

About the end of February, that is, approximately the spring equinox, the Summer society meets in the cacique's house, and the people, regardless of their moiety affiliation, bring firewood and pile it outside, and also hold a rabbit-hunt for the benefit of the cacique. At midnight the war-chief (or a deputy) goes to the house of each man selected by him to personate a cloud-god, raps on the door, and whispers, "You are wanted at the house of the cacique." This is done very secretly, so that children may not become aware that the masked dancers are only men. Knowing what is meant, the men so summoned gather at the Summer cacique's house. The priest makes cigarettes; the men smoke, and are informed why they have been called. They of course assent, and the war-chief removes their clothing. They go to the river and bathe, and place a small pebble under the tongue, where it is kept during the practice singing and dancing, and during the dance itself. It is supposed to help them to remember the songs. Should a man lose his pebble, he must inform the war-chief, and he is then sent again to bathe and select another pebble.

After the bath the men return to the cacique's house and spend the rest of the night in rehearsing the songs and dances. They remain at this house during the day, and spend the following two nights in rehearsal. The war-chief's deputies stand guard outside, and the dancers are permitted to go out only when the guards have made certain that no one is in sight. The absence of the dancers from their homes is explained to the younger members of their families in various matter-of-fact ways. Each day the men go to their homes and secure food, which they bring back to the house, so timing their calls that nobody

will be at home when they arrive.

On one of these three days the dancers are sent out to hunt. Whatever game they kill is brought secretly at night to the cacique's house, and in the dance one of the maskers will carry it in on his back.

On the three preliminary nights the war-chief summons to his house a number of young men to practise dancing without masks, and on the fourth night, when all the people of both sexes have assembled in the kiva, they entertain the people, coming in four times to dance while waiting for the Ohúwa. As they finish their last dance, two or three Kósa enter the kiva, and the dancers cease.

The Kósa leader touches his palms to the ashes in the fireplace, claps them together, and holds the right hand above his eyes, peering into the distance through the cloud of dust. He is looking toward Agáchani, the sacred lake on Lake peak at the head of Nambé creek, and toward Káti, on Baldy peak, or toward other lakes or waterfalls where the Ohúwa live. He turns toward Wé^{n}yima,[19] an unidentified place in the southwest. He says, "I see the water at Agáchani moving." Another Kósa claps his hands and peers under the right hand, declaring, "I see something coming out of the water." So they continue to clap their hands, raising small clouds of dust and peering into the distance and describing the appearance of the Ohúwa and their approach, naming various local landmarks and finally announcing with much excitement that they are nearing the pueblo, and at last are on the roof of the kiva. Then the masked dancers come down the ladder. Among them is one dressed like a woman, Pá^{n}yo-ohúwa ("summer cloud"). He carries a basket filled with seeds, which he scatters through the hatchway from the roof. The maskers make signs which the Kósa interpret, and each Ohúwa gives to them whatever game or produce of the field he is carrying; and these gifts the Kósa deliver to the persons for whom they are intended, having previously visited the cacique's house so as to arrive at an understanding with the maskers as to the identity of these persons.

The maskers then stand in a line, shoulder to shoulder, and dance and sing while shaking their rattles. Sprigs of Douglas spruce are in the

19 Keres, Wéñima, home of the cloud-gods since their severance of association with the human race.

left hand, in the arm-bands and leg-bands, and around the neck. The masks are all of one kind, covering the entire head. The Kósa go about watching them carefully, as if to see that no mistake is made.

The Tsíwi[20] dance rapidly about here and there, also watching the Ohúwa, and if any makes a mistake in the step or the song they strike him with their yucca whips. Their masks also cover the head, but are of different kinds. Some of the principal Tsíwi follow:

1. Úhu, so called from his cry, is the father of all the Tsíwi. Now and then, by signs which the Kósa interpret, he addresses the people, urging obedience to their officers in all things.

2. Kaka^{n}yú^{n} ("greasy") has the body smeared with grease and then painted black with white spots. His yucca whips are thrust in his belt.

3. Pu^{n}-ŕú^{n} ("bell spotted") has bells on his belt and leg-bands, a long, black beard, a body red with a white hand back of each shoulder.

4. Wa-sa^{n}yú^{n} ("egg throw") wears a white native-woven shirt, white cotton leggings with red yarn bands below the knees, a white deerskin across the left shoulder and under the right arm like a mantilla. If he detects a child peering too closely and curiously between the heads of the elders, he hurls an egg, as if intending to strike the child, but really smashing it against the wall near by.

There are various others of the Tsíwi, not all of whom are necessarily represented in every masked dance. They correspond to what at some of the pueblos are called "whipping Kachinas" and at Santo Domingo "run around" Shíwanna. If they observe a dancer making a mistake they whip him. If the Kósa, by feigned forgetfulness, fail to carry out their instructions made known by signs, they whip the clowns. Sometimes they direct the Kósa to reprimand some individual in the audience for improper conduct in daily life, and the reproved individual is dragged forth by the clowns and punished by the Tsíwi.

The Ohúwa dance one song on each side of the kiva, beginning at the north and ending at the east. Then they stand in line, while the Tsíwi and Kósa dance here and there, and one of the principal men in the audience addresses the people, imparting the message the Ohúwa have brought, enjoining obedience and good conduct. As he finishes,

20 Tsíwi, from Keres Shíwanna. In the Nambé dance this name is applied to their equivalent of the Santo Domingo "run around" Shíwanna.

the Ohúwa shake their rattles simultaneously and go out one by one. The Tsíwi follow, Úhu going last of all. The Kósa then gather up whatever food has not been distributed to specified individuals, divide it among the people, and depart.

About the first of October the Winter society meets in the house of their cacique, and the dance is repeated. On this occasion a conspicuous figure is Póse-tú^{n} ("dew basket"), a masker dressed like a woman and carrying a basketry vessel of sacred water, from which each spectator drinks. When the Ohúwa depart, Pósetú^{n} drops a small Douglas spruce tree, which the people eagerly pounce upon and strip of its leaves, rubbing them on their bodies for the strength of the chief of trees.

A masked dance of this kind may be held at any time of the year, either in the kiva or, in former times when there were few Mexicans

about, in the plaza, or nowadays at a secret place in the hills. Aliens are rigidly barred from observing the dance or the masks, and if it occurs outside the kiva guards are stationed to prevent intrusion. Such a dance is inaugurated by a group of young men going to the war-chief and making known their desire. He sends them on a hunt, they take the game to the cacique of the season, and the war-chief apprises him that they wish to "call the Ohúwa."

During their four preliminary days the chosen dancers must practise continence. In the times when there were no Mexicans near the village and guards were unnecessary, a dancer once slipped away from his companions, ran down a narrow street behind the church where some old houses stood, and met his lover, a married woman. He took off his mask, cohabited with her, and hurried back to the dance, adjusting his mask as he ran. When the dancers returned to the kiva, where the cacique was waiting, they removed their masks, made the usual four circular motions with them toward the cardinal points, and set them down. But the guilty man found that his mask would not come off. The others tried in vain to help him. They began to cut it with a knife, but blood spurted. Then he confessed, and they realized that for his transgression he had been transformed into a real Ohúwa. So they bound him with ropes and that night took him to Agáchani and threw him into the lake. *Sic fabula*. Probably the incident actually happened in this manner: The man was observed in his amour, and the others sentenced him to death in the lake of the Ohúwa, inventing the

mythical part of the story in order to impress the people and account for the disappearance of the transgressor.

Propagation Dance

Intimately associated with the Ohúwa cult is a ceremony called Kóyi'-pína^{n}-hyá*r*e ("seed power dance"), the principal figure in which is a woman having the title Nayi-hwá^{n} ("dust sweep"). This official is charged with the duty of supervising the sweeping of the village streets and especially the plaza four days before any ceremony. For example, when a masked dance is to be given, one of the Ohúwa impersonators suddenly appears in the village four days before the time set, and amid great excitement a Kósa is summoned to ascertain what he desires. The Kósa, painted and dressed as usual, comes running and interprets the signs of the visitor, announcing that he desires the women to clean the village. The Ohúwa carries an armful of besoms, which he delivers to the Kósa, who in turn hands them to Nayihwá^{n}, and she distributes them among the women and directs them in the work. The last incumbent of the office died about 1910.

The propagation dance occurs when the trees begin to leaf. The war-chief summons to his house a number of unmarried girls, each of whom is required to name a male companion for the dance. On the fourth morning the girls dance alone in the plaza four times while Nayihwá^{n} sings, and at night they perform in the kiva along with the men they have chosen. After the dance they carry baskets of meal to the homes of their partners, and the men return the baskets, filled with meat, to the respective homes of the girls. Both men and girls then return to the kiva and join the spectators.

Then begins the significant part of the ceremony. There are seven unmarried girls who compose a pseudo-society under the leadership of Nayihwá^{n}. A new member is recruited by appeal to the mothers of the village whenever one of the number dies or marries. The fire having been allowed to grow dim, these seven girls dance in the kiva, practically nude, and from time to time Nayihwá^{n} administers mild blows with a bundle of yucca-leaves. After a time the Ohúwa and the Tsíwi enter and dance. A Kósa asks each of the Ohúwa in turn how many children he is going to make for one of the girls, naming her, and the masked man, holding bow and arrow in the left hand and rattle in the

right, advances in a vigorous manner toward the girl and retreats, and finally raises his extended fingers five times, indicating fifty. In conclusion, spectators and Nayihwá^{n} depart, leaving the girls and the masked men together for the night.

In 1909 two women, Pepita Peña and Pepilla Anayo, were indicated as having acquired, respectively, two and three children in this manner. Of course no stigma attached to them.

At Tesuque, where the custom still prevails, the dance is called I^{n}ya^{n}-táa-hyáre ("smoke grind dance"). In 1909 half a dozen mothers were pointed out as former participants. Silveria Suwaso and Nostasia Romero were two of them. There were several infants said to have been begotten in the ceremony of 1908. Of course not every unmarried mother is a member of the cult, which is limited to seven at one time. Illegitimacy during the first few years of a girl's puberty has always been encouraged. Four days before the ceremony Nayihwá^{n}, entirely nude, stands on her roof and issues a summons to her seven followers, who quickly respond. If any is dilatory, she goes with a yucca whip to hasten the tardy one. They remain in her house until the dance begins. On the last of the preliminary days they grind corn which they have received from the cacique for the men who are to dance, while a fire of juniper boughs gives forth a black smoke. It is from this circumstance that the Tesuque name of "smoke grind dance" is derived. The girls who dance in the plaza have men's clothing, deerskin shirts and leggings, buffalo-fur head-bands, an upright turkey-feather in the flowing hair, faces painted white. Following is one of the songs used in the dance:

Támun-yo-ge Póqin-ge[21] *inpínun ohúwa pinqághe Ohúwa-énun diánan .*
Morning big at lake at in-midst cloud high-up cloud boys come

Náwi dipáari. Nanigihítyan-pore, iwi-hyáre.
here they are we rejoice much we dance

21 Támunyoge is another name of the lake at Lake peak, the home of White Cloud Man, rain-god of the east.

Támunyoge Póqinge O *húwa-énun Áñun, yagiwóo Póqin ge ohúwa rínko.*

girls beautiful we have very

"At Big Morning lake, high up in the midst of clouds, come Cloud Boys. They are here. Greatly we rejoice, we dance. Cloud Boys and Girls at Big Morning lake, we have clouds at the beautiful lake."

In the dance in the kiva at night the woman beats a drum and sings, and from time to time whips the girls. The song used at this point seems curiously inappropriate to an occasion when the begetting of children is the desideratum:

Far eastward, Old Sun, we are friends. Old Sun, we your children are dancing. Our enemies, they came to whip us; Then we went to-drive them down at the plum trees. [22]

Then the masked men come and dance while the girls rest. The Ohúwa depart, the spectators go home, and the girls are sent to the cacique's house to remain with the maskers.

Snake Cult

All the Pueblo Indians used to believe in snakes. The only men who now take part in the Snake dance at Nambé are Francisco Tafoya, Agustín Vigil, Gabriel Trujillo, Lisetto Vigil, Seresivo Vigil, Salvador García, Teodoro Peña, and, José Ascensión Peña. All belong to the Winter people, and all except Agustín Vigil and Lisetto Vigil are Pufónu [shamans]. Juan Trujillo, who is dead, used to be one of them, and his son should take his place; but the younger people do not feel as their elders do, and so drop out. There is a "man" snake in one of the houses in this pueblo. If there were a "woman" snake there would be many people. The snake is fed [ceremonially] with cornmeal and pollen.

When they practise for the dance they feed meal to the feathers the wear on their heads, also to their drums. The dancers are kept shut in a house for four days, during which they are not permitted to see or touch a woman. When the dance is ended, they must bathe in the river.

22 *Be-píi*, round red, that is, plum.

Santa Clara has two snakes, and two women who are called Snake Mother. The wife of Victoriano Cisneros is one. She walks as if she had no bones. When a Snake Mother is with child she says "This is for the snake." She lets her children die by not tying the umbilical cord; then she takes the infant in a jar to the snake. Here at Nambé Juan Tafoya's mother was a Snake Mother. When she died the "woman" snake died, and since then there has been only one snake here.

When we make bread cakes with snake symbols, we bring them to the kiva and feed them to the snake, which has been taken there. The women are not permitted to see it. It is black and white, thick and long. It has a rattle. When the snake becomes old and will not eat, they take it away and get another. This is done in October, very early in the morning, and the men are absent three days. A watch is placed, that no Mexicans may see them. If a spy is caught, he is killed.

If the cacique did not take care of the snake and released it without getting another, the people all would die. This is why we believe in the snakes. When the men go to work in the fields they first chew a weed and spit it in the thick grass, so that the snakes will not bite them. If one kills a snake, he kills it completely and puts its head where the ants will eat it; for otherwise it would follow and spit its poison on him, and he would swell and die.[23]

There used to be snakes kept in Nambé, and the Snake dance, a relic of this custom, is still given once a year. The Summer cacique had charge of the man snake, the Winter cacique of the woman snake. There is a little door in each cacique's house, which nobody was allowed to touch, and these led to the dens of the snakes. The present Summer cacique did not believe in the custom and let his man snake go. The other had died or gone away,[24] and for a long time there had been but one in Nambé, which was the cause of the steady decrease of the population. When two snakes were kept the village was flourishing. Tesuque, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, and others keep snakes. Other villages used to feed children to the snakes. In Santa Clara the wife of Victoriano Cisneros is a Snake Mother; her children when born

23 Information, 1905, from a Nambé woman.

24 The disappearance of the female snake is consistent with the known fact that the office of Winter cacique had for some years been unfilled.

are allowed to die by neglecting to tie the umbilical cord, and they are fed to the snakes. She walks like one who has no bones in her body.

We do not kill snakes, and when we encounter one we throw cornmeal to it and address a prayer asking it to go to the mountains and not harm us: "Snake, my old one, take this meal; go away. Do not help yourself to the children, my old one. You have large hunting grounds."

The Snake dance occurs about New Year's, and at present only three men take part. They do not handle snakes, but imitate as much as possible the former ceremony in which snakes were used. In preparation for this dance the men are confined four days and nights in the house of the war-chief, and during this time they must not touch a woman. If one is bitten by a snake, or has any kind of wound, and a woman looks at the wound, it will become very bad. During the retirement of the dancers, singers are being instructed by the cacique at night in his house. The dance begins about the middle of the morning, when the singers stand on the south side of the plaza and the dancers come out of the house into the middle of the plaza and dance. They come out four times, returning to the house to rest. They imitate snakes as much as possible in the movement and bending of their bodies. After the fourth appearance they go to the houses of the village and receive food, which they carry to the war-chief's house and then go to the river, where they throw meal into the water and then bathe, first asking the river to take away all sickness and to give them good health. They return to the feast.

The men wear white moccasins and a white loin-cloth terminating in a long tail, and their faces are painted half white and half red or blue. The hair is left with the side locks hanging, and eagle-feathers are made into a peak on the top of the head. Colored yarns hang from the arms at the elbows, and bells or shells are attached to their ankles. Their legs and arms are white, and feathers hang from yarn bands below their knees. In the right hand they have a gourd rattle and in the left a painted stick with eagle-feathers at the ends and in the middle.

Two Nambé Snake songs are translated:

Acting like snakes, you are sent as snakes. Come, do what you were sent to do. We are real snakes born of a snake mother. You are the

grandchild of a snake mother. [25]

In 1924 a Nambé man stated that two snakes were kept in the pueblo a good many years ago. This was the only evidence bearing on the cult procured in that year, excepting numerous references to the great snake at Pecos. Everyone is willing to admit the former existence of serpent worship at that pueblo, for no harm can come from referring to an extinct community.

Once upon a time a handsome youth came into a house and asked a girl to be his lover. She consented, and he told her to keep him secreted in a large jar. She locked him in an unused room, but when she returned to visit him he was not to be found. Remembering his words, she peeped into a vessel and saw a large snake coiled there. In due time she gave birth to two snakes. Her father angrily reproved her, and took the snakes into the hills, released them, gave them meal, and begged them not to harm the people.

It is in memory ot this incident that the village of Tesuque keeps two snakes. All the pueblos used to do so. The present custodian of the snakes in Tesuque is Alario Vigil. Formerly each cacique kept one of the snakes, but now they. appoint a Pá^{n}ñu^{n}-pufónu ["snake shaman"], or Pá^{n}ñu^{n}-ke ["snake strong"'], for this duty. He feeds them three times a day with meal,[26] and prays for their good will. It is his duty to catch a new snake when one dies. The snakes are brought together for breeding, and the young are released in the mountains with prayers, meal, pollen, and feathers. They are asked to send rain, to remain in the mountains away from the village. We do not kill snakes. We give them meal and ask them to go into the mountains and not harm us. A man who is bitten by a snake goes at once to the Summer cacique, who knows how to cure him with herbs. He is kept in seclusion until he recovers, and he must not be seen by a woman nor come in sight of fire, lest he die.[27]

Miscellaneous Religious Customs

At the edge of the village are some rough stone slabs, set on end and

25 Information, 1909, from a Nambé man, now deceased, and his wife.

26 All informants mention meal, and usually pollen, as the food of the snakes. It must be supposed that they refer to ceremonial food.

27 Information, 1909, from a Tesuque man.

tinted with the ceremonial colors appropriate to the several directions which they face. Prayers, feathers, meal, and tobacco are frequently offered by individuals at these shrines, particularly by departing hunters. The sacred feathers are those of the turkey, eagle, duck, summer warbler, jay, and parrot.

Miniature stone fetishes representing animals, especially bear and cougar, are very common but highly revered. An informant secretly and with bated breath exhibited one of these, a bear made of red stone with greenish eyes. Her mother "fed" it regularly in the early morning. It had been inherited from an uncle, a shaman. During the winter of 1908-1909 some of these *kuhaíye* were being made by the Pufónu, who confined themselves for twelve days in the cacique's house. On this occasion some children of the faction that no longer adheres to the native religion pelted the house and the guarding war-chief with stones. A serious brawl ensued. Within the very recent past such an occurrence would have resulted in severe punishment, even death, for even passive skeptics were quietly put out of the way by the hierarchy.[28]

28 About the year 1900 there was an old man at Nambé who, as it was commonly reported in the village without attempt to conceal the facts, had been blinded by a burning stick because he had promised to lead some white men to a gold mine abandoned by Spanish colonists in the revolt of 1680.
Of the existence of a deposit of placer gold in the vicinity there is little doubt. In 1924 an informant told of a relative, then deceased, who never worked but always had money, which be obtained at Santa Fe in exchange for nuggets. The informant had seen the gold. Three old men, now dead, possessed the secret of the mine's situation.
The tradition is generally known, but local white people fear to search for the mine for the reason that more than one explorer are said to have failed to return. It is commonly thought that they met death at the bands of the Mexicans of a certain wild, mountain hamlet, who are supposed to know about the deposit.
Some years ago Pedro Cajete and another man of Santa Clara, having heard a detail of the tradition to the effect that the Spaniards had marked the trail by driving sticks into holes bored in the trunks of trees at the height a mounted man could reach, were "grubstaked" by Frank Bond, of Española. They returned from the expedition with a report of failure, but subsequently they informed a trusted American friend that they had found and followed the trail, had observed that it extended a long distance, but, becoming panic-stricken by the thought of what would happen if they were discovered, had retreated.

At various times the women bake flat bread cakes bearing the symbols of the snake and the reproductive organs. The participants in the Snake dance and the propagation dance eat the cakes, and in the ceremonies of the masked Ohúwa the Kósa distribute them among the female spectators so that they may multiply with the ease and rapidity of snakes.

Some of the most conspicuous stars and constellations are named and supplicated, notably the morning and the evening star. The rising sun is addressed somewhat as follows: "My old Sun, here, eat this. Give health to me and my village. Give me deer, game, long life. This I ask for myself, my old Sun." In praying to this all-powerful one "we hold the sun in our left hand and take from it with the other and draw its life into the mouth, asking for help." The moon is said to be supplicated by men, and the prayer is for its intercession with the sun, dispenser of health and long life.

The Summer cacique is said to possess a white stone figurine about ten inches high, representing a female deity.

Belief in the dread power of wizards and witches is ever present, and has been an important factor in reducing the population of Nambé and other pueblos. The superstition is subjective as well as objective. For example, more than a generation ago there was a well-authenticated case, the records of which are said to be in the archives of the Archbishop of Santa Fe. Many children having died, two men and an old woman were accused of witchcraft. They readily admitted the charge and showed where they had kept their black feathers concealed between two walls. The men were at once executed, the woman was publicly exposed in the stocks until she died.

Nambé has the same numerous public dances as the other Tewa pueblos.

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They offered to lead their friend in from the north, thus avoiding watchful eyes at Nambé.