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ZUÑI

HISTORY

ZUÑI,[1] lineal descendant of the glamorous Seven Cities of Cibola so eagerly sought by the conquistadores, occupies a portion of the site of Halona, one of those all but prehistoric towns, a site on the north bank of Zuñi river in the extreme western part of New Mexico not far from the Arizona boundary. Tillable lands of considerable area border the river-course (which is almost dry during the summer), and smaller valleys of pleasing aspect are traversed by the affluent creeks, Nutria, Pescado, and Ojo Caliente. Away from the valleys the surface is broken by low hills and beetling mesas, and from an elevation one descries in the east the dark, shadowy outline of the pine-forested Zuñi range. The lower levels are characterized by semi-desert conditions, but in the mountains are dells and meadows which, favored by the stored moisture of a fairly heavy snowfall, afford a refreshing contrast.

A hearsay report of the existence of populous villages in the north was brought to New Spain in 1536 by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, who near the end of their stupendous eight-year wanderings from the Texas gulf coast to the Sinaloa shores of the "South Sea" were told about them by the natives of Corazones valley in Sonora. This confirmed a story that had been extant for six years. Says Castañeda in his account of the events leading up to the expedition of Coronado:

In the year 1530 Nuño de Guzman, who was President of New Spain, had in his possession an Indian, a native of the valley or valleys of Oxitipar, who was called Tejo by the Spaniards. This Indian said he

1 The name Zuñi was first recorded by Antonio de Espejo, who visited the "province" on his way from Acoma in 1583 and noted that it was known to the Spaniards as Cibola. Zuñi is from Keres Sûñi (with the locative affix tse), which itself is an adaptation of Tewa Sú nyûn (with the locative affix ge), a rock slide or coasting-place for children. Cibola is believed to be primarily from meat, the plural of which, Shíwi, is the native term for an individual of the tribe. The plural of this is Áshiwi, the collective is Shíwinnaqe. The pueblo is called Shíwinna ("meats at"), the country Shíwinnaqin. Shíwinna, transmitted to the Spaniards from the lips of Piman Indians of southern Arizona or Sonora, became "Cibola," or "Civona."

was the son of a trader who was dead, but that when he was a little boy his father had gone into the back country with fine feathers to trade for ornaments, and that when he came back he brought a large amount of gold and silver, of which there is a great deal in that country. He went with him once or twice, and saw some very large villages, which he compared to Mexico and its environs. He had seen seven very large towns which had streets of silver-workers. It took forty days to go there from his country, through a wilderness in which nothing grew, except some very small plants about a span high. The way they went up through the country was between the two seas, following the northern direction.[2]

Guzman headed an imposing but abortive expedition in search of these fabulous riches, and the "Seven Cities" remained undiscovered. Interest was revived by the story of Cabeza de Vaca to such a pitch that the new viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, purchased the Barbary negro slave, Estevan, one of the four wanderers, and in 1539 attached him in the capacity of guide to the Franciscan friar Marcos de Niza, a Savoyard, who was to investigate the truth of the report. On nearing the goal the priest sent ahead Estevan and about three hundred Mexican Indians who had followed him from various villages encountered on the march. A few days later messengers brought news of the death of the negro at the hands of the Cibola Indians.

He told me that, one day previous to reaching Cibola, Estevan sent, as he was wont to do always, his gourd, in order to show them in what quality he was coming. The gourd had a few strings of rattles and two plumes, one of which was white and the other red. When they reached Cibola and presented the gourd to the person whom the lord has placed there in charge, he took it into his hand, and, seeing the rattles, with great wrath threw the gourd on the floor, and said to the messengers that they should forthwith leave the town, that he knew what kind of people those were, and that they should tell them not to enter the place lest they should all be killed. The messengers returned and reported to Estevan what had happened, who said that this was nothing, — that those who at first displayed anger always received

2 Winship, Coronado Expedition, *Fourteenth Inn. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology,* pages 472-473.

him in the kindest manner. So he continued his road until he reached the city of Cibola, where he met people who refused to allow him to enter, and placed him in a large house outside, taking from him all he carried of objects for exchange, turquoises, and other things received from the Indians on the journey. There he was all night, neither food nor drink being given to him nor to his escort. On the following morning this Indian[3] felt thirsty, and went out of the house to get a drink of water at a stream near by, and a short while afterwards he saw Estevan endeavoring to escape, pursued by the people of the city, who were killing some of the people of his company. Seeing this, this Indian concealed himself and crept off stealthily up the said stream, and finally crossed over to take the road through the desert.[4]

In spite of these ill tidings, the friar pressed on. "With my Indians and interpreters I followed my road till we came in sight of Cibola, which lies in a plain on the slope of a round height. Its appearance is very good for a settlement, - the handsomest I have seen in these parts."[5]

At last he beheld one of the Seven Cities, gleaming in the sun and making such a brave showing in the distance that his subsequent report was entirely misleading, interpreted as it was by minds predisposed to the superlative by what had been found in Mexico and Peru.

According to Cushing, Zuñi tradition has it that the "black Mexican" was killed at the pueblo Kiakima, which was at the southwestern base of Corn mountain[6] and about four miles southeast of ancient Halona and present Zuñi. But Friar Marcos, coming from the south and viewing Kiakima from an elevation, could not have failed to notice Halona with its tall terraced houses in the midst of an open plain. Moreover, the priest says nothing of Corn mountain. Bandelier finds no difficulty in reconciling the friar's description with the surroundings of Kiakima. But it is inconceivable that the discoverer of Cibola, had he

3 The one who was making the report to the friar.

4 Bandelier in *Papers Archaeological Institute of America,* V, 1890, pages 150-152, quoting from the *Relación* of Friar Marcos.

5 Ibid., page 161.

6 That is, Táwa-yálanne, incorrectly translated "Thunder mountain" by Cushing. See footnote, page 90.

been speaking of Kiakima, should have failed to mention the beetling cliffs of Corn mountain towering nine hundred feet above that village at its base, a striking landmark even when viewed "in its southern width, not at its full length." The village Hawikuh, on the other hand, was "in a plain on the slope of a round height," was exposed to the south, and was the most southerly of the Seven Cities. Since it was the first village in the line of approach from the southwest and its surroundings entirely satisfy the requirements of the friar's *Relación,* it may be concluded that Estevan lost his life at Hawikuh. This conclusion is supported by the narrative of Captain Juan Jaramillo, a member of Coronado's force, who says: "From here we went to another river, which we called the Red river, two days' journey in the same [almost northeasterly] direction, but less toward the northeast... From here we came in two days' journey to the said village, the first of Cibola... This was where they killed... the negro."[7] This clearly refers to the ascent of Zuñi river and the arrival at Hawikuh.

In their precarious wandering life among various tribes Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had more than once saved their lives by posing as medicine-men, and it was natural that the negro on entering the Zuñi village should make much of his shaman's rattle. But the symbol, theretofore so potent, proved his undoing; for the Zuñi priests, enraged by the presumption of the alien, possibly suspecting him of being a sorcerer, decreed his death.

The existence of a strange race in Mexico was already known to the inhabitants of Cibola through the Sonoran Indians, who regularly visited the pueblos for the purpose of buying turquoise and buffaloskins. Coronado reported to the viceroy: "They declare that it was foretold among them more than fifty years ago that a people such as we are should come, and the direction they should come from and that the whole country would be conquered."[8] Either the traditionists or Coronado exaggerated the age of this prophecy, for fifty years prior to 1540 antedates the discovery of America. At any rate the Zuñi shamans took prompt steps to discourage the threatened invasion.

Friar Marcos returned by forced marches to New Spain, and his

7 Winship, op. cit., page 586.

8 Winship, ibid., page 561.

report aroused such roseate expectations that there was a bitter contest before the Crown for the right of conquest, Mendoza, Cortés, and Hernando de Soto urging their claims. But while argument and counterargument were being presented to the royal officers in Spain, the viceroy was busily organizing an expedition under Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, governor of the province of New Galicia.

In February, 1540, there assembled at Compostela on the Pacific coast a force variously stated by the viceroy and Spanish historians of later date as numbering from 150 to 260 horsemen, 70 to 200 footmen (the viceroy is silent on this item), and 300 to more than a thousand Indians. The wide variance in the estimates of the Indian allies is easily understood, for reinforcements undoubtedly attached themselves to the little army in its northward march. Pedro de Castañeda, a member and annalist of the expedition, and some other early writers speak of 300 horsemen. Practically all of the Spaniards were adventurers newly arrived in the country. The expedition set out near the end of February, and marched to Culiacan, capital of Coronado's province of New Galicia. After a halt of nearly four weeks the general left the main body, which was to follow in a fort-night, and himself went forward at a more rapid pace with about seventy-five mounted men and twenty-five on foot.

Early in July while ascending "Red river" they were met by four Indians, who professed friendly intentions but were actually scouts, as the general seems to have suspected. For he sent a detachment ahead to occupy "any bad passages which the Indians might be able to defend;" and the advance guard successfully resisted an attack that night. "The next day," says Castañeda, "they entered the settled country in good order, and when they saw the first village, which was Cibola,[9] such were the curses that some hurled at Friar Marcos that I pray God

9 Coronado in his letter to Mendoza makes it plain that "Cevola" was the name of a province," and each of the seven towns had a name of its own. Zárate Salmerón, writing in 1629 of Oñate's journey of 1604-1605, says, "the largest pueblo and head of all is the pueblo of Cibola, which in their language is called Havico." For the evidence of the identity of the first of the Seven Cities seen by Coronado (who named it Granada) and Hawikuh, see Hodge, The First Discovered City of Cibola, *American Anthropologist,* VIII, Washington, 1895.

may protect him from them. It is a little, unattractive village looking as if it had been crumpled all up together. It is a village of about 200 warriors, is three and four stories high, with the houses small and having only a few rooms."[10]

So they arrived at Hawikuh, and wellnigh famished, their friendly overtures spurned, the Spaniards could not be long restrained. At the first charge the Indians broke and fled. The walled town was then attacked on two sides, but here the defenders had the advantage of the hunger-weakened Spaniards. Stones and arrows were showered from the housetops, several of the attackers were wounded, and the general himself, a tempting target in his gilded and glittering armor, was twice struck to the ground, only his "very good headpiece" and the assistance of his maestro de campo saving him from serious injury. But in less than an hour the inhabitants evacuated the main portion of the village and the Spaniards took possession. Food was badly needed, and they found sufficient stores.

Three days later, says Coronado in his letter to Mendoza, "some of the Indians who lived here came to offer to make peace. They brought me some turquoises and poor mantles." But the general's efforts to explain the benefits to be derived from knowing "the true God for their Lord, and His Majesty for their king and earthly lord," though apparently successful, really came to naught; for "suddenly, the next day, they packed up their goods and property, their women and children, and fled to the hills, leaving their towns deserted, with only some few remaining in them."

This was the first recorded flight of the Zuñi Indians to the top of Tâwa-yálanne ("corn mountain"),[11] an imposing mass a few miles

10 Winship, op. cit., page 483.

11 This translation is perfectly simple. The commonly accepted derivation prior to the work of Mrs. Stevenson from tâwâwânanne, thunder, was unnecessary, as everybody at Zuñi is aware that the name of the mesa is Corn mountain. According to a sacred legend the ancient people fled to the mesa to escape a deluge, carrying with them large stores of corn. The water rose higher and higher, threatening to overwhelm the mountain, and at last the principal priest, the rain-chief of the north, decided to make the sacrifice that seemed to be demanded. He dressed his youthful son and daughter in the finest garments and ornaments, and they stepped over the brink into the water, where

east of Zuñi. The mesa is about nine hundred feet in height, a mile long from north to south, and about half a mile in width. Its flat top is reached by four difficult trails. Its precipitous walls of varicolored sandstone, here and there eroded into massive columns and pinnacles, make it an impressive landmark.

From Cibola Coronado sent Pedro de Tovar to the seven Hopi pueblos of which the Zuñi told him, and later the army-master Cardenas to discover the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, about which the Hopi had told Tovar. He also commissioned Hernando de Alvarado to explore eastward, and this officer crossed the continental divide a few miles distant (an effortless feat at this latitude), discovered Acoma, the Tiwa pueblos of the Rio Grande, and Pecos, and proceeded along a southeasterly-flowing river to plains swarming with "humpback oxen."

Coronado's advance force assembled at one of the Tiwa villages in the vicinity of present Bernalillo to prepare winter-quarters, and soon they were joined by the main "army" from Culiacan. The siege of a Tiwa village and slaughter of its surrendered defenders, the futile search for gold on the plains of Kansas, the disillusioned retreat to New Spain in 1542, did not directly concern the Zuñi. It is sufficient to say that Coronado, with great expenditure of effort and money, had accomplished notable geographical discoveries, had failed to find treasure, had left the Pueblo Indians with an ineradicable hatred of the race that respected not its word and burned at the stake those who foolishly put their faith in it.

After Coronado's entrada the Zuñi were visited in 1581 by Chamuscado, in 1583 by Espejo, and in 1598 by Oñate, each of whom found but six pueblos: Aguicobi (Hawikuh), Canabi (Kianawe, which Cushing gives as the original name of the ruin now called Kechipauan), Aquinsa (Kiakima), Halonagu (Halona), Coaqueria (Kwakina), and Macaque (Matsaki). Evidently one of the "Seven Cities" had been

they became the two striking columns now seen at the west side of the mountain. The water was checked, but in the long years before it receded from the plain the people had to remain on the mesa, where the power of their chief priest made it possible to raise small crops. It is in memory of this episode that the priest of the north now has the esoteric title of Tâwa-shíwanni ("corn chief") and the mesa is called Tâwa-yálanne ("corn mountain").

abandoned.[12]

In 1629 a mission with three resident priests was established at Hawikuh, probably with a visita at Halona, a populous centre twelve miles distant. Like all the other Pueblos the Zuñi did not take kindly to the efforts of the frayles to discourage the native religious customs, and in 1632 they murdered Letrado, a new missionary, and Arvide, a priest passing through the country with a Zuñi escort. For three years thereafter they lived on Corn mountain.

In 1672, according to Vetancurt, or 1670 according to Bandelier, who bases his date on "manuscripts in my possession," Hawikuh was sacked and burned by Apache and the priest was killed. Apparently the place was then abandoned, for when the Pueblo revolt broke out in 1680 the Zuñi were occupying only three towns, Halona, Kiakima, and Matsaki, all within a radius of three miles. Once more the Zuñi killed their priest and established themselves on Corn mountain, where Diego de Vargas, the reconqueror, found them in 1692.

Vargas was well received. He climbed the trail, which he found difficult, and he and the "cacique" sponsored the baptism of two hundred ninety-four persons. "My fellow godfather, and the captains asked me to mount further and in a room on the second floor and a balcony I entered and found an altar with two large curtains burned by wax candles and retaining some bits of ornament." With the altar of the church the Indians had preserved and carried away to their stronghold three effigies of Christ, a painting of John the Baptist, a reliquary, three silver chalices, an enamelled chalice, a missal, seventeen other books, two brass candlesticks, two bells without clappers, and a "tiny little bell."[13]

12 The names given are those noted by Oñate. Pinawan has been associated with Oñate's Aquinsa; but it is easier to believe the latter to be an imperfect spelling or a misprint of Kiakima.

13 Twitchell, Extracts from the Journal of General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon, in *Old Santa Fe,* I, April, 1914.
According to the version by Sigüenza y Góngora (Mercurio Volante, 1693, reprinted in Mexico, 1900, pages 17-18), Vargas reached the Peñol of Caquima (i.e., Kiakima, referring to the pueblo at the southwestern base of Corn mountain), whither they had retired for safety from the Apache, who had reduced their five pueblos to one. The Spaniards were met outside the town with the greatest courtesy and affection, "and there was not one of those places that

This record of what seem to be mere trifles, which the Spanish chroniclers were wont to note so meticulously, is not without the semblance of importance, for the Zuñi still relate a story of one of the missionary priests whose life was spared at the time of the revolt of 1680 on the promise that he would take unto himself a Zuñi wife. He therefore, according to the tradition, accompanied the tribe on its flight to Tâwayálanne, where he remained during the revolution and until Vargas appeared on the scene in 1692. The Zuñi say that it was the priest who wrote the message with charcoal on a skin and cast it to the soldiers below. While the Spanish accounts make no allusion to the presence of a priest, the fact that the sacred appurtenances of the church had been preserved by the Indians who had murdered practically all the Spaniards on whom they could lay hands, and even effaced every vestige of civilization, gives the story verisimilitude. Vetancurt says that of the two Zuñi priests, one, Fray Juan de Bal, stationed at Halona, was killed, while the other, who ministered at Hawikuh, escaped — but, strangely enough, his name is not mentioned.[14]

had been reduced to obedience where such attention had been shown them as in the present case and where they encountered the only signs of primitive Christianity." Noticing some of the Indians maintaining a guard, with some signs of reverence, on a room which belonged to a certain woman, Vargas entered and found on a rude altar, where two tallow candles were burning, an image of Christ, a painting of St. John, various sacred vessels, the shrine of the holy sacrament, and some missals, all covered with pieces of ornamentation. "This unexpected treasure trove caused considerable display of tender devotion among some of the head men who had also entered the room, and they embraced the chiefs of those Indians, assuring them that in the future they would receive special friendship from them in return for giving them the chance to see these things." — EDITOR.

14 W.W.H. Davis (El Gringo, page 79, New York, 1857) mentions the tradition in the following words: "It is said that the priest stationed at Zuñi neither was killed nor fled, but saved himself by abjuring his faith and turning Indian. That when the Spaniards went there at the time of the reconquest, about the year 1690, they inquired for the *Padre,* who answered in person that he was there; but, being dressed and painted like an Indian, they failed to recognize him, and asked him if he could write. He answered that he could, but had no paper. The Spaniards then passed up to him upon the rocky height where the pueblo then was situated a skin, upon which he made letters with

It was subsequent to the reconquest that modern Zuñi was erected on a part of the ruins of Halona, and here the entire population of the tribe was concentrated. In a century and a half the "Seven Cities" had disappeared. In 1703 several soldiers were killed for certain excesses, and for the last time the stone houses on Corn mountain were inhabited. Two years later the refugees returned to their pueblo, which from that time has been uninterruptedly occupied. Within recent years the former summer villages of Ojo Caliente (Ky'áp-qaina, "hot-water come-out"), Nutria (Tâya-qin, "planting place"), and Pescado (Hé'shâkta-tsína, "ruin picture"),[15] have become more or less permanently inhabited, their people moving to the parent settlement only for ceremonies and festivals.

As at all other pueblos, historical tradition at Zuñi is strangely wanting, and what little is offered is likely to be a melange containing a pellet of fact enveloped in a mass of typical native mythology. Well-informed men profess never to have heard of the negro Estevan. The capture of Hawikuh appears to be an unknown episode. A queer tale is told of a virgin from the City of Mexico, who miraculously conceived and then became a native goddess of fructification. This condition can hardly be the result of reticence, for it would be extremely illogical to impose the law of silence on such secular affairs as the dramatic arrival of the Spaniards while opening the door fairly widely on sacred ceremonial customs. The native attitude in this respect is so well set forth by Kroeber as to justify quotation at length: [16]

I have never heard from a Zuñi the least reference to a historic event. They may possess a stream of semi-historical tradition, distinct from their mythology and schematized conceptualizing of the past; but if so, it drains but a minute fraction of their minds. I have waited two

charcoal. This satisfied them of his identity, when they demanded and received a surrender of the place. This is the tradition of the Indians, but is not correct, as I find, by any examination of the manuscript record of the times, that the Zuñians killed their priest at the time of the rebellion."

15 Hé'shâkta-tsína is built on the ruins of a prehistoric village, on the walls of which are ancient petroglyphs.

16 Zuñi Kin and Clan, Anthropological Papers American Museum of Natural History, 1917. XVIII, Pages 203-204.

summers for a spontaneous manifestation of something of the kind. Direct inquiry probably would reveal certain traditions; but they would not be the kind that the natives habitually tell each other. The Zuñi are intensely interested in the scheme of structure of their society, and in its divine institution; but their invariable assumption is that since its institution this society has remained a constant unit, unchanged except for little irregularities that come with the wear of time. Such minor variability they seem to regard as obvious, trivial, and not particularly worthy of attention; and such are the conquest of Coronado, the establishment of a mission in the heart of their town, and other actions of the Spaniard with reference to themselves. As a matter of fact, any change imposed on the social scheme is very quickly absorbed into it; a generation or two suffices, the alteration as become fixed, and is reckoned as perpetual as the structure, though perhaps obviously incongruous.

An example. The Zuñi are professedly anti-Catholic and anti-Christian. During the summer of 1916, the proposed establishment of a Catholic mission incurred the displeasure of the whole tribe except a small minority of individuals standing in special relations to Mexicans. In the meeting at which the affair was brought up, the sentiment of the overwhelming majority was so vehement that the negative decision was unanimous; and the result was received not only with general satisfaction but open rejoicings. Yet every Zuñi that has died within the past two centuries lies buried in the unkempt little graveyard that was first consecrated by Catholic fathers, and in the center of which a constantly renewed cross rears its beam. The mission church in the heart of the town is to us the ever impressive reminder of the Christian influence imposed on the nation for many long generations; to the Zuñi it is anything but a symbol of the alien religion which they struggle to ward from themselves. They make attempts, mostly ineffectual, it is true, to roof and preserve the crumbling structure of adobe. Some years ago, a wider passage was wanted between its altar end and the nearby houses. The western wall was therefore torn down. But it was re-erected in its entirety, a few feet farther in! The northern face gives evidence of having been similarly shifted. This by a people that resent the coming of the priests, that will not tolerate a Catholic Mexican within view of their religious observances, and from among whom only playing boys, hens, and hogs trouble to enter the edifice which

they toil to preserve. We face here a strange conservatism indeed; but it is a conservatism of the present, with no feeling for the past. The church, the graveyard, the cross are not Catholic; they are Zuñi; therefore they are clung to and treated as things integrally and inherently Zuñi.

The habitual attitude of the Zuñi, then, is unhistorical. He derives satisfaction from recognizing his national system, and from thinking of it as fixed since its first establishment. In everything else his interest is but intermittent and perfunctory. That now and then he may preserve fragments of a knowledge of the past that approximate what we consider history, is not to be doubted. But it is equally certain that such recollection is casual and contrary to the usual temper of his mind. From these conditions we must conclude that the shape of these recollections, and even the very selection of their content, is likely to be randomly fortuitous in our sight, whenever it is not wholly determined by the Zuñi's prevailing and sufficient systematization of his narrowly encompassed world.

ARTS AND INDUSTRIES

Even in prehistoric times the pueblos of Cibola maintained constant communication with other and relatively distant people. A well-marked trail led eastward to the Rio Grande valley and the Tiwa villages, with a northerly branch to Sia. Another extended to the Hopi and on to the Grand Cañon. Indians from the Gila valley and Sonora were regular visitors, trading bright feathers and marine shells, and laboring in the fields for turquoise and buffalo-skins, the latter product reaching Zuñi through the hands of the Tanoan people of the Rio Grande, who hunted buffalo on the plains of eastern New Mexico.

There was also direct communication with the Yuman tribes along Colorado river, for when Alarcon in 1540 discovered that stream he talked to an Indian who had recently visited Cibola and described its appearance and the customs of the people with some detail. The killing of the negro Estevan was mentioned, and while the conversation was going on the report was brought to the boat that two men had that moment returned from Cibola with the news that white men with firearms and horses were even then at the pueblos. This was early in September, two months after Coronado captured Hawikuh. The trail

to Cibola, as Alarcon was informed, could be covered in forty days.[17]

Of Zuñi clothing Castañeda wrote: "They cover their privy parts and all the immodest parts with cloths made like a sort of table napkin, with fringed edges and a tassel at each corner, which they tie over their hips. They wear long robes of feathers and of the skins of hares, and cotton blankets. The women wear blankets, which they tie or knot over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm out.[18] These serve to cover the body. They wear a neat well-shaped outer garment of skin. They gather their hair over the ears, making a frame which looks like an old-fashioned headdress." Coronado reported to Mendoza, "Most of them are entirely naked except the covering of the privy parts, and they have painted mantles." This was in midsummer.

Rabbit-skin blankets have been made within recent years. Bundles of yucca-leaves were laid beside a fire, and when softened by the heat were doubled up into balls, which were exposed at night to freeze. In the morning the frozen balls were put into boiling water, and after a thorough cooking the leaves were distributed among the members of the household, who sat about and chewed them, sometimes swallowing the juice if food were scarce. The women took the collected mass to the river and washed out the fibres, which were used for a warp through which strips of rabbit-fur were twined. Rope also was made of yucca-fibres. Before the Zuñi had sheep they got cotton from the

17 Winship, *op. cit.,* page 405. There is also good evidence that pilgrimages were made from Zuñi to the Gulf of California for the purpose of procuring sea-water for use in ceremony and Pacific shells for ornaments. Thirty-five years ago there lived at Zuñi an old man nicknamed "Calipornia" by his tribesmen because he had journeyed to the Pacific and back on a burro.
Every Zuñi house has its *téshqinne* ("taboo-it") suspended from a roof-beam. The one here pictured represents the mythic creature called Knife Wing, a patron of the Big Fire society of which the head of this household is a member. As the object hangs in place, a prayer-stick consisting of two pieces, "boy" and "girl," is attached behind each wing. These sacred objects were removed by the owner when he brought the emblem down to be photographed, and the entire proceeding was carried out with the utmost secrecy and with bated breath.

18 This is probably an error. All Pueblo women fasten the dress above the right shoulder.

Hopi and wove it into blankets and dresses. According to present-day native informants they raised no cotton, but the site of an ancient Hopi pueblo is still known to them as Cottonfields.[19]

The armless mantas mentioned by the chroniclers are still common possessions and are much used as over-dresses. In primitive times the material was cotton, later wool, and the color nearly black. White cotton robes draped over both shoulders were added for ceremonial dress.

Moccasins, which neither Castañeda nor Coronado mentions, had uppers of tanned deerskin and rawhide soles of elk- or buffalo-skin. Men wore knee-length trousers of deerskin or fabric open at the sides from knee to mid-thigh. Both sexes had footless, close-fitting, blue woollen stockings reaching to the knee and held down by cords passing under the feet. In 1910 native stockings were still commonly worn by women, but in 1924 commercial shoes and stockings were general, the greatly increased cost of deerskin and the stringency of game laws making that product practically unobtainable. On special occasions women wrap an entire white deerskin round and round the lower leg.

The modern ordinary dress of a Zuñi man consists of white cotton trousers, a cotton shirt hanging unconfined, a loin-cloth, and sometimes moccasins. Recently commercial garments — dark cotton shirt, denim overalls, and coarse shoes — have done much to eliminate the picturesque from a Zuñi street scene. Women wear knee-length cotton dresses, or a sleeveless woollen garment of the primitive kind over a cotton dress, and a native woollen belt several inches wide tightly drawn twice about the waist. When footgear is worn it is almost sure to consist of American shoes and stockings, always black, a mode decidedly unromantic when the wearer "toes in" as all native women do.

The hair brush is the stiffer end of a besom of grass stems, or, in late years, of broom corn. The hair of men is parted from ear to ear,

19 "They do not raise cotton, because the country is very cold.... Some cotton thread was found in their houses." — Coronado to Mendoza, in Winship, ibid., page 558. Vetancurt, on the other hand, says they raised and wove cotton in 1680. Of course Coronado's reason for the alleged want of native-grown cotton is erroneous, the Zuñi country being no colder than the Hopi. Excavations at Hawikuh have revealed many human skeletons covered with the remains of cotton clothing.

and the back portion is doubled up and wrapped with a red woollen string or band, much in the Navaho fashion. The front portion is banged, and a head-band keeps it out of the eyes. Women allow the hair to hang loose in front, so that usually the face is half hidden by a bang that extends to the level of the lips. Castañeda's reference to the "hair over their ears, making a frame which looks like an old-fashioned headdress," suggests the well known "squash-blossom" of unmarried Hopi girls.

House walls are constructed of stones, or in modern times occasionally of adobe, plastered over with clay and whitened on the inside with gypsum wash. Plaster is applied with the bare hands and the wash by means of a fleece mitten. The outer walls are replastered usually once a year, and the inside walls are whitewashed two or three times annually. In the ruins there is evidence that often the stones were shaped. Heavy log rafters support willow branches, over which a quantity of brush thatching and a substantial coat of earth are spread.[20] Formerly there were no rectangular openings in the walls, the lower entrance, when there was one, being merely a round hole which could be effectually barricaded with a heavy stone slab. Every house had an entrance through the roof, and when the ladders leading from the ground to the roof and from the roof to the interior were removed, enemies were almost helpless to attack. The living-room, where most of the family sleep and where as a rule all the cooking and eating are done, is usually three times longer than wide. All around at the base of the walls extends a low masonry ledge, about twenty inches high and equally broad, which serves as a seat and a shelf. The fireplace, beneath the stone chimney in a corner, is protected from drafts through the door by a wall extending out from the house wall, and the exterior chimney is a tier of bottomless earthen pots. The trough of the mealing-stones, of which there are three, graded in fineness and in separate compartments, is usually in the living-room, but sometimes in a small rear room where the baking also is done.

The houses are arranged in terraces, which in one place, at the

20 Since the establishment of lumber mills within comparatively easy reach, the willow branches have been superseded by boards.

centre of the pueblo, rise to a height of four stories.[21] In the early eighties there were six well-defined stories, the uppermost consisting of a number of rooms. The former compactness of the village is being much impaired by the younger generation, who are building separate outlying houses, some of which are several hundred yards from the village proper, whereas in 1889 there were only three or four houses not directly connected with the main group. It is not difficult to foresee Zuñi pueblo as a tale that is told.

The cultivated plants were corn - white, yellow, black, blue, purple, red, and varicolored, - beans of the same hues, and squashes. To these the Spanish missionaries added wheat, watermelons, cantaloupes, peaches, grapes, and chile. Alfalfa is now an essential crop. Irrigation is practised, but many fields depend entirely on stored moisture and rainfall. Ripening crops are protected from birds by scarecrows or by watchers sitting under leafy bowers on shaded platforms. A favorite opening for Pueblo myths of a certain type is a scene in which a handsome young stranger makes love to a beautiful maid guarding the cornfield while her father is at home enjoying a late and well-earned breakfast.

Wheat is threshed by the hoofs of a number of horses driven round and round over an enclosed floor of beaten earth, and is winnowed by tossing into the air from baskets. Sometimes goats are employed. When a small quantity is required quickly, the flail is used. Corn is spread on the roofs to dry, and the husked ears are stacked in the house. Squashes and cantaloupes are preserved by drying, the former being cut into long strips, the latter seeded through a hole in one end and peeled. Watermelons are kept until mid-winter by covering with moist sand in a cool inner room. The fruit of the little peach orchards found in the sheltered dells at the foot or in the very walls of the mesas and among the low hills and dunes is usually not permitted to ripen, but is eaten fresh while still hard and to our palate tasteless. Quantities of this fruit are dried in the sun at the orchards, where a few tiny stone cells shelter the harvesters, or on the village roofs. Owing to the encroachment of the cattle of whites many of the peach orchards have been destroyed.

Among a very large number of foods prepared from corn the fol-

21 The fourth story, a single apartment, was removed in 1919.

lowing are typical.

Mú-ky'ap-âwe ("bread hot-water cornmeal") is made with meal that has passed over the two coarse stones. The meal is mixed with boiling water, colored a faint green with water of slaked lime (the limestone being obtained near Nutria), and shaped into large balls, which are dropped into boiling water.

Meal mixed with cold water and salt (and, if color is desired, with lime-water) and baked on a flat stone in cakes about ten inches square becomes the bread called *héya-honiwe*.

C*híqeya-honiwe* (*chíqa,* sweet) is *héya-honiwe* in which the salt is replaced by a quantity of wheat flour fermented by saliva added in the process of mastication by the women. At the present time the desired result is gained by permitting wheat to sprout, making flour from it, and mixing the flour with cornmeal.

Kâse-múlâwe ("salt bread") is made by mixing meal, water, salt, and ground squash-seeds, wrapping the batter in corn-husks, and baking in the oven.

A batter of meal, salt, and lime-water, rolled into small balls the size of marbles, and dropped into boiling water, produces a thickened mass called *mú-kyaliwe* ("bread honey").

Hominy (*chútsiqanawe*) is prepared by boiling shelled corn with ashes for three hours and then washing it, when it is ready for use.

C*hútsiqana-múwe* ("hominy bread") is a tamal of hominy meal wrapped in corn-husk and boiled. At the winter dance Kâyupchonakya every household must make hominy bread. Sometimes dough of this kind is baked on the stone.

Dough made of a mixture of meal and pulverized squash-blossoms is rolled about green corn-leaves and dropped into boiling water. The leaves impart a sweetish taste to this *átea-muwe* ("squash-blossom bread").

Balls of dough placed inside a corn-husk, which is wrapped with yucca-fibres at the ends and between each two balls, are boiled. Tamales of this kind are *músukiwe*.

Álleqiwe is parched corn. The grains are dropped into a pot with clean sand (to prevent it from popping) and stirred with several long thin rods, and are then transferred to a shallow basket. Near by is a bowl containing salted water and pieces of cob, by means of which the water is sprinkled over the parched corn. This is an almost obsolete

dish at Zuñi, though common on the Rio Grande.

Hépachiwe ("héwe incised") is like a Mexican tortilla. Flour and salt are mixed with warm water into a stiff dough, a piece of which is rolled into a ball and then on a flat surface (originally a stone) worked into a disc. The edge is pinched with thumb and forefinger into scallops, or the nails are drawn zigzag over the surface. Some women puncture the cake with an awl in about a dozen places, others wait until it is baking and then if bubbles form they prick the cake with a wooden pin. At the present time many women work a small quantity of baking powder into each cake as they knead it; others occasionally add a bit of tallow. The tortillas are baked one at a time on a circular stone over a slow fire.

Héwe, or héteahla, is the well-known wafer bread, for which the finest grade of meal is used. After leaving the first stone the coarse meal is toasted in a bowl, and then passed over the next two stones. Mixed with cold water and then stirred into boiling water, to which a little lime-water is added, it is cooked to a mush. A small quantity of meal is made into a thin, cold batter, which is mixed with some of the mush. A small handful of the resultant mass is spread thinly over the surface of a flat stone, where it quickly bakes. After a few sheets of this paper-like bread have been laid aside, they are placed back on the stone, and after becoming warm they are folded into small packets. Pink *héwe* is made with the meal of red corn, and yellow by the addition of ground squash-blossoms to the batter.

Naíkyayuwe is boiled green corn on the cob.

Míllawe is roasted green corn. The unhusked ears are thrown upon a mass of coals in a pit and covered over with stones upon which coals are heaped. They steam over night. Quantities of corn so treated are stored for the winter, the husks being partly stripped back to prevent mildew, and the ears are boiled in preparation for eating.

Tákunawe[22] is popcorn, which is prepared by placing it in a pot over the coals and stirring it with a stick.

Múllâwe is wheat bread baked in hemispherical Mexican ovens out of doors. The oven is built of stones, is plastered inside and outside with clay, and has an opening at the base for the insertion of fuel and

22 Cf. *tákunne*, bead.

bread, as well as a small vent in the top. When wheat bread is to be made, a piece of dough kept over from the last baking is softened in water and a little flour is added, the whole being beaten into a batter with the hand. This is set away to rise over night, and in the morning it is turned into a large bowl. Water and salt are added, and then flour is worked in. The dough receives a very thorough kneading, the mass being literally torn to pieces in the process, and is shaped into small loaves. Meanwhile the juniper fuel has been piled in the oven and the flames are shooting out the upper vent, the lower opening being nearly closed. When the fuel is completely consumed, ashes and coals are cooled with water and removed with a wooden shovel. The floor is then swept with a small branch of green juniper tied to a long handle, the temperature is tested with a sprinkling of meal, and the loaves are quickly pushed in on the shovel. The lower opening is covered with a piece of sheepskin and a flat stone. The product is excellent.

A fermented beverage similar to the Apache tiswin, made from sprouted corn, is not unknown.

Among the principal edible wild products are various pot-herbs, acorns, piñon-nuts, yucca seedpods, and Opuntia fruit.

Yucca seedpods, *tsúpiawe,* are laid away in a warm place to become soft, when they are peeled and the pulpy seed-covering is stripped off with the teeth, masticated, and deposited on a basket. The seeds are discarded. The mass is then boiled until it turns brown, and is spread on the roof to dry, after which it is moistened and made into rolls about eight inches long and half as thick. It is then called *tsúpachi.* In winter a slice cut from the roll is broken up in boiling water and the sweetish mixture is used as a beverage with the meal. The fruit of the prickly-pear cactus is eaten both fresh and preserved.

Salt is obtained by the Zuñi, as well as by the Navaho, Apache, and Hopi, and by the people of Acoma and Laguna, at a salt lake forty-two miles south-by-east of Zuñi. The annual pilgrimage is accompanied by religious observances. Only men are eligible, and as the lake is sacred, the abiding place of Salt Mother, Mál-âkyatsi ("Salt Old-woman") and of the war-gods, no one is permitted to visit it without the consent of the Shíwanni of the north. The party is usually led by one of the six principalÁshiwanni and the two Bow Chiefs, these three going afoot while the men who are in need of salt follow on horses or burros or in wagons, sometimes with pack-animals. Each person who intends to

join the expedition makes prayer-sticks for Salt Mother, Sun Father, Moon Mother, and Corn Mother, which the leader, the Shíwanni, receives, and, when they arrive at the lake, deposits. The Bow Chiefs deposit prayer-sticks to the war-gods.

Antelope, deer, rabbits, and hares were the principal game animals. Beef and mutton have been a part of Zuñi diet so long that they may almost be said to be primitive foods. Turkeys were plentiful and were domesticated for the sake of their feathers.

Most Zuñi families have three meals daily. Formerly they had breakfast after the morning's work was done, and supper after the close of the day.

Spinning and weaving were and are well-developed arts. Wool is drawn into yarn by means of *hlátânne,* a spindle with a wooden or stone disc near one end. The loom is perpendicular. The principal woven articles are women's dresses, men's ceremonial shirts, kilts, and loin-cloths (all black or dark blue and of diagonal weave), women's belts, and blankets. Garters and hair-bands are now rare.

Blue-black pottery clay is obtained principally on Tâwayálanne, or Corn mountain, and also on mesas near the village of Pescado. So much of the deposit on Corn mountain has been removed that it is necessary now to mine it, and the several burrows are so small that one enters on hands and knees. Some years ago a young woman was buried alive by a collapse of the roof. Only women dig the clay, and men are not permitted to approach the pit. The material soon hardens by exposure to air, and is then ground and mixed with a small quantity of pulverized potsherds. After water has been added and the mass thoroughly kneaded, a ball of it is worked with the fingers into the proper shape for the base of the vessel to be made. Then ribbon after ribbon of clay is added, until finally the vessel has been built up completely. A paddle of gourd-shell is used to smooth the joints and pat the utensil into the required shape. After drying indoors for a day it is washed (unless it is to be a cooking-pot) with gypsum dissolved in water, which is applied with a bit of rabbit-fur. While the surface is still moist it is carefully polished with a smooth pebble, and after the wash has dried conventional designs in black, brown, and yellow ochre (which fires red) are applied by means of a thin strip of yucca-leaf chewed at one end. The paints are all mineral, and are prepared by pulverizing the material in stone mortars and mixing with water and yucca-fruit syrup. The en-

tire bee plant (*Peritoma serrulatum*), except the root, is boiled and the residue after partial evaporation is mixed with black pigment. juice of the cactus known as *chúnipa* is likewise used. The decorated vessels are grouped on stones or on fragments of discarded pottery so as to be slightly off the ground and not in contact with one another, and cakes of dried dung from the corrals are built up around and over them. Fire is applied, care being exercised to avoid too sudden an application of the intense heat that is finally developed, and to maintain perfect combustion so that unconsumed gases will not blacken the ware. About two hours are required for firing. The Zuñi do not make the black ware seen in the Rio Grande valley.

Basketry is not a well-developed art, the product being solely utilitarian, without decoration or beauty of form. Willow winnowing-baskets and yucca baskets for holding wheat and flour are common forms. The best baskets in recent times were obtained from the Apache and the Havasupai.

The manufacture of discal shell beads by means of a steel-point pump-drill occupies much of the time of some men. For these the *Olivella biplicata* is the favorite. A string containing hundreds of beads is sold to the local trader for a sum so paltry that the workman's chief compensation must lie in the satisfaction of the creative instinct. Turquoise and coral ornaments are much in evidence. In recent years some of the men have become adept in silver-working, an art learned from the Navaho, who in turn derived it from the Mexicans as late as about 1880.

The process of preparing one of the stones on which wafer bread is baked is an exacting one. At the western end of Corn mountain a gray sandstone occurs in slabs about two inches thick, two or three feet long, and a little less in width. The woman of the household, having been provided by the men with one of these slabs, laboriously rubs one side smooth with a stone. It is then laid upon two rows of stones in the fireplace, and is very gradually heated by a fire beneath it. When it has become well heated the cotyledons of squash-seeds are masticated and rubbed on the stone, which as it cools turns black with the oil of the seeds. Now the greater part of the embers is withdrawn, and a quantity of piñon-gum is applied. As it melts it is rubbed into the stone, the process continuing as long as the gum is absorbed. Then a bunch of pine twigs is swept across it once, to remove the excess of gum, and a

second and a third bunch are used in like manner. With another bunch the woman rubs the surface vigorously, and juniper twigs are used to give the final polish. As in all stonework among Indians, no word must be spoken aloud during the entire process, lest the stone break.

The native weapons and cutting implements were of the usual kind: oak or cedar bows, stone-tipped arrows, stone-headed and entirely wooden war-clubs, buffalo-hide and probably basketry shields, skin quivers, obsidian and other stone knives, and stone axes and hammers bound to wooden handles. The lance, judged by its Spanish name, was of later introduction, but the dibble-like wooden sword for fighting at close range was a primitive implement.

COSMOGONY

According to Zuñi conceptions the earth is flat and firmly joined at the edges to the sky. Below it are four other similar worlds with diminishing degrees of light, until at the lowest there is absolute darkness. The visible sun is a bright shield borne by Sun Father. In the east Sun Father breakfasts in the house of his sister, and then holding up a fox-skin he brings dawn. He holds up a parrot's tail-feathers and makes daylight. Then he rises above the horizon behind his shining shield. At noon he stops for dinner, and in the west goes down into the ocean to the house of his grandmother, who feeds him before he travels on beneath the earth to his sister's house.

The moon is a shield behind which Moon Mother travels. The stars also are in the same category, and a falling star is a star man on his way to the home of a lover. The more conspicuous constellations are named. Orion's Belt is Ípilakya ("single file"); the Pleiades are Qílelikyaqe ("seven ones"). Groups of very faint stars are called *tsúhapamâ'yachuwe* ("manganite stars"), because they remind the Zuñi of the shining mineral particles dusted over the painted faces of dancers.

GAMES

Many Zuñi games are of a ceremonial nature, that is, they are played at certain seasons with the thought of rain. Such are *shâliwe*, a dice play in which four halved bits of reed are employed; *íyankolowe*, the object of which is to guess which of four wooden cups do not contain the stone marker; and *tíqawe,* the familiar kicking-race. This last is a con-

test held annually just before the planting season, once between kiva-parties and again between clans. The affair is in the hands of the Bow Chiefs, and the course, two miles southward and back, is supposed to extend to the home of the war-gods. In the contest between kivas each party, numbering three to six runners, represents one of the two war-gods. A similar race over a twenty-mile course or for shorter distances is held for betting purposes. The wooden missile kicked forward by the contestants is called *tíqanne* (plural, *tíqawe*). *Tásholiwe* is the well-known Southwestern variant of pachisi, in which three stick-dice are cast on a stone disc surrounded by forty evenly spaced pebbles, over which the "men" are moved.

ORGANIZATION

The civil government is of the form generally imposed upon the Pueblos by Spanish influence. The governor, *tápupu,* and the lieutenant-governor, *tsípâlââ-shíwanni* ("Mexican chief"), are appointed annually by apriestly group consisting of the six so-called rain-priests (Áshiwanni) associated with the world-regions, the two war-chiefs or Bow Chiefs, and Shíwan-âkya ("chief old-woman"). The office of Shíwan-âkya has long been vacant, and that of the priest of the nadir has for many years been filled by the elder-brother Bow Chief, so that the appointing body now numbers seven men. It is probable also that the Bow Chiefs are presentonly as executives of the Áshiwanni.

When the nominees are notified of their selection, they promise to give an answer the following day. Invariably they pretend reluctance, on the ground that the offices are thankless ones. Having finally yielded to persuasion, each names his assistants, *péyenaqe* ("talkers"), who are usually called tenientes. Governor and lieutenant-governor have no direct dealings with the people in minor affairs, except in rendering judgment in disputes; their assistants attend to all details.

It is said that in the recent past the term of office was four years, and satisfactory incumbents were retained indefinitely. An informant says that he himself was governor continuously for eight and six years with an intervening period of four years.

The real power in the community is vested in four hierarchical-groups: the six Áshiwanni, the principals in the Kâ-tikyanne ("god fraternity "), the Ápihlan-shíwanni ("bow chiefs"), who until recently

had, or at least executed, power of life and death in cases of supposed sorcery, and the shamanistic fraternities. The most important individual is the North Chief, usually called Kyáqi-mâssi ("house chief"), who in general corresponds to the so-called caciques of the Rio Grande pueblos.

Zuñi clans are as follow:[23]

1. Píchiki, Dogwood[24]
2. Kyákyali, Eagle
3. Tánna, Turkey

23 To the clan name add qe, the collective affix, except Píchikâ, Píchiqe. Some of the clans here named may now be extinct, as several of them were almost so in 1910.

24 Cushing and Hodge call this the Parrot or Macaw clan. Mrs. Stevenson (*Twenty-third Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology,* 1904) calls it Dogwood, and Kroeber (Zuñi Kin and Clan, *Anthropological Papers American Museum of Natural History,* XVIII, 1917, page 95) agrees with her: "My Zuñi informants were unanimous that this clan is named after a shrub or small tree.... The Mullakwe or Macaw people are a division of the Pikchikwe." According to Hodge, Múllaqe is almost invariably given as the name of this clan. A man well-versed in esoteric lore informed the present writer with much positiveness that *pichikâ* (the writer has never detected a *k* in the first syllable) was the ancient word for *múlla,* parrot, and referred to that incident in the migration legend where one division of the people chose the more attractive of two eggs, that of a raven, and became known as Kókkoqe ("raven people"), while the others, selecting the uglier egg became the Múllaqe ("parrot people"). These two clans, he said, now compose the Píchiqe. The tree *pichik-hlawe* (a smaller variety of which is called *píla-hlawe)* he described as a large willow, but to his ear there was a distinct difference between the first syllable of this compound and the name of the clan. Hlápichiqe, a perversion of *pichik-hlawe,* is a term of derision applied to members of the clan.

It is probable that the informant who translated Píchiqe as "Parrot People" erroneously read this meaning into the term as a result of his knowledge of the myth above referred to.

The tree *pichikâ* is *Svida stolonifera riparia* Rydb., dogwood.

As to the identity of the parrot whose feathers are of so great ceremonial importance to Zuñi and other pueblos: "Another species, found in the United States along the Mexican border, is the thick-billed parrot (*Rhynchopsitta pachyrhyncha*), a Mexican species, occurring in considerable numbers sometimes in Arizona." — Encyclopedia Americana.

4. Kâlâkta, Sandhill Crane
5. Pâyi, Roadrunner
6. Tânashi, Badger
7. Súski, Coyote
8. Aí^{n}she, Bear
9 Shâhita, Deer[25]
10. Tákya, Frog
11. Yátâkya, Sun
12. Tâwa, Corn
13 Ánna, Tobacco
14 Aíyahâ, Tansy-mustard *(Sophia halictorum)*
15. Táhluptsi, Yellow Wood[26]
16. Qínnaqa[27]

The Píchiqe are by far the most numerous clan, having rather more than four hundred members. There are perhaps half as many Eagles, and the Turkeys, Badgers, Suns, and Corns are well represented.

Zuñi clans are matrilineal and exogamous. An individual is known as the "child" of the father's clan, and the law of exogamy extends with scarcely less force in this direction. A newly married man becomes a member of his mother-in-law's household, and remains in that status so long as he maintains relations with his wife. Separations are of frequent occurrence, and there is no recourse from the decision of either spouse.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Houses, though built by the men, are the absolute property of the women, who may sell or trade them within the tribe without legal hindrance from husband or children. Daughters are the preferred heirs

25 The Má'wiqe ("antelope people") are a division of the Deer clan.

26 Táhluptsi (*táwe*, wood*; hlúptsina,* yellow) was identified by Mrs. Stevenson as *Berberis Fremontii.*

27 The Qínnaqaqe (*qínna*, black) in 1910 did not exist as a clan, a few remaining females of this group being classed with the Corn clan. Perhaps it was never more than a division of the latter. The name is commonly translated Black Corn, but the Zuñi element for corn is not contained in it.

of the landed possessions of their father and their mother, and sons are only heirs presumptive. Men obtain the use of land in their own right either by inheritance (when there are no sisters to claim it), or by occupying and cultivating unused community ground, or by purchase and exchange. The crops harvested from a man's land are stored in his wife's house, along with the yield of her own land. Personal property is divided among the children.

The attainment of puberty by girls is not always marked by prescribed behavior, inasmuch as marriage not infrequently occurs before that age. When an unmarried girl has her first period, her mother brings to the house either the paternal grandmother or a paternal aunt of the child. The older woman leads the girl to her home, where the child spends the day in vigorously grinding corn. The purpose of the practice is to insure ease of menstruation and to inculcate industrious habits.

When a man has obtained a girl's promise to marry, and she has secured the acquiescence of her parents, he goes with her to her house, where the mother bids the girl serve him with food. While he eats, she sits facing him, and the parents discourse on the duties of a husband. After spending five nights there, sleeping alone in a room apart from the family, he reports to his parents and soon returns to his bride with a new dress given by his mother. The girl now prepares a quantity of meal, and on the next day with a basket of it on her head she accompanies her husband to his parents' home. She partakes lightly of food placed before her by the mother-in-law, and the father-in-law gives her a deerskin for new moccasins. Together the couple repair to the bride's home, the girl carrying on her head a basket of wheat given by her mother-in-law, with the folded deerskin spread over it.

A pregnant woman must not look on a dead person, nor sprinkle water on a fire, lest her child have convulsions and sore ears and eyes. She must not roast food, nor steal, nor lie. She must not cohabit, even with her husband, or the child will be bald. There are no restrictions as to food. Her husband must not kill a snake. Some men refuse to kill anything; others, when they go rabbit-hunting, take some of the blood of each animal killed, and after the birth of the child the blood is mixed with water, which is rubbed over the infant's body and given it to drink. The father must not steal, or the child will have discharges at the ears and sores on the face.

Certain herbs are employed to prevent conception, and abortion is accomplished by pressing on the abdomen. After miscarriage a woman lies ten days face downward on a bed of sand covering a layer of hot stones, drinking quantities of hot water containing herbs and roots.

In parturition the woman lies on her back. A midwife aids the labor-pains by rubbing and pressing on the abdomen. In cases of delayed delivery the head-men of the Big Fire society of shamans are summoned, and they shake their rattles, sing, and give the woman hot drinks and a cigarette of native tobacco wrapped in corn-husk. This is said to be infallibly successful in causing the expulsion of the child. The effect of the warm drinks in expanding the muscles and the nausea of the tobacco probably have a good effect.

When a child is about to be born, a woman well known as the mother of many healthy children is summoned to sit up all night with the expectant mother. As soon as the child is delivered, this godmother receives it, in order to impart good luck and long life. If the infant is a male, cold water is poured over the generative organ in order to forestall over-development, an act of kindness for his future wife. If it is a female, a new gourd is split in halves, and the open side of one half is rubbed over the vulva in order to enlarge the organ. The child is then wrapped in cloth and lashed to a cradle-board provided with three wooden hoops, which can be covered to protect the head from sun and flies, and women of the family prepare a bed of sand over heated stones, on which the mother and her infant lie for ten days. The heat is renewed as often as may be necessary.

The placenta is wrapped up and secretly buried, for if an animal should devour it the woman would lose her life. The navel-cord is severed with a knife, and the stump is covered with a pad of wool on which is placed a mixture of ground squash-seeds, piñon-gum, garlic, and fossil bivalves. When after several days the stump sloughs off, the father of a male infant buries it and the pad in a wooded place in the hills, and the mother of a female buries these objects beneath the floor behind the mealing-stones. This is to give the boy success at hunting and the girl a liking for the labor of grinding meal.

A name is chosen or invented for a newborn child by members of the family. At dawn on the tenth day the mother or other female relative of the infant's mother takes it outside, holds it up just as the sun appears, and casts sacred meal toward the orb, begging long life for the

child. She brings it back into the house, and they wash its head with soap-plant and its body with cold water. Then they bathe the mother in the same way.

During the day the godmother comes to bid the woman be ready at dawn on the next day. Before daylight therefore she is dressed and sits waiting, holding the child in her arms. The godmother comes and stands outside the door, and just before the sun comes up she calls out: "Síyôtiwa [for example], come out! I want to see you!" The mother opens the door and gives her the infant, and the godmother holds him up to the sun, repeats the name, offers meal, and prays for his health and long life.

There is no superstitious disapproval of twins at Zuñi. Some years ago a woman had triplets, all of which died, and it was thought that she must have been promiscuous to conceive so many children.

All boys at about the age of puberty are initiated into the Kâtikyanne ("god fraternity"), and thereafter they are capable of participating in the masked dances in which the gods are represented. There is no corresponding occasion in the life of Zuñi girls.

An unmarried youth ambitious to become a good hunter climbs the difficult trail to the base of the two conspicuous columns on the western side of Corn mountain. These represent the son and the daughter of the Corn Chief who sacrificed them to the angry water-god in order to check a deluge. Pointing an arrow at a cleft in the column representing the chief's son, he prays, with drawn bow, for good luck, and releases the arrow. If it sticks in the cleft, he knows that his arrow and his prayer have reached the heart of the sacrificed youth. If it fails, he tries as many as three times more. Whether successful or not, he may make the pilgrimage again and again.

An unmarried girl secures clay from the top of Corn mountain, makes a miniature pot, fills it with meal ground by herself, and places it at the base of the column representing the chief's daughter. This is to make her prolific and industrious. If a girl is too lazy to undertake the arduous trail, her father may bring a bit of sandstone from either of the columns, and she grinds it and drinks water in which the dust is stirred. Her children will be male or female according as the sandstone came from the " boy " or the " girl " column. There are several places where stones resembling female or male organs are put to a similar use. One of these is in the valley west of Corn mountain, where a rounded, elon-

gate stone weighing perhaps thirty pounds lies close beside a little-used road. A low wall has been built around it on three sides. Cohabitation at such places for good luck in achieving pregnancy is not practised.

When a Zuñi dies, the members of the clan and of the spouse's clan are immediately notified, and with other relatives and friends and his fraternity godfather they quickly assemble in the house. Even while the body is being prepared, female mourners begin to enter and set up a disheartening wail. The corpse is stretched out with the feet to the west. It is washed with soap-plant suds, dusted with meal, and clothed in fine garments, each of which is cut in order that its spirit may emerge and clothe the ghost. Then, wrapped in a blanket, the body is carried to the grave and interred with the head toward the east. For a very long time burial has been made in the little churchyard of the dilapidated and disused structure in the centre of the pueblo, the females on the north and the males on the south side, until now after thousands of bodies have been deposited there, bones are unearthed close to the surface whenever a grave is dug. Sometimes, it is said, a very perceptible stench arises from the place.[28] After the interment the surviving spouse is ceremonially purified by a bath administered by his or her female relatives.

When a Shíwanni lies dead, his son or successor rubs meal on the hair and body, but not on the face, of the corpse. The lower part of the face is painted with the very carefully guarded black clay that is kept with the priestly fetish called *éttonne*, supposedly brought up from the lower world. The upper part of the face is dusted with corn-pollen. Black stockings are drawn over the lower legs, and a ceremonial blanket is placed around the shoulders.

It is believed that the spirit lies lifeless four days after the burial. Then on the fifth morning it arises and goes to Kâ-hluala-wa ("god village at"), in the sacred lake near St. Johns, Arizona, the reputed home of the Kâkkâ ("gods"). There, and in all other lakes, springs, and rivers, the shadow people dwell.

SORCERY

As at all other pueblos, belief in witchcraft plays an important part in Zuñi life. The following experience in this connection was recounted

28 At the present time (1926) the old question of abandoning the campo santo and establishing another north of the pueblo is being agitated.

by a man who since the occurrence has several times been governor of the village.

In 1891 I was suspected of witchcraft because a woman gave up a rich husband for me, a poor young man. His sister made the first suggestion that I must be a sorcerer, and a Hopi visiting at his house made medicine and said I must be a sorcerer because I had learned English without going to school, while many others came back from school unable to speak the language.

The two Bow Chiefs came for me at the store where I was working, I ran down into the cellar with a gun. They wanted to come down for me, but the owner of the store warned them that I would surely shoot them. Naíuchi, the elder-brother Bow Chief, then asked if he could come down and talk to me. I told him to come alone and without a gun, and he did so. He tried to persuade me to come with him, but I refused. That night I got a horse and went to Gallup.

Later I returned to the pueblo, and one of the Bow Chiefs after many efforts got me drunk and took me to the kiva. I was hung up by the wrists, and so was my brother. He confessed falsely, and was cut down, and after a long time I was cut down. I sent my father to Gallup to notify the United States marshal, who brought troops from Fort Wingate and arrested Zuñi Dick, Wéwa and two others. Wéwa was released. He had been arrested because Naíuchi advised it. Three men served ten months in jail. A long time I lived in Gallup, then Naíuchi and the people begged me to return. I came back, and they wanted me to be governor, but I refused. But in 1895 they appointed me. Two weeks later a woman was hung and killed as a witch. Naíuchi and four others were arrested and put in jail for eighteen months. Naíuchi paid a hundred sheep to some Mexicans for his release. Very recently [prior to 1910] old women have been hung as witches, but only poor, uninfluential people are so treated.[29]

WARFARE

The principal enemy of Zuñi was the Navaho, who made many attacks on the village and twice actually entered the streets. On both occasions

29 As a matter of fact the informant, Zuñi Nick, was punished because he boasted that he was a sorcerer, that he was a Mexican, not a Zuñi; and the troops came from Fort Wingate in response to the plea of a missionary resident at Zuñi. The first Zuñi children to go to school away from home were sent to Carlisle, in the early '80's, where two or three of the five died. The others knew English, but could hardly be persuaded to use it. — EDITOR.

the inhabitants fled to the housetops and repelled the first attempts of the enemy to mount the ladders, but the marauders succeeded in entering some of the houses and destroyed much property. In earlier historical times the Zuñi suffered from the forays of the Wílatsuqe, or White Mountain Apache, who on one of their raids burned Hawikuh and compelled its abandonment.

Warfare was in charge of the Bow Chiefs, a fraternity of warriors headed by the representatives of the twin war-gods. When an expedition was about to be organized, these two issued a call for volunteers. Nobody could be compelled to take part. Those who wished to enlist made prayer-sticks of cottonwood, the material employed in fashioning ceremonial images of the war-gods, on each of four days. Then on the morning of the fifth day each man with a full equipment of bow and arrows, food, blanket, and reserve moccasins, started up the ladder from his house. His wife seized him and pulled him back, embracing him and crying. Four times this was done, and then the fifth time the warrior went out and proceeded into the house of the North Shíwanni for his blessing. He started back up the ladder, and the women of the household pulled him down as if unwilling to let him go. Four times they did so, and the fifth time he went out and into the house of the West Shíwanni, where the same thing was done. Then he proceeded in the direction of the enemy's country to a place about three hundred yards from the pueblo, where all the warriors congregated. When a large party was being organized, these preliminaries occupied the entire day.

When all had assembled, the six Áshiwanni (priests associated with the world-regions) joined them and made two mounds of sand, one lying north of the other. Between these "mountains" they dug a hole, and extending eastward from it they drew a line of sacred meal with four shorter lines crossing it at right angles. The two Bow Chiefs stood up, one on the north, the other on the south of the two mounds of sand, and each extended his arm and grasped the hand of the other above the mounds. Then all the warriors with their weapons passed in single file along the line of meal, under the hands and between the two "mountains," and each dropped a bit of bread and meal into the hole. This was a ceremonial feeding of the deceased Bow Chiefs and a supplication for their aid.

The Áshiwanni returned to the village, and the warriors went on

a few miles and made camp. The elder Bow Chief then withdrew a few hundred yards westward and made two mounds of sand with a hole between them, and drew a large circle of meal around them. He returned to the party, and after they had eaten, all proceeded to the mounds, each man carrying a juniper-bark torch. They gazed fixedly at the space enclosed by the circle of meal. If there were any tracks of horses or sheep, it was a sign that they would capture animals of that kind. If there were bear or cougar tracks, it was taken as an omen that they would have a difficult time with the enemy. Then each warrior put a prayer-stick in the hole and dropped meal and wafer bread upon it. The two Bow Chiefs obliterated the mounds and filled the hole with the sand, and all returned to camp, sang a while, and lay down to sleep.

When the scouts discovered a Navaho camp, a halt was made and the party lay hidden. In the night the two Bow Chiefs crept down to the very edge of the camp on the north side and deposited prayer-sticks. They returned over their trail and crept forward from the west with more prayer-sticks. This was repeated on the south and on the east, after which they rejoined their men. Just before dawn the party sang war-songs in a low voice, and then advanced and rushed upon the camp. If no considerable number of stock were captured, they went on for more booty; for it was disgraceful to return with only a few sheep or horses. The wounded were carried along, and so were the dead. No matter how long the party was on the march, the dead bodies of their comrades were carried with them, wrapped in blankets, to be buried at Zuñi.

ORIGIN AND MIGRATION

There were four worlds beneath the earth. All was darkness. The people could not see one another; it was as if they were blind. They would step on one another, spit on one another, urinate on one another, all because they could not see. They brushed their sweepings on one another. So Hóna-tach-íllaponna ["our fathers guardian"], who were warriors, decided to take the people out where there was light. They pondered, and sent Kwálashi [raven] around the north side of the world to find if there was a hole through which they might escape. Raven went around from the north to the west and on to the starting

point. Four times he went around the world in narrowing circles, until he returned to the people, who were assembled at the centre; but he could not find an exit.

The great fathers then sent Pípi [chicken-hawk], who started in the west and passed to the south and so on around the world four times to the centre, but he also failed. Next they sent Ánehlawa [sparrow-hawk], who started in the south and passed around the world four times, but he also returned unsuccessful. Múhuqi [owl] was the next. He started in the east, but went four times around the world without finding a passage into the world above.

Then Píshla-shíwanni ["north chief"] said to the great fathers, "Go to my brother, West Chief, and to the other Chiefs of the South, the East, the Zenith, and the Nadir, and ask for their advice." Then the two Bow Chiefs, the great fathers, went to the west and asked Ky'álishi-shíwanni ["pearl-shell chief"] to come to the centre of the world with his *éttonne*.[30] They went to Állahâ-shíwanni ["coral chief"] in the south with the same invitation, to Témakohan-shíwanni ["light-salt-white chief"] in the east,[31] to Íyama-shíwanni ["above chief"], and last to Mánilama-shíwanni ["underworld chief"]. So the six Áshiwanni met in the centre of the world, each with his *éttonne*, and the two Bow Chiefs, our great fathers, asked for their opinion: "Is it better to go up to the light, or to remain here? We are willing to take you out to the light, if you wish it."

The North Chief answered, "I should like to go to the light, but I do not know what my brothers think." The others agreed, and the two war-chiefs went on, "Well, how shall we get out?" The Áshiwanni replied, "Get our great old grandfather."

So the two Bow Chiefs brought Chúmali [a small locust] to the people in the centre of the world, and Chúmali asked, "What do you wish to say?" The chiefs answered, "We wish to get out of this world and go where it is light." He said: "Is that what you wish of me? Then I will try it."

Chúmali began to bore through the roof of the lower world, but

30 A priestly fetish.

31 In the names for the Shíwanni of the west, the south, and the east, the first component is an esoteric word. *Ky'álishi* is probably abalone.

when he came out at the top of it, all was still dark. He went back to report that he had found a new world, but it was dark, and the war-chiefs said, "You must go farther." So Chúmali bored through another earth, and saw a faintly gleaming light. But the war-chiefs said: "You must go still farther, and you will see the sun. Then come and tell us." So Chúmali bored through the third earth, and returned with the report that he had seen light but not the sun, and that the air was not warm, but cold. The war-chiefs said: "You must see the sun. We wish to find the place where the sun is." Then Chúmali bored into the fourth earth, but when he was a very short distance from the top he was exhausted. When he made his report the two chiefs said: "We must go out to the sun. What shall we do?"

They found a cane and pushed it through the hole made by Chúmali, and the sharpened point broke through the ground like sprouting corn. They returned to the people and said: "We have seen the sun. Let us go out." They planted a Douglas spruce beneath the first hole to serve as a ladder. North Chief asked, "What shall we call this place where we have been living?" It was decided to call it Lúhotikyápina, because they had been unable to see.

Then all the people climbed up the tree through the hole to the second world, where they remained four years. After this period had passed, the two Bow Chiefs said: "Well, what do you think? Shall we stay here always?" North Chief replied: "We cannot expect to remain here always. We must see the sun." The Bow Chiefs said, "Get ladders and we will go." It was decided to call that second world Ánnosiyan-téhula ["soot world"], because it was black as soot. So the two Bow Chiefs planted a jack-pine for a ladder, and all went up to the third world, where they could see very faint light.

Four years were spent there, and then the Bow Chiefs said, "Well, are we going to remain here always, or shall we go up?"

"We must go up. We wish to see the sun," the others said. The Bow Chiefs planted an aspen tree beneath the passageway made by Chúmali, and after naming that third world Tépahaiyan-téhula[32] all climbed up to the fourth world, where they found light. They could

32 *Tépahaiyan*, to see someone indistinctly without recognizing the features.

now see one another and distinguish the features, and the Bow Chiefs said: "You people may do as you please. You may sing and make fraternities if you wish, or you may do whatever you like."

So they assembled and sat down in four concentric circles, and the six Áshiwanni in the centre began to sing. Those in the first circle heard well, those in the second circle faintly, those in the third circle only intermittently because of the wind blowing through the grass, while those on the outside heard nothing at all. That is why some people cannot sing, and do not try to learn the sacred songs and the religious accounts.

It was at this time that the Bow Chiefs instituted the first fraternities: Shíwannaqe, Néweqe, Sániakyaqe, and Hléweqe. In each case they appointed a man and a woman, who selected their members.

After four years the Bow Chiefs said, "Are you going to remain here, or go on?" They answered, "We must go on and see the sun." So the two planted a yellow pine, and the people, after naming that fourth world Láta-téhula,[33] because there they had seen the light of the sun though not the sun itself, climbed up into this world. The sound of their coming forth was a low rumbling, like distant thunder, or the buzz of swarming bees, and the earth was shaken with their footsteps. The place was Chímikyannápkyatéa.

The earth was already inhabited by the people who built the villages that stood on the sites of the ruins now found in the country, but these old ones fled eastward. The people who came up from below, the Áshiwi, were all green. The hair projected out from the forehead in a long, cylindrical mass, and was green like rock slime, and they had tails like horses.

At the place where they emerged they remained four years, and then the Bow Chiefs said, "Is it best to remain here, or to look about for the centre of the earth?" Said the Áshiwanni, "We will look for the centre of the earth, and place our *éttowe* [plural of *éttonne*] there."

All the *éttowe* of the Áshiwanni were laid in a row. North Chief said: "We do not know which one is the highest of these. We will send for Yánôwolúha." This man had supernatural power. The Bow Chiefs told him their difficulty, and he promised: "When we go to

33 *Látate*, the beams that precede the sunrise.

those people, I will tell you about the *éttowe*. For I was in that lower world and I could see there in the darkness. Therefore I know the éttowe in the order of their greatness." So he went with the Bow Chiefs and stood before the row of *éttowe*. Directed by Spider, who crawled up and perched behind his ear, he pointed to one and said: "This is Ky'á-éttonne ['water éttonne'] and the next one to it is Chú-éttonne ['seed-corn éttonne'], and all these others are younger brothers and younger sisters of these two."

The Bow Chiefs said: "It is well; you are wise. Which man shall take this Ky'á-éttonne?"

"North Chief shall take Ky'á-éttonne, and he shall be Kyáqi-mâssi[34] ['house chief']. And West Chief shall take Chú-éttonne, and the other chiefs shall take the others, one each. Whenever water becomes scarce and you want rain, lock yourselves up in a room with this Ky'a-éttonne and pray and sing for eight days."

The Bow Chiefs said, "You are a wise man, and you shall have the care of the sun: you shall be Péqinne."[35]

The people were about to start eastward in their search for the centre of the earth, when they heard a rumbling sound, like thunder. They paused, and saw a man coming up through the hole. His hair stood out from his head. In his hand was an ear of corn. With him was a woman of like appearance. The people said: "This is a*háhliqi* [sorcerer]. We do not want him to go with us." But the sorcerer replied: "This which I have is Corn. It is good to eat. If you do not let me go with you, you shall never have this to eat; you will have to live on weeds. Besides, if there were no sorcerers among you, you would increase so rapidly that you would be like ants, and there would not be room enough for you." So the Bow Chiefs agreed that he and the woman should join them.

Now the people started eastward, and they came to a spring where they remained four years The Bow Chiefs washed their bodies and removed the green slime with which they were covered, and then bathed all the others. They named the place Áwisho-ky'áya ["green-

34 For Kyáqi-mâssanna.

35 Though the myth mentions both a Zenith Chief and a Péqinne, in practice the Chief of the Zenith is the Péqinne or Sun priest.

scum spring"]. Then they resumed their journey, the Bow Chiefs always leading. At another spring they spent four years, calling it Támehlan-ky'áya ["woodbig spring"], because there they placed a very large, long prayer-stick in the spring. They moved on eastward to another spring, where they lived four years. Again the Bow Chiefs washed themselves and all the people, and here they cut off the great shocks of hair that projected from their foreheads, and the hairy tails. They called the place Úpuyiléma, because here they cut off their hair and put it into the spring.

The next spring they reached was the place where they invented the game *tíqawe*,[36] in which foot-racers kick sticks before them. It was played to bring rain. At the end of four years they put the gaming-sticks into the spring, whence they gave it the name Yámun-ky'áya. At another place they stopped four years, and here was first played a woman's game, *tsíkotíqawe*, in which they ran a race, each one throwing a small hoop by means of a stick. So they named the place Tsíkotíqawe. Thus they journeyed, stopping at many springs. At Shípololoqin ["fog place"] certain maidens remained when the others started on. The two sorcerers were following behind the people as usual, and came upon the maidens. "Who are you?" they asked.

"We are Corn Maidens."

"But you have no corn. That is not right." To one they gave an ear of yellow corn; to another a blue ear; to others severally an ear of red, of white, of varicolored, of black, and of sweet-corn, and beans and squash-seeds. The Yellow Corn Maiden then arranged her sisters in two lines facing the east, and all night they danced. In the morning the sorcerers went on, leaving the Corn Maidens there at Fog Place.

As the people journeyed, the Bow Chiefs said: "We must be near the centre of the earth. We will ask Kyáqimâssi what he thinks. It is better that his son Síwilu'siwa and his daughter Síwilu'sietsa take the lead, for we are becoming worn." So it was arranged, and the people continued eastward.

One day the youth said to his maiden sister, "I will go to the top of yonder hill to see how far we will travel tonight." While he was absent, she fell asleep, the people being some distance behind. When

36 Plural of *tíqanne,* the missile.

the youth returned and saw his sister reclining, he became amorous and lay on her. The instant he touched her, she cried out, and their faces became like masks. Almost at once ten children were born, one of them normal, the other nine with grotesque faces like that of their father. In their changed condition the young woman was Kómo-kyatsi ["dance old-woman"] and the youth Kómo-yemshikyi.[37]

Descending from the hill, Kómoyemshikyi drew two furrows in the sand with his foot, and scraped out a small hollow, forming two rivers and a lake.[38]

When the people came up and saw what had happened, they said, "It is too bad that our leaders have turned into these creatures." The youth and his sister talked volubly, urging the people to cross the stream. But whenever a mother carrying a baby on her back got into the middle of the stream, the infant, touching the water, would become a water-snake, a fish, a turtle, or some other water-dweller, and would bite the woman's shoulders and back until she dropped her burden. The Bow Chiefs observed this with anxiety. Half of the people were on one side and half on the other, and those who had crossed were weeping for their lost children. After a time the Bow Chiefs said: "Let the rest of the people cross, and if the children turn into snakes and turtles, do not let them go, but hold fast. Perhaps when you have crossed they will become human once more. If they do not, we cannot help it." The people agreed that this was the only thing to do. They began to cross, and the children became water creatures, which bit

37 This is said to be the original form of Kóyemashi and to mean "dance old-man." From this is the adopted Western Keres word Kómaiyawashi. Kóyemashi is sometimes said to mean "god husband." These masked clowns are the Zuñi counterpart of the Rio Grande clowns variously known as Kû'sari, Kasári, Kósa, and like them perform various antics designed to excite sexual desire and so promote fecundity; although the myth recites that their prototypes, the transformed youth and his nine misbegotten sons, were impotent. In view of this function of the Kóyemashi the translation "god husband" seems logical, but the form Kómoyemshikyi and its Keres equivalent are an obstacle. Probably Kóyemashi is an adaptation due to folk etymology applied to the earlier form.

38 Zuñi river, the Little Colorado, and the sacred lake near St. Johns, Arizona.

the women. But the mothers, crying, held on, and as soon as they had crossed the stream the water creatures turned again into children.

Kómoyemshikyi, Kómokyatsi, and their ten children went down into the lake, where they were joined by the water creatures, now transformed into Kâkkâ ["gods"].[39]

39 The following quotation from Frank Hamilton Cushing *(Century Magazine, 1883,* Vol. XXVI, pages 45-46) shows how the Zuñi regard the aquatic animals in the sacred lake:

"A procession of fifty men went hastily down the hill, and off westward over the plain. They were solemnly led by a painted and shell-bedecked priest, and followed by the torch-bearing Shu-lu-wit-si, or God of Fire ... 'They are going to the city of the Ka-ka and the home of our others.'

"Four days after, toward sunset, costumed and masked in the beautiful paraphernalia of the Ka-k'ok-shi, or 'Good Dance [Kâ-kâkshi, god good],' they returned in file up the same pathway, each bearing in his arms a basket filled with living, squirming turtles, which he regarded and carried as tenderly as a mother would her infant. Some of the wretched reptiles were carefully wrapped in soft blankets, their heads and forefeet protruding, — and, mounted on the backs of the plume-bedecked pilgrims, made ludicrous but solemn caricatures of little children in the same position ...

"The governor's brother-in-law came in. He was welcomed by the family as if a messenger from heaven. He bore in his tremulous fingers one of the much-abused and rebellious turtles. Paint still adhered to his hands and bare feet, which led me to infer that he had formed one of the sacred embassy.

"'So you went to Ka-thlu-el-lon [Kâhlualawa], did you?' I asked.

"'E'e,' replied the weary man, in a voice husky with long chanting, as he sank, almost exhausted, on a roll of skins which had been placed for him, and tenderly laid the turtle on the floor. No sooner did the creature find itself at liberty than it made off as fast as its lame legs would take it. Of one accord, the family forsook dish, spoon, and drinking-cup, and grabbing from a sacred meal-bowl whole handfuls of the contents, hurriedly followed the turtle about the room, ... praying and scattering meal on its back as they went. At last, strange to say, it approached the foot-sore man who had brought it.

"'Ha!' he exclaimed, with emotion; 'see, it comes to me again; ah, what great favors the fathers of all grant me this day,' and passing his hand gently over the sprawling animal, he inhaled from his palm deeply and long, at the same time invoking the favor of the gods. Then he leaned his chin upon his hand, and with large, wistful eyes regarded his ugly captive as it sprawled about blinking its meal-bedimmed eyes, and clawing the smooth floor in memory of

The nine Kóyemashi children were: Péqinne [sun priest], Píhlanshíwanni ["bow chief"], Éshâtsi [bat], Múyapona ["two-small horns"],Pósokki ["small mouth"], Ná-hlashi ["grandfather old"], Ítsepasha ["funmaker"], Ky'á-lutsi ["water drinker"-shrew], and Tsáhlashi ["youth old"]. The first-born son was Kâ-kâkshi ["god good"].

The people named the lake Hátin-ky'aya ["listening spring"], and the village of the Kâkkâ in its depths Kâ-hluala-wa ["god village at"].[40]

On this side of the river the people lived four years, and then North Chief said to the Bow Chiefs: "We must go on and find the centre of the earth. But you must first go into the water and see where our children are. See if they are alive or dead." So the Bow Chiefs went down into the water of the lake, where they found a large house filled with men, while women and children laughed and played outside. They said: "Tell our mothers and our fathers that they are not

its native element. At this juncture I ventured a question:
"'Why do you not let him go, or give him some water?'
"Slowly the man turned his eyes toward me, an odd mixture of pain, indignation, and pity on his face, while the worshipful family stared at me with holy horror.
"'Poor younger brother!' he said, at last; 'know you not how precious it is? It die? It will not die; I tell you, it *cannot* die.'
"'But it will die if you don't feed it and give it water.'
"'I tell you it *cannot* die; it will only change houses to-morrow, and go back to the home of its brothers. Ah, well! How should you know?' he mused. Turning to the blinded turtle again: 'Ah! my poor dear lost child or parent, my sister or brother to have been! Who knows which? May be my own great-grand-father or mother!' And with this he fell to weeping most pathetically, and, tremulous with sobs, which were echoed by the women and children, he buried his face in his hands. Filled with sympathy for his grief, however mistaken, I raised the turtle to my lips and kissed its cold shell; then depositing it on the floor, hastily left the grief-stricken family to their sorrows.
"Next day, with prayers and tender beseechings, plumes and offerings, the poor turtle was killed, and its flesh and bones were removed and deposited in the little river, that it might I return once more to eternal life among its comrades in the dark waters of the lake of the dead.' The shell, carefully scraped and dried, was made into a dance-rattle, and, covered by a piece of buckskin, it still hangs from the smoke-stained rafters of my brother's house."

40 The lake itself is now generally referred to as Kâhlualawa.

to grieve about us. We will never die, but always will stay here. Our parents will die sometime. Their spirits will come to this place and live with us. Tell them that they are now near the centre of the earth. You will reach it in a day and a half. When the earth begins to dry, make a prayer-stick and come to this lake to pray, and we will give you rain. In the summer, when North Chief or West Chief or any other Shíwanni has been in retirement four days, and the people begin to dance, then we will come to your village and dance."

When they were ready to proceed on their journey, the two Bow Chiefs said to two of the Néweqe fraternity, "Take the lead; we are weary." But these responded, "No, we cannot do it; we are vicious; perhaps we would do something wrong; perhaps we could not find the centre of the earth." But the other insisted, "It makes no difference how vicious you are, or whether or not you wish to do it; you must do it." So the two Néweqe took the lead. At Hánhlipi^{n}kya[41] they halted the people and went forward to search out the way. About halfway to Ojo Caliente[42] they came upon two women washing something in the water. The Néweqe killed and scalped them. Some of the people of the place saw this act and pursued, but the Néweqe enveloped themselves in a cloud of steam and hurried away through the air to their people. "We have killed two women," they said. "We cannot help it, for this is our nature. That is why we did not wish to take the lead. Perhaps something evil will come of it." But the Bow Chiefs replied: "No, that is all right. Good may come of it. Perhaps we shall have rain because of it." And in fact it soon began to rain and continued four days and four nights. The water fell in torrents. A waterfall came tumbling down over the rocks near by, and in the spray at the bottom the Bow Chiefs saw two small boys. Feathers grew out of their nostrils. The boys said: "Our father, Sun, sent us to help you fight. Nobody will be able to stand against you with us helping you." These two boys were

41 About ten miles west of Ojo Caliente.

42 Mrs. Stevenson's version of the myth places this event at "Kia'makia.... an extensive ruin about 50 miles south of Zuñi and a little off the trail to the Zuñi salt lake.... Hundreds of te'likinawe, offered by the Zuñis to the departed Kia'nakwe, dotted the canyon walls about the springs." — Op. cit., page 39

áhayuta ["spray"], and the elder wasnamed Úyuyewi and the younger Máasewi.[43] The people started eastward once more, the twin warriors accompanying them.

At the same time the Ky'ánaqe[44] the people whose women had beenkilled by the Néweqe, were coming to meet and fight the Áshiwi. The eastern people were led by a very large female, who walked up and down along the line to prevent anyone from running away. In her hand was a rattle, which she constantly shook. She had no weapon. The Áshiwi and the *áhayuta* filled her with arrows. Blood ran, but she did not die. The fighting continued four years. They secured the help of the gods at Kâhlualawa, but the leader of the enemy made three of them prisoners:Kâkâkshi, Ítsepasha [one of the Kóyemashi], and Saíahlia ["horn blue"]. Finally the twin war gods decided that the younger should go to their father Sun, and ask where the leader of the enemy carried her heart. For they had pierced all parts of her body in vain. When Máasewi asked his father this question, Sun replied: "I thought you were wise, but I see that you are not. Do you not know that she carries her heart in that rattle? Shoot the rattle, and she will die." He gave his son two rabbit-sticks, one of turquoise and one of coral. "Take these. Give one to your brother. Throw them at the rattle. Do not try to strike her body, but aim for the rattle. If you miss, perhaps your brother will hit it. If you strike it and crack it, her heart will fall out."

Máasewi returned with the sticks to the warring people. He hurled a stick at the enemy, but missed. The missile flew up into the sky and the Sun took it. Then the other war-god scoffed at his brother, and threw his stick. It struck the rattle, which broke, and the woman

43 All the Keres use these two names in the reverse order for the twin war-gods and their earthly representatives, the war-chiefs. The writer has no evidence bearing on the etymology of the names. Máasewi is undoubtedly the origin of Másôu, a local deity of the Hopi pueblo of Walpi. The name also occurs in songs of the Hopi Snake fraternity.
Mrs. Stevenson gives Matsaílema as the name of the younger war-god, and Cushing has respectively Ahaíiuta and Matsailema. Áhayuta is certainly a generic term for the twin gods, and Matsailema may be an esoteric disguise for Máasewi.

44 Perhaps from *ky'áwe,* water. Cf. the heavy rain after the women were killed and the rain-making secrets of the Ky'ánaqe priesthood.

fell. Then the Ky'ánaqe fled, but many were killed and scalped. The Áshiwi opened the gates of the walled enclosure in which this woman had imprisoned all the game in the world, and the twin gods directed them to hold the first scalpdance.[45]

In their pursuit the Áshiwi came to Hawikuh, a village of their enemies.[46] Every house seemed to be deserted, and the people went into them to gather booty. In one they found an old woman, a youth, and a little girl, all sitting grouped around a urinal. They had cotton in their nostrils, and in the vessel were yellow, black-centered flowers floating on the liquid. The three were holding their noses close to the vessel, in orderto escape the evil, sulphurous odor that had clung to the Áshiwi since their emergence from below, an odor that was sufficient to kill the people of this earth when it came close to them. Some of the Áshiwi wished to kill the three, but the Bow Chiefs restrained them: "Do not kill them. It must be that they know something." The three were taken back to Hánhlipi[n]kya, and there was held the first scalp-dance.

Some of the Áshiwi said, "These three shall be our slaves." But North Chief remonstrated: "No, they shall not be slaves. Perhaps they know something. They have *éttowe*."

North Chief retired into his house to pray for rain, and after four days there was a light shower. Then the old woman, the boy, and the girl went into a house to pray for rain, and in four days there was a tremendous downpour and the streams ran full.

The people now prepared to move on toward the east. The Crane clan and the Hléweqe fraternity said to the others, "We will go around

45 The war with the Ky'ánaqe is commemorated quadrennially when masked and white-robed personators of these ancient enemies enter the village and dance. Their leader represents a female and wears the mask called Cháqena. The captive Kâkâkshi is personated by a character called Ká-hlanna ("god big"), a man who dresses and comports himself as a woman, because the Ky'ánaqe compelled him to dance in a woman's costume. The songs used in the dance of the Ky'ánaqe are said to be in the language of Sia, whence we may conclude that the historical basis of the legendary episode was a war with people of the Keres family.

46 Interestingly enough, archeological excavations have shown that a prehistoric settlement existed very near Hawikuh before the latter pueblo was built.

to the north and meet you at the centre of the earth." So they proceeded in that direction, and stopped at Shípapulima,[47] while the others went on eastward and came to Hálo-na-íttiwanna ["red-ant place centre"]. North Chief ordered Ky'ánastepi ["water-skipper"] to measure and see if that was the centre. Ky'ánastepi stood with his heart over Hálona and stretched out his legs in all directions. In every direction the feet rested on the edge of the world, and so it was proved that this was the centre. The war-chiefs made a heap of stones to mark the place, and the people built their houses around it.

They became discontented, because they had nothing to do for amusement, and the Bow Chiefs told them to count the moons, and forty-nine days after the tenth full moon there would be a great dance, Shálako, which the gods themselves would attend. So it happened. Other dances also the gods instituted, and they always came from the lake to participate. But it was noticed that after each dance, when the gods left the village, some of the people died. So it was decided that the old men should closely observe the gods and should make masks in their likeness.

The people that travelled around by the north lived at Shípapulima four years, and then moved to Tâya [the present village at Nutria], and while they were living there they chanced to meet a man from Hálona and a mutual discovery of identity followed.

PRIESTHOODS AND FETISHES

Zuñi ceremonies are of two kinds: those in which masked personators of the gods at Kâhlualawa appear, and those of the secret shamanistic fraternities. Some of these latter organizations are usually concerned in a minor role in masked ceremonies.

Participants in rites of the first-named class may conveniently be separated into two classes: various priestly bodies whose principal function is to retire and fast for rain, and the Kâ-tikyilli, members of Kâtikyanne ("god fraternity"), the masked personators of the gods.

Six of these priestly orders pertain respectively to the six world-

47 The fabled place of emergence of the Rio Grande people.

regions, eight are clan cults.[48] Membership in each case, with one exception, includes a leader and a few associates, the total membership in 1910 being forty-eight.

In the order in which they retire for fasting and prayer at the winter and the summer solstice these orders are:

1.Píshla-áshiwanni, North Chiefs
2.Ky'álishi-áshiwanni, Pearl-shell (i.e., west) Chiefs
3.Állahâ-áshiwanni, Coral (i.e., south) Chiefs
4.Témakohan-áshiwanni, Light-like-the-whiteness-of-salt (i.e., east) Chiefs
5.Íyama-shíwanni, Above Chief
6.Mánilama-áshiwanni, Underworld (i.e., nadir) Chiefs
7.Kyákyaliqe, Eagle People
8.Píchiqe, Dogwood People
9.Tâwaqe, Corn People
10.Kólowisi, Plumed Watersnake (associated with Corn clan)
11.Shúmaqe[49]
12.Yátâkyaqe, Sun People
13.Ky'ánaqe (associated with Corn clan)[50]
14.Kyákyaliqe, Eagle People[51]

Comparison of this list with that of Mrs. Stevenson, recorded from observation in 1891, shows a few discrepancies, which however can be easily reconciled. The man responsible for the list above said that Píchiqe (8) and Tâwaqe (9) now retire simultaneously. If we assume that Tâwaqe is here out of place and transfer it to the position following Ky'ánaqe (now 13), and assume further that Kyákyaliqe (14) is

48 It is not meant that the priests of these cults must be members of the clans to which, according to Zuñi feeling, the cults belong. Since a priestly office generally passes from father to son or other male relative, the clan affiliation of the incumbents is not constant, Zuñi clans being matrilineal.

49 The priests of this group are members of the Shúmaqe fraternity and have charge of the Shúmaikuli masks, a Laguna cult.

50 This group possesses the rain-making secrets of the three captive Ky'ánaqe.

51 Group 14 is entirely distinct from Group 7.

now so called because its present head is of that clan whereas formerly the position was filled by a Corn clansman, the two lists will agree perfectly.

North Shíwanni, most important of all Zuñi priests, is generally known as Kyáqi-mâssi (for Kyáqi-mâssânna, house chief). Strictly speaking, this title may be applied to the head of any of the first six sacerdotal groups excepting the one associated with the zenith. The "house" referred to is the ceremonial chamber where the priest keeps his sacred fetish.

Zenith Shíwanni, who is always referred to as Péqinne, has no associates and must be of the Píchiqe clan. He is supposed to be a celibate like his prototype, Yánôwolúha of the origin myth. If this rule was ever observed, it is no longer in effect. It is his duty to observe the rising of the sun (which he addresses in prayer and offers prayer-meal mixed with pulverized abalone-shell), and thus to determine various seasonal changes, especially the incidence of the solstices. He rises while it is yet dark to greet the sun with prayer, and in the evening he observes the sinking orb in the gathering gloom. He goes out into the field while the people yet sleep, and again after all have returned from their farms and are engaged in their evening meal. It is for this reason that he is called Péqinne (*péye,* to talk; *téqinne*, darkness).[52]

The head of each priestly group named above, except Péqinne and the head of the Shúmaqe, as well as many of the fraternities and clans, possesses a venerated fetish called *éttonne* (plural, *éttowe*), which is supposed to have been brought from the lower world by his prototype. The sacred object consists of two parts: *ky'a-éttonne* ("water éttonne"), a bundle of four short pieces of cane filled with water and plugged at the ends with clay, the whole being wrapped with native yarn, but the ends of the canes being uncovered; and *chú-éttonne* ("seed-corn éttonne"), a similar bundle of eight bits of cane filled with the various kinds of seeds on which the Zuñi depend for sustenance.[53] An éttonne examined by Mrs. Stevenson contained in one of the sealed cylinders a diminutive live toad. Each fetish is kept, when not being

52 Information from Mr. F. W. Hodge, 1926.

53 According to the origin myth, *ky'á-éttonne* was assigned to North Shíwanni and *chúéttonne* to West Shíwanni.

used ceremonially, in a sealed jar in a small sealed room of its custodian's house.[54]

A priestly office usually passes from father to son or brother, except in the case of Péqinne, hence it is not a clan perquisite.

Following the summer solstice the various priesthoods retire in the order named above for a period of either eight or four days, which they spend in partial fasting and in prayer over their respective altars. These consist essentially of a cloud-design of meal and pollen, and numerous fetishes such as the *éttonne* of the priesthood, ears of corn tied in bundles of four, fossils or stones of peculiar shape, a medicine-bowl with the terraced cloud design at each of the four quadrants of the rim, and feathered ears of corn, these last being the personal fetishes of the priests. At the winter solstice the period of retirement is only one day and night.

Kâ-tikyanne, the Fraternity of God Personators

The gods at Kâ-hluala-wa ("god village at") in the depths of the sacred lake Hátinky'aya are personated in an exceedingly long and complicated series of ceremonies by masked actors corresponding to the Kachinas of other pueblos. All Zuñi males belong to an esoteric order called Kâ-tikyanne ("god fraternity"), and the deities of Kâhlualawa are imagined as being its prototype. The principal gods of this group are Páutiwa, Kyáklo, Shúlaawitsi, Saía-tasha ("horn long"), Yámu-

54 Two *éttowe* were found in a jar, covered with a flat stone, in a crypt partitioned off from a room of one of the houses of Hawikuh during the excavation of its ruins by the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in 1921. Each *éttonne* was wrapped in a coarse fabric, probably of yucca-fibre, of native weave. The covering of one is still intact. On removing the cover of the other, its contents were found to consist of three pieces of cane, each containing a fine brown powder and one of them a turquoise bead; eight prayer-sticks of varying sizes, each of which had been feathered and some of them painted; five twigs of evergreen, perhaps spruce; a tiny spherical stone that may be quartz crystal. Waíhusiwa, the old priest, after reverently examining them in the condition in which they were found, said that the éttowe were similar to those in his keeping, but aside from this both he and the Péqinne evidently regarded the objects as too sacred to be discussed. — EDITOR.

hakto, Hútutu, Sálimop a, Saía-hlia ("horn blue"), Shítsukye, Qélele, Héhea,Ánnohoho.

At Kâhlualawa there are also the ten Kóyemashi, that is, the nine malformed sons begotten of a brother and a sister, together with their father. In ceremonies these are represented by masked buffoons corresponding to the well-known clowns of the Keres and the Tewa. Unlike the latter, however, they wear head-masks with round, protuberant mouth, eyes, and ears, and with grotesque knobs on the head. The masks are almost exactly like those of the Hopi, who borrowed the cult from Zuñi. The Kóyemashi personators are appointed annually in rotation from the ranks of one of the fraternities. Formerly the fraternities so honored were Néweqe, Shâweqe[55] Kâshiqe, and Mákyehlánnaqe. But the last-named had not, in 1924, furnished the Kóyemashi for some years, their chief being deceased and the society reduced to half a dozen members. The Kóyemashi participate in all masked ceremonies, and on such occasions, while not actively engaged, they remain in their house, where their *wâle* ("boiler") cooks for them and performs other services of like nature. At the end of their ceremonial year they receive abundant presents of food from the populace. Kóyemashi actors are also sometimes appointed for temporary duty in a single dance from the membership of a kiva.

According to the myth, Páutiwa, the Kâ-mâssânna ("god chief),[56] directed his Péqinne, Kyáklo 'to prepare the people for a visit from the Kâkkâ ("gods'). So Kyáklo was carried from Kâhlualawa to Íttiwanna on the backs of the Koyemashi, and after repeating to the people the story of their emergence from the lower worlds and of their wanderings in search of the centre of the earth, he told them to build six kivas in which to receive the Kâkkâ eight days later. The six kivas were built, and Kyáklo returned on the backs of the Kóyemashi and vis-

55 The Shâweqe ("cane people") are said to have been a fraternity of ceremonial players of the gambling game called *shâliwe* ("canes"), from the dice employed in it. They are no longer a fraternity, but simply an aggregation of devotees of the game.

56 Since the gods at Kâhlualawa are imagined as having an organization which is the exact prototype of the Zuñi fraternity of god personators, the titles applied to officials of the fraternity are applied also to the corresponding gods themselves.

ited each chamber in turn. Then Páutiwa and the other gods came to the north kiva, where the Áshiwanni were assembled, and instructed them how to form a fraternity in imitation of the gods. And so men from certain clans were chosen for the officials: Kâ-mâssânna ("god chief"), Kâ-péqinne ("god talker-in-darkness"), Kâpíhlan-shíwanni ("god bow chief") to Kâmâssânna, and Kâpíhlan-shíwanni to Kâpéqinne. Kâmâssânna then assigned the males of the village to the six kivas irrespective of clanship, and the gods were likewise divided. But after the dance had been observed several times, it was noticed that many deaths occurred following each performance, and the gods decided that it would be better to have their faces represented by masks, and to have certain men take the place of the gods.

As the kivas were created for the use of the god fraternity, so their most important function is still connected with the rites of this organization; but they are used also by the other fraternities at certaintimes, and by the Áshiwanni.

All male children are initiated into the fraternity in a quadrennial rite. The kiva to which an individual will be attached is necessarily that of the husband of his godmother who becomes his ceremonial father or sponsor, conducting him through the initiation and later instructing him in the cult. Since a large membership for one's kiva is a universal desire, there is much rivalry among women seeking the honor of receiving newborn infants.

Quadrennially in the month of March on the sixth day after the new moon a man personating Kyáklo is carried into the village on the backs of the Kóyemashi, one relieving another. He is painted all over with pink clay of the kind obtained in the vicinity of Kâhlua-lawa, his supposed home. His dress includes a Hopi kilt held up by a woven ceremonial belt, fringed deerskin leggings from ankles to hips, moccasins, a white ceremonial robe, and a rawhide mask covering the head. In his right hand he carries a stuffed duck. The Kóyemashi sing as they approach the village before sunrise. One of them carries the god up the ladder to the roof of the south kiva and deposits him on a blanket, and Kyáklo descends the ladderinto the kiva, where he finds the six Áshiwanni, the Kâmâssânna and his Kâpéqinne, and all the south kiva men. While the Kóyemashi on the roof repeat the last of their twelve songs, Kyáklo walks slowly to his seat. Then he repeats very rapidly (and indistinctly, owing to his mask) an exactly worded synopsis of the

origin and migration legend. The sentences are largely only suggestive; that is, the recital is not a detailed narrative, but consists of little more than mnemonic captions uttered in chanted tones.

At noon Kyáklo is carried to the west kiva, and there he repeats his myth. At sunset he is borne to the east kiva, at midnight to the kiva of the zenith, at the rising of the morning star to that of the north, and at daybreak to that of the nadir.[57] Early in the morning he is carried away to the west toward the sacred lake.

At each kiva after Kyáklo departs the head-men select those who will personate gods in the approaching ceremonies. Each kiva is represented by two Sálimopia, gods, and in addition the west kiva has fourSaíahlia, the east two Ánnohoho, the north two Hlélashaktí-pona, thezenith a Shúlaawitsa, and the nadir two Úpo'yona. At the same time each kiva except Hé'kyapawa (kiva of the nadir) selects a fraternity to have charge of the singing during the ceremony. The Mákyehlánna-qe ("fire big ones") always act in this capacity for the kiva of the nadir.

All the men chosen to personate the gods meet in their respective kivas and make prayer-sticks, and early in the afternoon all go together toward the north to a shrine of the war-gods. They deposit the prayer-sticks beside a stone which is believed to be the head of a creature killed by the war-gods, and then proceed northward to a place where there are some stones bearing a fancied resemblance to the male organs of generation. Here each one swallows a pebble. Next they gather cactus-thorns, the points of yucca leaves, and needles of pine and spruce, all of which they take back to their kivas and place in bowls of water. They remain in the chambers eight days and eight nights. Each morning before the people are stirring they visit a small arroyo west of the village and on the level ground above it they run a race, each set of men running apart from the others. After one race they return to their kivas, drink some of the medicine-water containing thorns, and vomit. Then they eat sparingly. After this they take axes and ropes and go into the hills a long distance, as much as fifteen or twenty miles, for fuel for the kivas, returning at night with fagots on their backs.

On the fifth night, after eating, they strip to the loin-cloth and

57 No reason is assigned for this violation of the ceremonial sequence.

smoke. Then one after another they go to the foot of the ladder, stand on the head on the stone fireplace with the back against the ladder, and by hooking the toes behind one rung and the knees over another, with the hands holding the sides of the ladder, they mount to the roof. Some of them attain remarkable speed. They visit some other kiva and in the same manner descend into it, after its occupants have come up feet first and departed to another kiva. They remain there for a time, then come out feet first and exchange with the occupants of another chamber; and so it goes until each group has occupied each kiva, when they return to their proper quarters. This is repeated on the sixth and the seventh night. On the morning following the seventh night each individual engages a man to take a jar and bring water from the spring at Ky'ápqaina (Ojo Caliente), fifteen miles distant.

These men start on foot early in the morning, and as soon as they reach the spring they plant prayer-sticks in the water, fill their jars, and gather bundles of rushes. One, necessarily a Badger clansman, places a fire-drill and its hearth in the water to soak while they eat. After the meal he takes the sticks from the water, and fills the hole in the hearth of the fire-drill with mud, and any others of the Badger clan, as well as the sons of Badger men, gather around to help him make fire. Whoever happens to be working the drill when fire appears lights the juniper-bark torch and carries it back toward the pueblo.

In the meantime the priest in charge of the cult of Kólowisi, the plumed serpent,[58] has taken the effigy of this monster to a secluded spot on the trail to Ojo Caliente. This deerskin effigy is about six feet long and eight inches thick. A red tongue hangs from its open, toothed jaws, a fox-skin encircles the neck, and a bunch of feathers rises from the head.[59]

58 A priesthood in charge of the plumed serpent cult, which is associated with the Corn clan, takes part in the cycle of retreats following the solstices.

59 An effigy of Kólowisi in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, was possibly made to order, although, in spite of its framework being covered with cotton cloth of trade, it has the appearance of considerable age. It is less than three feet in length. The upper body is black, with rude crescents in blue-green and yellow, thus: ( ). The under body is white, bordered with a blue and a white line from neck to tail, and the tail is circled with blue bands. The head is inserted in the body, and is painted black with

Toward evening the masked actors from the kivas proceed to the place where the Kólowisi is waiting, and they are joined there by the young men with their water-jars led by the torch-bearer. He gives his torch to the masked Shúlaawitsi, who is painted with vari-colored spots. A procession now forms for the return to the pueblo. Shúlaawitsi, bearing the fire, leads; then come two men supporting a tablet, the upper edge of which is cut into the terraced cloud design. Through a hole in the centre protrudes the plumed head of Kólowisi. Its body is hidden by the tablet and by shading spruce boughs carried by two men. The tail is supported by the custodian of the effigy, who at the same time sounds a constantly reiterated note on a large shell trumpet, representing the voice of the serpent. Behind the group are the water-carriers, white blankets on their shoulders concealing their jars. Each of two men in the procession has a long pole with a carved wooden bird attached by strings. These fetishes are Sútikyi, the bird that announces the coming of Kólowisi. When the procession comes to the village, these two men go from one kiva to another, peering down and thrusting their poles through the opening. By pulling the cords they cause the birds to move around the poles, like a woodpecker on a tree. The Kólowisi effigy also is thrust down into the kivas. The last kiva visited is that of the nadir. This they enter, and the effigy is laid north of the altar of the Big Fire fraternity, shaded by the spruce boughs. The gods go into their respective kivas, and all night there is dancing, the gods visiting the kivas in rotation.

At the same time that the young men went for water from the spring at Ojo Caliente, some of the members of Big Fire visited the stream near Black Rock and captured whatever water-creatures they

irregular blue patterns at the angles of the mouth and at the upper part of the end that is inserted in the body. The somewhat open mouth extends for three-fourths of the length of the head, and the lips are bordered with hematite paint. The teeth are wooden pegs of irregular shape. The eyes, which are of white calico, are quite globular, with large, black-painted pupils. A pair of blue-painted, stuffed, calico horns project forward from the neck-joint, and above them, also extending forward are several feathers and wisps of horse-hair. Protruding from the mouth is a red-painted deerskin tongue. The Kólowisi which I saw dimly at night at Zuñi many years ago was about six or seven feet in length. — EDITOR.

could — small fish, frogs, water-skippers. These, placed in a gourd of water along with a quantity of water-moss, are brought back in the evening.

On the following morning the Sálimopia and the other gods all go to the eastward, not necessarily all together but in groups, and plant prayer-sticks, the color of which corresponds to the quarter of the world represented by their kiva. They remove from their hair the woodpecker-feathers, symbol of the bird Sútikyi, which have been tied there, and now they no longer fear to see a woman. (Anyone with woodpecker-feathers on his person avoids females.) In the morning Kyáklo and the other gods come from the south, and his companions dance in the plazas. In the plaza for the nadir two of them dance before Kólowisi, whose head protrudes through an opening in the wall of the kiva. Then the party goes away to the west.

Afterward the gods go about the village with yucca whips. They are not permitted to strike anyone who carries an ear of corn or a vessel of water, or who lies on the ground or presses against a wall. Nor can they touch a Big Fire man. If they disobey these rules, complaint is made, all the whippers are assembled in the kiva, and the offender is punished by having each of the others strike him with all his strength on each arm and leg. The punishment is so severe that the limbs become greatly swollen.

Then the gods take their position in a line in the plaza, and the boys who are to be initiated are carried past them on the backs of their godfathers. They are well protected with blankets, and each god strikes the child forcibly four times with a bunch of yucca-leaves. The godfather then carries the child to the roof of the kiva of the nadir and down the ladder; but if the child is old enough, it walks down the ladder. There the children receive a drink from the bowl of water brought from Black Rock, and they are carried to the plaza and whipped again.

The child is now one of the Kâtikyilli, as the members of Kâtikyanne are called. As soon as he is old enough to appreciate the importance of the matter and the nature of his duties, he makes up his mind to undergo what may be called the second initiation. This is usually at the age of puberty.

The six principal Áshiwanni, the Kâmâssânna, Kâpéqinne, four Saíahlia, and ten Kóyemashi, are the principal actors in the second initiation. Accompanied by their godfathers the boys enter the kiva.

Each one, with a deerskin and one blanket over his back and shoulders, passes before the four Saíahlia, each of whom strikes him four times, drawing reluctant groans. Then while the godfathers blindfold the boys with their hands, the Saíahlia remove their masks and the boys are permitted to discover that the gods are really only men. With a boy in front of him, each of the four Saíahlia places his mask on the initiate, who then passes along the row of floggers and strikes each actor on each wrist and ankle. This is continued until each initiate has worn a mask. Then after a feast the boys and their godfathers pass out, and the Saíahlia go to the plaza, where they flog the people with their yucca whips. There is dancing by the Kâ'kâkshi ("god good"), a variety of rain-gods, and members of the Néweqe fraternity perform their antics, conspicuous being the alleged drinking of urine and eating of excrement.

In September there is a series of masked dances called Wâ-temhla ("creatures all-kinds"), in which gods of various kinds are represented. This corresponds to the Kachina dances of other pueblos. The dance may be repeated from six to nine times according to the temper of the people.

In December the Mâssânna ("director"), Péqinne ("talker in darkness"), and Píhlan-shíwanni ("bow chief") of Kâ-tikyanne ("god fraternity") decide which kiva shall perform in the masked dances of the next autumn. The Kóyemashi participate as fun-makers, and the line of maskers is led into and out of the plaza by Kâpéqinne. The purpose of the ceremony is to bring rain.

In all public masked dances the Koyemashi clowns perpetrate obscenities in the manner of the Rio Grande clowns; or at least they used to do so. Sometimes in their frolic they snatched the loincloths from one another and exposed themselves to the spectators. Protests by American visitors caused the suppression of this and similar acts, but whenever outsiders are not present the old fashions are revived.

Solstice Ceremonies

The Zuñi year begins with the winter solstice, at which time occurs the ceremony called Yátâkya-íttiwanna-qin-téchikya ("sun middle-at

place arrives"), or Té'tsina-wittiwa ("winter middle").[60] The movements of the sun are observed daily by the Péqinne, chief of the zenith. In the six winter months, December to May, he goes at sunrise to a petrified stump just east of the village, and with offerings of sacred meal he prays to the rising sun and notes its position with reference to certain permanent natural marks on the horizon. But in the six summer months he goes to the ruin of Matsaki two miles east of Zuñi and prays to the setting sun while standing within a semicircular stone shrine and making note of the position of the sun on Yálanne-hlánna ("mountain big"),[61] a high mesa northwest of Zuñi. When in November the rising sun coincides with a certain mark on Tâwa-yálanne, Corn mountain,he so informs the Ápihlan-shíwanni ("bow chiefs"), the war-chiefs, who inturn bear the news to the other five Áshiwanni, and these highpriests assemble at once in the house of the Kyáqimâssi, Shíwanni of the north.

Beginning on the next morning Péqinne at intervals of four days plants feathered prayer-sticks (always four in number) alternately at a shrine on Corn mountain for Sun and Moon, and in the field for his deceased predecessors, until he has thus made offerings thrice to the celestial deities and the deceased sun priests. This planting of prayer-sticks covers twenty-one days, and during the period, as well as the four days preceding and four following it, he practises continence. On the twenty-second morning he goes to the housetop and announces that on the tenthday thereafter the sun will arrive at Íttiwanna-qin ("middle-at place"), a certain point on Corn mountain, and they will then celebrate his arrival and his four days' sojourn there before turning back to the north.

The four days preceding the solstice are filled with the making of prayer-sticks by fraternities and priesthoods, and by the individuals of families. An image of the elder and of the younger war-god is prepared, the former by a man of the Deer clan and the latter by a man of the Bear clan. The varied accoutrement of the war-gods is prepared by especially appointed members of the Bow Chiefs, the fraternity of scalpers.

60 The initial w of wittiwa is interpolated for euphony.

61 The name is usually clipped to Yála-hlanna.

Kyáqimâssi (North Shíwanni) appoints a man of the Badger clan, or one whose father is of that clan, to prepare new fire; and on the afternoon of the day preceding the solstice this man makes the rounds of the village, receiving from each family a small quantity of fuel, which he carries, load after load, into the north kiva. Then he obtains embers from the adjoining house, builds a small square crib of his fuel, and ignites it as the sun sets. This is *mákye-téshqi* ("fire taboo").

At night the images of the war-gods are brought solemnly into thekiva, the six Áshiwanni and the Bow fraternity being the principal ones present, the latter having left the meeting of the various shamanistic societies to which they belong. After a night of prayers and offerings, the images are taken back to the houses where they were prepared, and after the morning meal the elder Bow Chief with an assistant carries the image ofthe elder god and deposits it at the war-god's shrine on Úhana-yalanne, southwest of Zuñi; and the younger Bow Chief carries the other image to the shrine on Corn mountain.[62]

On the day named as the solstice each household as a unit goes into the fields to plant prayer-sticks. Each member of the family, regardless of age, sex, or connection with fraternity or priesthood, places one prayer-stick or more (usually several) in a small hole dug out by the head of the household. The prayer-sticks are intended for various deities and for deceased ancestors.

Beginning with the day observed as the solstice no fire is permitted outside the houses for a period of ten days, except under shelter, as in a covered wagon, or, in a shepherd's camp, within a circle of meal. During this period also no rubbish may be swept out of the houses. For four days no meat is eaten, for eight days there is no sexual intercourse, for ten days there may be no trading nor feeding of grain to the horses. Some families do not grind corn, nor comb the hair, nor kill a sheep

62 On December 24, 1923, the image of the elder war-god was carried to a shrine (see plate facing page 150) on Corn mountain, and the image of the younger god was placed in a shrine on Úhana-yalanne. In 1924 the procedure would be reversed, the image of the elder god being taken to a shrine of his own on Úhana-yalanne and that of the younger god to a shrine of his own on Corn mountain. There are still other shrines on these mesas containing lightning-struck pine images of the gods, placed there at the conclusion of the scalp-dance of the Bow fraternity.

for ten days. The strictness with which the various taboos, except that of fire, are observed, varies somewhat among the different households.

During the first four days of the period of abstinence, the people make clay images of horses, burros, sheep, *et cetera*. Women who desire children make images of babies, male or female according to their wish. Some cook cornmeal in the shape of peaches, melons, or other fruits. Sometimes a woman embeds the base of a branch of a peach tree in a ball of clay and fastens cornmeal peaches to the twigs. On the fourth night all these things are placed before the altar of some fraternity, and the next day they are taken away by their owners. The images of animals are deposited in the corral of the maker, in order to give him large increase of stock during the year; those of babies are placed in a niche of the wall at the head of the suppliant's bed, the niche being sealed and the images left there forever; the cornmeal fruits are eaten.

On the night of the fifth day following the solstice a few headmen of each kiva wait in their ceremonial room, and at midnight a masked man of the Corn clan, or the son of a Corn man, having been selected for the position the preceding day, comes running and dodging into the village, personating Páutiwa, one of the principal gods at Kâhlualawa. He goes up the ladder of each kiva in turn, drops a pinch of sacred meal through the opening, and draws four lines of meal across the beam as a sign that there remain only four days of taboo. He leaves toward the west after performing this act at each kiva.

On the ninth day following the solstice the six Áshiwanni, the Kâmâssânna, and the Kâpéqinne, select men to personate Qélele, Shítsukye, and four Saíahlia (warrior guardians of Páutiwa), as well as the god-personators in the Shálako ceremony. Two of the Saíahlia go now among the people, seeking men who will receive Shálako in their houses the coming autumn. Most of them refuse on account of the expense, and seldom are the required eight found at this time. Those who do consent are brought into the kiva and receive prayer-sticks, and thus the people know that they will be the ones to have their houses dedicated by Shálako. Then two other warrior gods seek four unmarried girls and four unmarried boys to dance on the tenth day following. Each of these receives two bluebird-feathers.

During the night there is singing in the north kiva and dancing by the masked Qélele and Shítsukye, which ceases on the appearance of the morning star. Then, the tenth morning after the solstice, the head

of the Kâkkâ-hlanna ("gods big") order of Big Fire fraternity, with his Péqinne,[63] and Qélele (who also is of Big Fire) go into the kiva and with yucca sticks well soaked in water proceed to make fire by drilling. A bit of wet clay is pressed into the hole of the base stick, in order to increase the difficulty of the process. The head of the order does the work, with relief at intervals by his Péqinne. This is done in the presence of Big Fire fraternity and all the various religious officers and anyone who has been initiated into Kâtikyanne, the order of masked dancers. Women are not present. When after a long time fire is produced, the head of the Big God order makes a torch of juniper-bark and gives it to Qélele, and the principal actors leave the kiva in the following order: Shítsukye; *tsúpal-íllonna* ("ember guardian"),[64] the officer who has been taking care of the new fire in the north kiva during the past ten days; Péqinne, the sun priest; Páutiwa; four Saíahlia, or warrior guardians of Páutiwa; and Qélele with the torch at a considerable distance behind the others. They go about half a mile to the east, and the fire-custodian deposits on the ground the burning embers which he has brought from the fire in the north kiva. They return to the kiva, Qélele still carrying his extinguished torch. While they are thus engaged, the people carry out the rubbish, ashes, and some of the burning embers from their houses, and throw them away. The man of the family carries the rubbish in a blanket on his back, women bear the embers and ashes in bowls on their heads, children have a burning brand in the hand. The mother of the family takes in her hand the "mother corn," a flattish, double ear with a line of depression down the middle, or the "father corn," an ear with the tip well covered with grains. Both of these have phallic significance in their shape. About half a mile in any direction from the village (though most of the people go eastward) the man empties his blanket and the women pour their bowls of ashes and coals beside the heap of rubbish. Each child lays its burning brand between the two piles, and the mother of the family carefully inserts the ear of corn on the heap of rubbish deposited by the man. The latter

63 Péqinne as used in this connection must not be confused with the village Péqinne, who is the sun priest, the zenith Shíwanni. As here used the word simply means assistant to the official with whose name it is coupled.

64 *Tsúpal,* an obsolete word for ember.

then sprinkles sacred meal on it, and all return home. While pouring out the rubbish, they always look eastward and say: "I throw you out, rubbish. In a year you will come back to me as corn." While pouring out the ashes they express the wish that it return in a year as cornmeal.

In the kiva the four Saíahlia, Qélele, and Shítsukye now dance until sunrise, while spectators crowd about. Then all except the six dancers leave for breakfast.

As soon as the sunbeams become visible, but before the sun itself appears, all the young males take sacred meal in small bowls and go about sprinkling meal on the heaps of rubbish and ashes. There is no prescribed number of piles to be treated by an individual, all depends on his piety. The belief of the orthodox is that the more one does of this the more loads of produce he will carry home from his fields in the coming year.

During the day those who are to personate gods in the Shálako ceremony are visited by the elder Bow Chief, who gives prayer-sticks to each one. They follow him back into the kiva, and he gives to each certain symbols prepared from sticks, paint, and feathers. The masked personators of Shítsukye and Qélele dance on the roof throughout the day, and in the afternoon throw corn to the people.

Then Páutiwa is seen approaching from the south. Besides his mask with its tubular mouth, he wears moccasins and deerskin leggings, and four very heavy ceremonial blankets with the cloud design. Regardless of his finery, he wades through the river, which may be up to his knees. He goes around the village, and coming for the second time to the north side where a circular hole half an arm in depth has been dug, he plants a prayer-stick in it. He goes on around the village, and coming again to the north he passes on to the west and plants another stick in a similar hole. So he does on the south and the east, passing once and a quarter around the pueblo between each two plantings. Then he goes to the stick on the north side and drops sacred meal on it, and next to the west, the south, the east, without a complete circuit of the village intervening. Next he goes to a house on the northern side of the pueblo, where there is a sealed niche in the outer wall containing numerous fetishes from previous performances of this rite. If the personator of Páutiwa is a new performer, a certain man of the Píchiqe clan stands there to show the precise location of the niche. This man is the one who dug the hole on the north side, and has opened the niche. Páutiwa

deposits a new pair of *wíhewe* ("babies"), two round sticks the length of the first two joints of the middle finger, with rude faces carved on them and with eagle-feathers and the tail-feathers of some summer bird attached to them. The sticks are bound together, one representing a male and the other a female.[65] As soon as Páutiwa leaves, the woman of the house reseals the shrine. He goes on around the village, and coming the second time to the west he finds another niche which has been opened by another Píchiqe man, and here he deposits another pair of "babies." This he does also at the south and the east side of the pueblo. He goes around the village again, and from the south passes directly through on the street that extends in front of the churchyard. He goes around on the west side and through the narrow alley that leads under what until a few years ago was a covered way, and comes into the plaza just north of the churchyard.

In the meantime Shítsukye and the others have been dancing on the roof of the kiva and throwing ears of corn to the people. As soon as Páutiwa appears in the plaza, Shítsukye runs into the kiva, takes his bundles of wafer bread, and goes out. Páutiwa throws into the kiva a bunch of a certain kind of brush called *hlá-tsitânne*, with an owl-feather and a raven-feather attached to it. The dancing and the singing cease. Immediately the people in the kiva throw meal upward toward the roof as a blessing to Páutiwa. Everybody is pleased, for the people like the great Páutiwa. With sacred meal he marks in four places the beam that lies behind the top of the kiva ladder, thus signifying that they will dance four days more. Then someone in the kiva tosses up a bunch of brush, and Páutiwa, after pushing it four times with his left foot, takes it up and passes it in a circle four times from north to west, south, and east, before his face. Before picking it up, he has planted a long Shálako prayer-stick and two smaller ones on the roof behind the beam. Then Shítsukye comes back and leads Péqinne, who in turn leads Páutiwa, down from the roof into the plaza, and then to the west plaza, where these acts are repeated in the local kiva. They are followed by Qélele. Next they go to the south plaza and kiva, then to the east, then to the kiva of the zenith, and last to that of the nadir. From there Páutiwa de-

65 Similar fetishes have been found in cave dwellings of Cañon del Muerto in Arizona. Their use is for the purpose of increasing the population.

parts westward about half a mile, where in a hollow out of sight of the people he removes his mask. Shítsukye and Qélele go about a quarter of a mile ahead of him to unmask. In the kivas Shítsukye, Qélele, and Shúmaikuli cannot remove their masks; and if they were to expectorate in one of these chambers it would cause sore throats.

After unmasking, Páutiwa comes to the house of one of his father's clanswomen, where are assembled all the women of that clan, and one man. They wash his head and hands and feed him. Then in answer to the man's questions, he utters favorable prophecies for crops, and the man thanks him and speaks hopefully of the future. Finally all clasp the hand of Páutiwa, and he goes home.

On the night of the next day, two of the four girls and two of the four boys who were chosen for the dance select two other maids and one boy, and take them to any one of the kivas, where the people associated with it are assembled. These seven dance, while the people sing and beat the drum, for three or four hours. This is repeated on the next seven nights. On the fifth night of this period the Hléweqe and the Mákyehlánnaqe fraternities go into their respective houses, where they remain four nights and four days, sitting most of the time with knees drawn up; and on the last three nights of their participation they visit whatever kiva the dancers are entertaining and perform the sword-swallowing feat. On the eighth night the people dance in the kivas until morning, and the four girls and the four boys chosen at the beginning of the solstice ceremony sit there watching them. Occasionally they dance in a circle, holding hands. just beforesunrise they go out and from the various Áshiwanni they borrow éttowe. Then two girls with a boy between them dance in the plaza, each girl holding an *éttonne* in her hands. After a while they are relieved by three others, and so until each boy has danced and each pair of girls has appeared twice. This is in the plaza in spite of the wintry weather. When these have finished, they return to their homes for breakfast, and after the meal the Hléweqe and the Mákye-hlánnaqe dance in the plaza and perform the sword-swallowing act.

That night the *étto-íllaponna* ("éttonne guardian"—those, includingthe Áshiwanni, who possess these fetishes) meet in one of the kivas. But some of them send an old woman in their stead. With each *éttonne* are associated several unmarried girls, who as young children have been selected by the keeper of that fetish and continue in this

position until they are married, when others take their place.[66] These girls also are in the kiva on this last night, as well as the four girls and the four boys. Men are now permitted to enter, but only at the cost of having their clothing completely torn off by those others standing on the roof, who thus endeavor to restrain them. The scene is always one of violence. After a time someone on the roof empties a jar of water or drops a quantity of snow on the fire below, and the kiva is in sudden darkness. The greatest confusion now prevails, imitative of that in the underworld of darkness in the origin myth. There is no speaking. The four boys make efforts to relight the fire, but if they succeed it is again extinguished. The people in the kiva are jostling one another, crowding, and causing as much confusion as possible. Some of the young men attempt intercourse with the *éttowe* girls. Then on the roof appear a number of men called *úpshuwa'náqe* (usually about six Néweqe and six Mákye-hlánnaqe), rudely masked with cloth draped about them. They call: "Great mother, great father, I want to enter! If you wish me to come in, I will do so. If you do not, I will not." The four boys and the four girls chorus: "Yes, enter! I want you to come in." Immediately all confusion ceases, and a light is struck. The *úpshuwa'náqe* (the name refers to the fact that they cause confusion and uproar to cease) go down the ladder, and begin to make suggestive gestures toward the *éttowe* girls and to caress them. Then they dance, and suddenly everybody spits at them and they rush away. After the first appearance of these men and the cessation of the uproar, any man on the roof may descend the ladder without interference. The reason many go down at the risk of losing valuable clothing is that they are young and impetuous, and wish first choice of the girls.

Any man in the kiva may now go to one of the *éttonne* custodians, or to the old women acting for them, give him or her a string of turquoise beads as long as the circumference of the thumb, and indicate which one of the éttowe girls he desires. The girl is thereupon ordered to accompany him. The two climb the ladder and go apart from the village, remaining away for about an hour. The girls exhibit no shame in passing up the ladder before the crowd of watching men, nor is

66 If the custodian of a fetish cannot provide four girls, the proper number, he secures as many as he can.

there any jeering or laughter. When the couple return to the kiva, the girl is again subject to requisition. This continues all night, while the Hléweqe and the Mákyehlánnaqe dance in their fraternity quarters. Just at dawn the *éttowe* are taken out to the plaza and danced with by the girls, each pair with a boy between them. The dance ends at the appearance of the sun. This episode occurs at the January full moon, and at the next full moon it is repeated. It is called Chímikyannápky-atéa in allusion to the similarity of conditions when the people came out of the underworld at that place. No disgrace attaches to a girl who becomes pregnant and bears a child, and she remains a ceremonial prostitute until she marries.[67]

Yátâkya-téchikya ("sun arrives"), or Óloïkyana-wíttiwa ("summer middle"), is the ceremony of the summer solstice. As this season approaches, Péqinne, making his observations of the setting sun from the shrine at Matsaki, notes when the orb coincides with a certain point on the mesa called Yálanne-hlánna (" mountain big"), and conveys the information to the elder Bow Chief, who notifies the otherfive Áshiwanni; and these, with their colleague Péqinne, meet at night in the ceremonial room of the Shíwanni of the north. In the manner observed at the winter solstice, Péqinne plants prayer-sticks alternately on Yálannehlánna and in the fields.

The principal feature of the ceremonies of this season is a pilgrimage to the sacred lake Kâhlualawa by the head of the Kâ-tikyanne ("god fraternity"), his assistant, the Kâpéqinne, the attendant Kóye-

67 The informant professes uncertainty that ceremonial prostitution still exists, because, being a member of Big Fire fraternity, he is necessarily in his lodge-room at the time. He himself participated in the orgy in his younger days. It is of course impossible that he would be unaware of the abandonment of the rite, and it is therefore practically certain that the custom still flourishes.
At the time of the scalp-dance Péqinne used to make a public announcement: "If you people will beget children in dark, dirty places, we will be glad. For this will produce strong, hardy babies, who will become reckless warriors." So during the night there was much promiscuous cohabitation among the corrals and the rubbish-heaps. There has always been much prostitution at Zuñi, especially at the time of such ceremonies as Shálako, when the village is crowded with visitors.

mashi, and those who are to personate gods in the Shálako ceremony. Prayer-sticks are deposited at shrines on the two neighboring hills and in the lake itself. Fire is ceremonially kindled with a drill that has been soaked in water, and as the procession returns to the village one of the men, bearing a torch, fires every combustible thing in their path in order to create clouds of smoke symbolic of rain-clouds. In the village dancing follows their return.

Immediately after the summer solstice begins the cycle of ceremonies involving successive retirement for prayer and fasting by the sixpriesthoods of the Áshiwanni and by eight groups associated with clans or fraternities. The priesthoods associated with the four cardinal directions are in retreat eight days each, one following another, and the others either four or eight days.

Shálako Ceremony

The autumnal ceremony of Shálako centers about the consecrating of eight new, or newly repaired, houses by various personators of gods, the individuals acting in this capacity having been selected by the six principalÁshiwanni and the Kâmâssânna (head of the "god fraternity") and his Kâpéqinne, during the ceremonies of the winter solstice. These actors represent the principal gods: Páutiwa, Kyáklo, Shúlaawitsi, Saíatasha, two Yámuhakto, Hútutu, and two Sálimopia; as well as six Shálako and ten Kóyemashi. At this time also are chosen the men whose houses are to be constructed or rebuilt during the summer, and each receives a prayer-stick which is kept in his house; and at the end of the Shálako ceremony all these prayer-sticks are planted in the fields by the Kóyemashi. The workers on each house are appointed from the members of the kiva of the Shálako god who is to consecrate it. But the workers on the two houses to be dedicated respectively by the principal gods mentioned above and by the Kóyemashi are of the kivas represented by the personators of these deities. During the building operations the masked actors (except Shálako) hover about, to see that none shirks and to reprove recalcitrant or lazy children. The harvest work of each man whose house is being built is performed by a body of men appointed by the foreman in charge of the building operation. These laborers, as well as the builders, are fed by the owner

of the house.[68]

During each month between the winter solstice and the time for the dedication ceremony those who are to personate the gods visit one of a number of spring shrines and deposit prayer-sticks in the water.

On the evening before the day on which the eight new houses are to be consecrated, the principal gods assemble at Hépatina, the shrine that marks the centre of the world. They cross the river and enter the village, and after depositing prayer-sticks in various places they go into the house they are to dedicate, where the altar of the householder's fraternity has been set up. Here they spend several hours in responsive prayer, after which a feast is held.

On this evening also the Shálako personators, each with a *wâle* ("boiler," that is, cook, servant), are met at Hálona (old Zuñi) on the southside of the river by the principal Áshiwanni, who sprinkle meal on them.After the Áshiwanni have returned to the pueblo, the Shálako men repair to a smoothed, beaten plot of ground representing the traditional resting placeof the Áshiwi at the end of their journeys in search of the centre of the world. Two pairs of Shálako stand on opposite sides of this ground, and the remaining two, one at each end, run the length of the plot, passing and repassing. This is continued until each Shálako man has thus performed. Then the party goes to the pueblo and each Shálako with his *wâle* enters the house to be dedicated by him. The *wâwe* (plural), and not the Shálako, wear, or rather carry, the Shálako effigies, which are about eight feet high. The costume consists of a large mask and a skirt of native white cotton blankets with embroidered margins, arranged on a frame. It is borne by the *wâle* (later by the Shálako himself) by means of a pole inside the frame, the base of the pole being supported by a leather attachment on the belt. There is a small opening in the front of the effigy at the height of a man's eyes. The mask has a long, tubular mouth, a pair of horns curving upward from the cheeks, staring eyes, a fan-shape band of eagle-feathers, upright and transverse, at the back, and a feather ruff about the neck.

68 The informant spent eight hundred dollars in 1908 for food and other remuneration for the builders and harvesters. Generally great pride is taken by one who can afford to build a "Shálako house." This practice is probably responsible for the fact that Zuñi houses are more commodious than those of other pueblos, as there seems to be a good deal of friendly competition.

In the house to be dedicated the altar of the fraternity represented by the head of the family has been erected,[69] and his *míile* (corn-ear fetish) stands in place. Behind a blanket held up to prevent spectators from seeing the man emerge from the effigy, the bearer sets it up by thrusting the end of the pole in a crevice in the floor. Then the curtain is dropped.

Several men now hold up a ladder in the middle of the room, and the personator of Shálako, unmasked, climbs up and fastens a prayer-stick, consisting of two pieces representing boy and girl, to the house shrine that depends from a roof-beam. This sacred object, *téshqinne* ("taboo-it"), may represent a mythical being, a celestial body, or a natural phenomenon such as rainbow or cloud, or it may be a symbolically painted box representing the house of the clouds.[70] After a season of prayer the curtain is raised again, the *wâle* gets into the effigy and dances. On account of its height he must bend his knees. Parties of dancers representing the six kivas go from one to another of the eight new houses, and dance for the benefit of the throngs of spectators. At midnight a feast is served, and then the dancing is continued until day breaks.

When the Shálako men and their *wâwe* leave Hálona to cross the river into the pueblo, they are followed at a brief interval by the Kóyemashi, who go through the village, pausing to dance and sing at the foot of the ladder of each house in which a Shálako party is present. Then they enter the house to be consecrated by themselves, where the altar of the fraternity represented by the head of the family has been erected and the members of the fraternity are present. After a ceremonial smoking of cigarettes, the Father of the Kóyemashi recites a prayer

69 Provided the owner of the house was the first Shálako entertainer of his fraternity to greet Saíatasha and present him with a bag of sacred meal when the god came to announce the dance for the fourth day following. Any other Shálako entertainer of his society must expose his míile on the altar in the fraternity house.

70 See illustration (facing page 96) of the character called Knife Wing, Áchiyalátâpa. This personage is a patron of the Mákye-hlánnaqe fraternity in connection with their feat of sword-swallowing, the head of the household where this shrine hangs being a member of that society. Knife Wing does not pertain exclusively to the Mákye-hlánnaqe.

of great length, inwhich the migration of the Áshiwi is recounted, and a feast is followed by dancing.

Late the following morning the Shálako proceed one by one across the river to the plot of ground heretofore mentioned. Each is preceded by a procession of his fraternity fellows and by his alternate, a man who at the winter solstice was appointed to personate the Shálako if his principal should be unable to act. Each Shálako is followed by a procession of the members of his kiva, some of them playing long flutes. On the ceremonial plot are to be dug fourteen holes about twelve inches square for the reception of prayer-sticks. These holes are in two parallel rows some distance apart and extending north and south. At the south side of the space to be enclosed by the rows of excavations the Shálako halt, and each kneels on a spread blanket, facing the pueblo. The six Shálako are in an east-and-west row, behind which their followers group themselves. At their left Kâmâssânna, Kâpéqinne, and two Kâpíhlan-shíwanni, all of whom are officials of the "god fraternity," stationthemselves, and still beyond these four are the six principal Áshiwanni. After all have taken their positions, the *wâwe* of the Shálako dig the holes; but the one at the southern end of each row is made by the *wâle* of Saíatasha.

Then the principal gods make their appearance under the leadership of Shúlaawitsi; and performing various evolutions about the plot enclosed by the excavations, Shúlaawitsi, Saíatasha, and Hútutu deposit prayer-sticks and sacred meal in the two holes dug by the *wâle* of Saíatasha. Then all the principal gods except the two Sálimopia, who remain on the ground, file past the row of the Shálako, the Kâmâssânna and his fellows, and theÁshiwanni, and the last two groups follow them for a short distance to the south, the gods being on their way to the house in which they dress and undress. Kâmâssânna and his fellows and the Áshiwanni return to the village.

When the gods and priests have left the ground, one of the Shálako, the one representing the north kiva, rises and runs to the second hole in the eastern row and there deposits a prayer-stick, then he crosses the ground to the opposite hole and deposits another, constantly keeping up a clatter with the long wooden beak of his mask. As soon as he leaves the first hole, the personator of the Shálako of the east rises and goes to the fifth hole in the eastern row, and crosses to the corresponding one opposite, depositing a prayer-stick in each. This

continues until each Shálako has placed two prayer-sticks for the god whom he represents. After returning to his place each one is sprinkled with meal by those grouped behind him, and he then emerges from the effigy, exchanging places with his alternate. After the sixth Shálako has planted his prayer-sticks, the alternate of the first one starts and does just as his principal did, and the other alternates follow. Then, the personators themselves having again exchanged places with the alternates, the Shálako of the north kiva hastens to the two holes containing his prayer-sticks and sprinkles meal on them, and the others follow, running rapidly to and fro. All this symbolizes the function of the Shálako gods, who as messengers of the rain-gods are constantly running back and forth between the six world-regions. The Shálako now hasten from the place, each with his alternate and his *wâle*. After they have obtained a good start, young men pursue them. If a Shálako is caught he casts the effigy down and his captor cries, "I have killed a deer!" This is believed to insure good luck in hunting. The Shálako proceed to the dressing-house in the field far south of the village, and the material of the effigies is brought into the pueblo wrapped in blankets. The day closes with the appearance of the Kóyemashi, who dance and play the fool on each housetop in succession.

During the next five days there is public dancing in the plazas by fraternities and by groups of masked figures representing the gods. These maskers are twenty-four in all, four men appointed by each Shálako from the membership of his kiva. They are called Mólawinaqe.

Ówinahe, A Harvest Ceremony

This ceremony was formerly observed annually after the harvest, but recently its performance has been intermittent. The Bow Chiefs have it in charge, being assisted by the Háloqe fraternity, and while the time is governed by the crops, the elder Bow Chief selects the actual day. On the fourth day following the announcement certain chosen men go about informing the girls and young women that they are expected to meet on the next four nights in the south and the west kiva, when they will dance and sing until midnight, but on the fourth night until dawn. Attendance is optional. On each night at a certain point in the dance some of the men lead youths over to where the girls sit on the ledge, and each girl, accepting one of them, bathes her face, arms, and legs with water from a bowl held by him. She then chooses another youth, and with the two she passes out of the kiva to partici-

pate in phallic practices. A prominent feature of the ceremony is the dancing of men representing Navaho, and the performance of others holding arrows, which they handle in a way to suggest the death of the enemy. The custodian of the scalps plays an important rôle in the ceremony. The allusion is obviously to the protection of the cornfields from marauding Navaho.[71]

In the Ówinahe great quantities of food are thrown from the housetops into the large plaza, and calico and other trade goods are similarly given away to the assembled multitude. Sheep are often killed on the roofs and the carcasses thrown to the people below.

Secret Societies

There are thirteen secret societies at Zuñi, all of which except the Bow Chiefs function as shamans in the curing of individuals or the public, besides participating as societies in various masked ceremonies. Most of them also possess the secret of various feats of legerdemain, which are performed at stated terms for the mystification of the people and the consequent strengthening of their confidence in the shamans.

1. Shíwannaqe
2. Néweqe
3. Sániakyaqe
4. Hléweqe
5. Mákye-hlánnaqe
6. Úhuhuqe
7. Háloqe
8. Shúmaqe
9. Mákye-tsánnaqe
10. Kâshiqe
11. Péshatsiloqe
12. Chíky'aliqe
13. Ápihlan-shíwanni

1. The Shíwannaqe (*shíwe*, meats; *qe*, collective affix equivalent to "people") are so called because they are one of the two societies exempt from the taboo of flesh food during the ceremonies of the win-

71 Compare the Arikara Corn ceremony and the oration over a Sioux scalp.

ter solstice. They are never permitted to eat the flesh of jack-rabbits nor the leaves of *aíhla'luh,* a leguminous plant. There are three degrees: Ónayánakye ("longlife") Ítsepcho ("legerdemain"), and Mákye ("fire"). Some of their songs are in the language of the eastern Keres.

2. The Néweqe[72] are regarded as potent healers, but they are sought only as a last resort, because of the alleged eating of human excrement by them in the initiation rites. (A cured patient must join the society that has saved his life.) The Indians believe that this incredible thing is actually done, and Mrs. Stevenson, who observed the Néweqe initiation in 1884, was convinced. She says: "After joining, the new fellows seem as eager as the others to excel in their disgusting acts ... There are thirty men and five boys ... The Kókko^{t}hla'nna administers the wretched morsel while moving in a peculiar dancing motion, reminding one of a humming bird hovering about a blossom. He advances to a man and whips him with the yucca switches, and then hands the dose to one of the Kóyemshi gods in attendance, who in turn gives it to the person designated by the god. None of the older members of the fraternity seem to shrink from the dose, while some receive it with apparent relish. Occasionally the one receiving the morsel divides it with a man, woman, or child by placing his lips to the other's lips and forcing it into the mouth. The children accept it as a religious duty, but it is evident that they do not relish it. . . The acme of depravity is reached after the Kókko^{t}hla'nna takes his final departure from the plaza. The performances are now intended solely for amusement. The women and girls of the fraternity leave the plaza after the ceremony and take no part in the debauchery. The one who swallows the largest amount of filth with the greatest gusto is most commended by the fraternity and onlookers."[73]

A native informant once saw a spectator climb to the projecting end of a roof-beam, remove his loin-cloth, and defecate into the upturned mouth of a Néweqe.

About the year 1900, in response to the complaints of shocked

72 Mrs. Stevenson translates "Galaxy," but there seems to be no foundation for this interpretation of the word.

73 Twenty-third Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904, pages 430, 436, 437.

American visitors, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs took steps to check this public debauchery. Since that time the Néweqe have not performed in the presence of outsiders, and the present writer has been unable to observe them. He is frankly skeptical as to the genuineness of these scatologic rites, and suspects that the "wretched morsel" is really excellent food in every respect except appearance. New members become "eager ... to excel in their disgusting acts" because of very exuberance of spirit in their relief at the discovery of the true nature of the ordeal; and the female members take no part in the promiscuous "debauchery" in the plaza because they are not safe repositories of the secrets of legerdemain, and perhaps they actually believe that the morsels administered in the initiation are excrement made palatable by the power of the shamans. After all, an Indian's stomach and esophagus are controlled by the same system of nerves as our own; and that thirty-five men and boys and an unspecified number of women and girls could swallow ordure without involuntary revolt on the part of a single one is incredible. The performance of the Néweqe is therefore believed to be no more authentic than the eating of mummies by the Kwakiutl Hámatsa society or the handling of fanged reptiles by the Hopi Rattlesnake fraternity. That they do things sufficiently disgusting may be admitted. There is nothing incredible about pouring the contents of a urinal over the head, or rending the body of a puppy with the teeth and even devouring pieces of the flesh and the intestines; though even here the substitution of good food for the viscera of the animal is quite possible.

It can scarcely be doubted that the Néweqe are an adaptation of the Keres Kû'*sari*. (*a*) Some of the members wear close-fitting cloth caps having a bunch of corn-husk ribbons on the top and another at each side. Others have the hair in two shocks wrapped with corn-husk and projecting upward and outward from the sides of the crown. On the back they have painted a human figure representing their patron. The Kû'*sari* arrange the hair similarly (and their Tewa counterparts wear deerskin caps), paint onthe chest and abdomen the figure of their patron Ó*sats*^{a}-paíyatyama ("sun youth"), and use corn-husk as their distinctive insignia. (b) In the Néweqe altar a conspicuous object is the symbol of the sun flanked by two small human figures of Paíatama, with horizontal stripes about the torso and limbs. The Ó*sats*^{a}-paíyatyama, children of the sun, were the original Kû'*sari* and are the pa-

trons of the Keres society. This character the Zuñi have identified with their own Pi'tsitsi, a god associated with Father Sun. The horizontal stripes on the two figurines conform with the painting of the Kû'*sa*ri. (*c*) Many of the Néweqe songs are in the language of the Keres. (*d*) The two societies are similar in their capacity of public fun-makers, and both are gluttonous.

The Néweqe have the orders of Ónayánakye ("long life"), Ítsepcho ("legerdemain"), and Kâkkâ-hlánna ("god big"). It is one of this last order who administers the supposed excrement in the initiation rites and in the subsequent public performance. He wears a bearded mask with upcurving horns at the sides and a fan of eagle-feathers across the crown.

The Néweqe possess the secret of three roots which, chewed and applied to the wound, are said to cure the bite of a rattlesnake.

3. The Sániakyaqe, nicknamed Súskiqe (*súski,* coyote) and Kyákyaliqe (*kyákyali,* eagle), are concerned with game animals and with the shamanistic treatment of diseases of the lungs. Their lodge-room is decorated with paintings of predatory beasts and birds in pursuit of game. When a large game animal is brought to the village, the Sániakyaqe assemble in the house of the hunter and treat the carcass with ceremonial reverence before it may be skinned. The two orders of this group are Sániakyaqe and Mákye ("fire"). The raven and its feathers are taboo, but flesh may be eaten at the winter solstice. Some of the songs of this society are in Western Keres, hence it may be concluded that in name as well as in function it is simply the Zuñi equivalent of the Keres Shaíyak[a].

The Sániakyaqe hold four rabbit-drives each summer. The first and the fourth are announced four days in advance; the second and the third, three days. Sú-píhlanne ("coyote bow"), as the war-chief of the society is called, announces the hunt and has charge of it. The principal officers of the society proceed to the place they have selected for the drive, build a small signal fire, and offer food and prayers to the spirits of all the dead. The hunters, seeing the smoke, join them, and the making of the circle begins. Starting at the signal fire, two men proceed along opposite sides of a large circle, here and there lighting small fires of brush, and at the point of meeting they lay down at right angles, one on the other, their two torches of juniper-bark, which they have ignited at the signal fire. The hunt-ground is thus enclosed in a circle of

small fires, the rising smoke of which represents clouds.

The other hunters meantime have been following the two leaders and placing themselves at regular intervals about the circle. The leaders, having laid down their torches, utter a shout, which is relayed back to the signal fire, and the hunters begin to close in toward the centre.

Each man keeps his own kill. Sometimes, however, it is announced that girls and women may accompany the hunters, in which case the females retrieve the rabbits at random, and the next day they cook food and give a dish of it to each man from whom they took a rabbit.

After the four hunts of the Sániakyaqe, four successive hunts under the patronage of the Eagle clan are announced by one of the village Bow Chiefs.

Sometimes the Sániakyaqe hunt for the Áshiwanni (rain-priests). In such cases the two Bow Chiefs, who are the village war-chiefs, having decided that there should be a hunt for the benefit of their superiors, so inform Súpíhlanne, who then announces the hunt as being for the Áshiwanni. The kill is brought in to the house of North Shíwanni andequally divided among the six Áshiwanni.

4. The Hléweqe (*hléwe*, sticks) are so called because of their spectacular feat of swallowing wooden swords. They give a public performance in January and again in February for the purpose of bringing snow, and on either occasion new members may be initiated. There are two orders, Hléwe and Kyáhlatsilâ ("Douglas spruce"), and members of the latter degree insert in the gullet a "sword" fashioned at the base of a spruce sapling so tall that the tip projects well above the hatchway of the ceremonial chamber.[74] The accompaniment of the songs is furnished by six men who rub deer leg-bones downward across notched sticks held with their bases on a large sounding-box. This use of the typical musical instrument of the Navaho suggests that the cult was derived from that tribe, where sword-swallowing is a standard shamanistic feat. Furthermore, the traditions of the Mákyehlánnaqe society definitely state that their rites, including the swallowing of swords, were obtained from the Jicarilla Apache. Nevertheless,

74 Naíuchi, a well-known Zuñi shaman and Bow Chief, permanently injured his throat in a Hléweqe performance, and spoke with a huskiness to the day of his death.

some of the Hléweqe songs are said to be in the language of Acoma, where the cult is not known to have existed.

The Hléweqe never eat the flesh nor the eggs of ducks, and for five days before their ceremony they avoid beans and sweet food. A powerful emetic is taken before the act is attempted.

5. The Mákye-hlánnaqe ("fire big-ones," that is, big fire people) are so called because of the feats they perform with fire, holding a large ember between the teeth, thrusting the burning ends of a packet of shavings into the mouth and chewing them, and trampling with unprotected feet a bed of glowing coals. Before engaging in these rites they masticate the dried flowers of yarrow and apply it to the skin wherever fire will come in contact with the body. The Mákye order of the Shíwannaqe also use this charm.

The rites of this society are said to derive from the Ké-pachu ("skin Navaho"), that is, the Jicarilla Apache. Most of the songs are in that language (or in Navaho?), a few in Laguna, a very few in Zuñi. The Mákye order is said to have a hundred and sixty-seven songs, the Hléwe order a hundred and ninety-seven.

There are four orders of Big Fire: Ónayánakye, or Íwenashnakya ("remove sickness"); Kâkkâ-hlánna ("god big"); Mákye ("fire"); Hléwe ("sticks"), or Píannihle ("sword").[75]

In this, as in other societies, it is the ambition of every initiate to enter at once into the medicine order, which treats sickness; but as this is a very expensive step he more commonly begins as a member of another of the orders.

In the Big God order three of the gods at Shípapulima are represented by masked actors: Kâkkâhlánna, Shítsukye, and Qélele. Members of this group treat swellings in any part of the body, but especially in the joints.

In the Fire order are those who handle fire and treat diseases that appear to be related to fire, such as fever and inflammations.

The Hléwe order, like the society of that name, are sword-swallowers, and there are several divisions: Kyáhlatsilâ (Douglas spruce), or Pâtsikishi (piñon-bird);[76] Shâ-tikyanne ("arrow fraternity"); Wílolona-

75 Said to be an epithet of the founder, Nákee.

76 Mrs. Stevenson gives Kia'lätsilo (Spruce) and Pósikishi.

tikyanne ("lightning fraternity"); and Pá-tikyanne, or Pá-otiwe ("Navaho dance"). All these are concerned with the swallowing of swords of varying forms.

The Hléweqe of the Big Fire society participate with the Hléweqe society in the public ceremony of the latter in January and February. The sword of this order is a wooden blade with maximum dimensions of two fingers in width and two spans and four fingers in length. A measured specimen was eleven inches long and only three-quarters of an inch wide. It was firmly bound to a short, round handle with turkey-feathers rising from its top. Two others recovered in the excavation of an old altar were about eight inches long, and were simply blades cut on the base of saplings. When the sword is attached to a handle, the latter is called the "lightning-stick," and it is sometimes serpentine in form and about two inches wide by two feet long.

Before emerging from the lodge-room the sword-swallowers place in the mouth a bit of unidentified root. While singing they hold the "medicine" under the tongue; they then secretly chew it, throw back the head, and rather violently push the instrument down the gullet. In 1899 a woman of Hléweqe society, and in 1903 a woman of Big Fire, died as a result of this act.

Each order or subdivision of a society is simply a group trained in the performance of a particular kind of magic, whether a feat of skill or a ritual for the exorcising of sickness; and the membership of the society is not apportioned among the orders, for an individual may belong to one or several of them. Thus, a certain informant participates in the activities ofÓnayánakye, Kâkkâhlánna, Mákye, Hléwe, Kyáhlatsilâ, Wílolona, and Páotiwe — of every group in fact except Shâtikyanne.

6. The Úhuhuqe (*úhuhu*, the characteristic cry of the shamans) have four orders: Ónayánakye, Mákye, Hálo ("red ant"), and Ítsepcho. They are said to possess some very clever sleight-of-hand tricks. In the course of their initiation, which as in other societies occurs in the winter, the members of the Mákye order pursue several masked personators of the Héhea gods through the streets and over the roofs with blazing torches of juniper-bark, pelting them and one another with burning fragments. A faction of this society formed the Chíky'aliqe.

7. Háloqe (*hálo*, red ant), or Áchiyaqe *(áchiyanne,* knife), treat eruptions of the skin and attendant maladies. Ills of this sort are thought to be caused by ants, which project the sand and gravel of their hills

into the bodies of those that harm them. By legerdemain the feathers of the shamans appear to brush quantities of pebbles from the body of a patient.The society has the orders of Ónayánakye, Hálo, Áchiya, and Ítsepcho.

8. The Shúmaqe are so called because their officers have charge of the masks of the Shúmaikuli gods, who play a prominent part in the ceremonies of the society. Their services are required for curing convulsions and other nervous ailments. This society has been the custodian of the Shúmaikuli masks of the Laguna Indians since 1902, and those of Sia for an even longer period.[77]

9. The Mákye-tsánnaqe ("fire little-ones," that is, little fire people) are recognized by the Zuñi as derived from a Hopi fraternity of magicians, the Yáya, who gave up their practices many years ago. The most spectacular of the Little Fire feats was the dancing on a bed of coals. The rite occurred in March, but not annually, and was last performed about 1910. Early in the morning a great quantity of wood was piled in and over an excavation three feet deep. Then the flames died away the magicians came out and threw meal into the pit, and it flared up, proving to the spectators that the mass of coals was still very hot. Then one after another they leaped in, barefoot, and danced briefly on the embers, trampling them into bits. It is from this circumstance that the name *Little* Fire is derived. The feet and legs were bathed with the liquid of boiled yarrow flowers in preparation for this ordeal.[78]

77 Mrs. Stevenson's account of the Shúmaqe says that the author recognized the songs of the society as being in the Pima language. She offers no example, however, and the statement of the present writer's informant that the language is that of Laguna is more credible. According to Mr. F.W. Hodge, two Zuñi men, Wéta and Síwatitsailu (both now deceased), visited Salt River valley, Arizona, with Frank Hamilton Cushing in 1888 and there learned the only Pima song ever introduced at Zuñi, at least in modern times. It is extremely unlikely that a song unrelated to any Pueblo cult was adopted by the society, and it must be concluded that Mrs. Stevenson was mistaken in her identification, or perhaps heard the Pima song being idly practised, as it were, between acts.

78 Mrs. Stevenson (op. cit., pages 564-566) apparently was fortunate enough to observe this fire dance on more than one occasion. Her description of the procedure is detailed, but there is incomprehensible silence as to the

10. The Kâshiqe *(kâshi, Opuntia arborescens)* last presented their public exhibition, a mock contest with cactus "clubs," about the year 1900. Although they treated sickness, no women were admitted to membership and they were really something of a warriors' society. They were highly regarded as healers of wounds, and a man who killed, but failed to scalp, an enemy was expected to join the Cactus society. Scalpers joined the Bow Chiefs. As with other societies, a sick man successfully treated joined the group, and in connection with his initiation the public ceremony was given.

In preparation for the dance some of the members went to Corn mountain to gather the cactus, from which with grass besoms they brushed off the small hair-like thorns, leaving the large woody spines. They covered the bundles with protective masses of juniper twigs and

physical effect of this wellnigh incredible feat and speculation on the means by which it is made possible.

An informant of the present writer, a member of Big Fire society, which gives a similar exhibition, says that the feet are immersed in a vessel containing water and the flowers and roots of yarrow. The water appears to be very cold, and the feet become so numb that kicking a stone produces no sensation. When this liquid is applied to the mouth prior to the rite of "eating" fire, the senses of taste and smell are lost. After the dance on the embers, the feet are found to be capable of sensation, but they are not blistered.

I had an opportunity of watching closely a native conjurer of my acquaintance... He smears himself with what is apparently a vegetable oil which renders his skin impervious to flame. I have taken a photograph of him holding a blazing bottle-straw within an inch of his naked armpit. He scorches his skin for as long as you like, and the closest inspection reveals no damage. On one occasion, in the presence of the Bishop of Kilimanjaro, Mr. Bampfylde, and the whole of my family, this native brought a bundle of sticks into my back yard, and under the scrutiny of the afore-mentioned audience he pounded up leaves taken from two trees, mixed the resulting juice with water from my kitchen, and scorched himself as usual. I smeared some of this juice under my own arm and applied the flame myself, closely, for half a minute. I could feel only a pleasant warmth, and felt no pain either then or afterwards. No mark was left on my skin, and even the hair on my arm was uninjured. Both the trees from which he used leaves are common ones." -T. Alexander Barns, Across the Great Craterland to the Congo, New York, 1924, quoting J.B. Bagshawe, a British resident of East Africa.

brought them on their backs to the lodge-room. There the head of the society ejected masticated squash-seeds on the branches and scattered eagle-down on them. The oily mass appears to have had the effect of softening the thorns. With a flint knife he then carefully rubbed the stalk both ways, thus loosening the spines at the base so that, although they appeared to be normal, they would not stand up under pressure. With the knife he then scored the stalks at close intervals, completely encircling them with the cut, so that they would readily break; for the members were to belabor one another until the stalks were completely destroyed. In the dance each member had a small white feather glued to the shoulder, and the others endeavored to dislodge the emblem with their "clubs." In pairs at random they beat one another. Comparatively few thorns penetrated the skin. A youth too faint-hearted to stand up under the blows of his opponent was sometimes replaced by his father, if the latter, as usually was the case, was a member. After the ceremony the participants lay down on the flesh-side of sheep-skins and the chief rubbed their bodies with masticated "white medicine." After about three days of this treatment, the thorns worked out of the flesh. Usually not much blood was visible during the mock combat.

Many of the Cactus songs are Hopi, and the society is recognized as having originated in that tribe.

11. The Péshatsiloqe (*péshatsilo,* bedbug) are an offshoot of Little Fire, from which they seceded after an internal dispute. The name is based on the trivial circumstance that the quarters adopted by the new society were infested with the insect pest. They differ little from the parent body, with which they formerly alternated in presenting the spectacle of dancing on fire.

12. The Chíky'aliqe (*chítâlla,* rattlesnake; *ky'áhle,* water in a container) are an offshoot of the Úhuhuqe. In a dance of the latter society a member accidentally overturned the medicine-bowl and deluged an effigy of the rattlesnake. As a result of the ensuing quarrel the offender and his friends withdrew and formed a new society, which was named from the causative incident.

The two groups remain similar in their activities. Both are said to have kept captive rattlesnakes in a new jar during their rites. The reptiles were caught by pressing the neck into the sand with a forked stick, grasping it behind the head, and rubbing off the fangs with a small stick, quite in the Hopi manner. Some of the members would

fasten two snakes about the neck and others behind at the waist, and dance with them. They always bound a bit of cloth about the reptile's vent in order to prevent it from voiding on the dancer. On one occasion, it is said, this binding became loose and a snake voided on a dancer, who swelled and died. The use of snakes was then abandoned. These statements may be merely an attempt to account for the name of the "water rattlesnake" society; butsince many of the songs of the Úhuhuqe and the Chíky'aliqe are Tewa, and the existence of the rattlesnake cult among the Tewa up to the present timehas been well established, it is not improbable that the Úhuhuqe, or an order of that society, were the Zuñi custodians of the snake cult.[79]

No fraternity member kills a snake. If a rattlesnake is found in the field of such a man, he grasps it firmly behind the head, and clasps the other hand rather tightly about its neck and draws it downward to the tail, in order to "squeeze out the poison water." The ordure thus ejected is considered to be deadly. As the hand passes the snake's heart the grip is suddenly intensified, and the reptile "hangs like a rope." In this condition of stupefaction it is easily handled. A stripe of red paint is drawn across its head behind the eyes, eagle-down is stuck to the paint, and even a string of coral beads may be placed about its neck. The man constantly addresses it as brother, and asks for its good will, for rain and crops; for it is thought that the spirits of all deceased shamans inhabit the bodies of snakes. Finally a trail of meal is made outside the field, the snake is deposited on it, and meal is cast upon the reptile while the man begs it to go away and harm no one.[80]

An informant, a member of Big Fire society, professes to have done this many times up to some six years prior to the conversation. He had then decided that through his frequent catching of them the

79 When Fray Estevan de Perea visited Hawikuh in 1629 for the purpose of establishing a mission, he observed rattlesnakes confined in enclosures of wood and was informed by the Zuñi that they were kept in order that their venom might be used for poisoning arrows; but the chief purpose may have been a much deeper one.

80 The bullsnake (*úsha*) is never handled, and indeed dire calamity is likely to ensue, it is believed, if one finds himself near and to the leeward of one of these harmless creatures. It is thought that exposure to such malign influence will cause one "to swell up and burst."

rattlesnakes were becoming friendly and appearing too frequently in his fields. A shaman had died from a bite on the finger, and the Big Fire man feared a catastrophe of the same sort. His apprehension that the snakes were becoming too attached to him was intensified by an experience when a very large rattlesnake nearly climbed into his wagon, raising its head to the level of the seat. (It probably became entangled in the spokes.)

13. The Ápihlan-shíwanni (*pínlanne,* bow; *Áshiwanni,* chiefs) perform no shamanistic rites, being a fraternity of warriors. It is the only secret society to which boys are not eligible, and the only one besides Cactus that does not receive females. The leaders are the two Ápihlan-shíwanni *par excellence,* who represent the elder and younger brother war-gods, Úyuyewi and Máasewi. These two important persons are appointed for life by the Kyáqimâssi (the North Chief) after consultation with his fellow highpriests. They are the ceremonial executives of the Áshiwanni (rain-priests of the six world-regions), and their fraternity is the custodian of the highly important scalp trophies and the cult of the war-gods.

The Bow fraternity in recent years has been in disfavor because of the execution of supposed sorcerers. These victims they hang by the wrists, which are bound behind the back, and then beat their brains out with war-clubs. An execution of this sort occurred in the winter of 1910-1911. There were said to be only four members in 1923, including a recent initiate.

A party returning from war went into camp a few miles from the pueblo, and the Bow Chiefs sought two men for initiation into their society. As a rule nobody willingly offered himself, for the duties of the Bow Chiefs as guardians of the village from enemies and sorcerers were arduous.[81] After waiting a long time while the men sat about smoking, each hoping that some other would volunteer, the two chiefs deprived them of tobacco and blankets, and compelled them to sit on the bare ground. For no purpose was anyone permitted to rise. Some bowed

81 The reluctance probably was due to false modesty, as eligibles were only too eager to join the fraternity on account of the honor attached. The fact that the order is almost extinct is an indication that the actual taking of a scalp was a necessary qualification. No steps are taken to increase the membership. Méku, or "Loco Joe," the most recent initiate, scalped a defunct Navaho!

their heads, but the chiefs came along and roughly pushed the forehead back: "Look up! What are you thinking about?" Finally someone, unable longer to endure the ordeal, said, "Well, I think I will be a Bow Chief."[82] Then someone else followed his example, and there was great rejoicing and general relief. The chiefs now asked the two volunteers, "What clan is your father?" Then, "What maid do you want to kick your scalp?" Each man named a girl related to his father. "What man do you wish to wash your scalp?" Each mentioned two young men related to his father, and the Bow Chiefs noted the names. The two young men chosen for this duty were called *tsíhekosho^{n}on-áchi* ("scalp wash both"), and the girl was called *íta'tononna,* a name applied to anyone who touched a dead enemy without having killed him, as well as to one who carried a deer slain by another hunter.

The two Bow Chiefs and two common warriors then set off for the village in the middle of the night. Close to the pueblo they stopped and waited on a hilltop until the first yellow light was seen in the east. Then each one found an ant-hill, knelt beside it, placed his mouth at the apex, and shouted down into it four times to the war-gods and to the deceased Bow Chiefs the news that a Navaho had been killed. Then they mounted their horses and rode to the village, uttering war-cries in a high, long-drawn voice, like the howl of a coyote. At the same time they shouted: "Hurry! Hurry! A Navaho has been killed!" The first person who heard the cry was not permitted to impart the news to the public, under pain of making an offering to the war-gods in the scalp-dance. As soon as the report became generally known, the people flocked out to meet the four warriors, who had stopped a few yards from the village. Nothing was said. Soon one of the scalp-custodians, Pámâssânna ("Navaho chief"), came, picked up a handful of chips or other rubbish, spat on it, and waved it in a circle four times before the face of each warrior. He went back a short distance on their trail and cast the rubbish down. This was to remove the blood guilt from the warriors and give it to the war-gods. The Pámâssânna

82 Since scalpers necessarily joined the Bow fraternity, the passage above probably refers to an occasion when no trophies had been won and the dancers would use scalps taken from the scalp-shrine; unless, indeed, the rule that scalpers must become Bow Chiefs was one of those numerous Indian rules as frequently honored in the breach as in the observance.

returned and asked the warriors for the history of their expedition, and they related the whole story, adding the names of the youths and the maids who had been selected to wash and to kick the scalps. Then under the direction of the two Bow Chiefs the people uttered four great shouts. Now, if any Zuñi had been wounded or killed, the facts were related, and the people wailed; but if the report was that none had been harmed there was renewed rejoicing. The four warriors returned to meet the others, and all except the scalpers entered the village. The scalpers remained in the field, where later in the day they were joined by the populace. The Péqinne of the Bow fraternity had already prepared two "mountains" of meal-covered sand at the end of a meal trail crossed by four transverse lines, and along this trail proceeded each scalper with his ceremonial father (that is, a Bow fraternity man sponsoring his initiation) and with his female scalp-kicker close behind, passing under the uplifted arms of a Deer and of a Bear clansman.[83] Each scalp-kicker then stood aside, and the sponsor carefully placed a scalp on the toe of her left moccasin. She kicked it forward four times, then seized it with the left hand and ran to and around the pueblo, the burial-ground, and the plaza, followed by her scalper and his sponsor. In various groups the crowd followed, shouting, shooting, running hither and yon in simulation of actual combat. The Pámâssânna then attached the scalps to the top of a short pole which he had erected in the plaza.

On the night of the fourth day men and women in a crowded circle danced around the pole, moving sidewise to the right, the men singing constantly. This was repeated nightly seven times more, the last dance occurring on the night before the twelfth and final day of the scalp-ceremony. These dances were occasions of merriment and sexual freedom.

The next day, the fifth, the scalp-washers in pairs procured the trophies from Pámâssânna and at a certain place on the river-bank they made yucca-root suds in bowls and washed them thoroughly. Then followed a dance by the scalp-washers, the scalp-kickers, and the Bow Chiefs at the house of the head of that fraternity and around the vil-

83 The Deer clan has the duty of making effigies of the elder war-god the Bear clan those of the younger war-god.

lage, after which Pámâssânna replaced the trophies on the pole.

On the same day certain men of the Deer clan and the Bear clan, after depositing prayer-sticks at various places, went afield to procure wood from a lightning-struck pine for effigies of the two war-gods. Having found it, they left it outside the pueblo until the night of the ninth day, when they secretly brought it in and proceeded to make the images, completing the work on the tenth day. On the night of the following day the effigies were borne to the house of the elder-brother Bow Chief and deposited, facing eastward, at the altar, a meal design already completed by the Péqinne of the fraternity. The night was spent in singing, with occasional dancing by the scalpers and their sponsors.

The culminating episode of the ceremony began about noon of the twelfth day, when three columns danced into the plaza. The groupin-cluded the Áshiwanni, members of the Bow and Ant societies, the scalper (that is, the initiate) bearing the effigy of the younger war-god, his sponsor with the effigy of the elder god, and the makers of the effigies. The Péqinne of the Bow fraternity, who quite early that morning had prepared the ground for an altar by digging holes for the reception of effigies, prayer-sticks, and *éttowe,* and by outlining a cloud and trail pattern with meal, proceeded now to take from the performers, one by one, the sacred objects they bore. He deposited several *éttowe* fetishes in a hole at the end of the meal trail, and set the feathered corn-ear fetishes in a transverse row at the rear of the cloud pattern. A war-god effigy he stood in advance of each end of the row of corn-ears, flanking the *éttonne* of Kyáqi-mâssi, and he planted a row of prayer-sticks in front of each image. The altar having been completed and the principals having stationed themselves about it, Pámâssânna led into the plaza two girls appointed to this duty for four successive years, who proceeded to dance on two planks placed over excavations. From time to time they were relieved by other pairs of girls. At intervals also two groups of dancers performed alternately, a few women surrounded by a crowd of men who shouted and gesticulated with their weapons. After an interval devoted to feasting, proceedings were resumed late in the afternoon, and during the final dance of the two girls on their planks the elder Bow Chief began to rock the bundle of *éttowe* from side to side, the Deer clansman who made the effigy of the elder god did likewise with his image, the Bear clansman similarly treated

the other effigy, and a man whose father was a Coyote clansman shook the scalp-pole. Finally all these objects were overthrown so that they lay on the ground. The Péqinne returned the sacred furnishings of the altar to their respective custodians.

Finally Pámâssânna removed the trophies from the pole, and solemnly carried them away on a basket of wafer bread. As soon as he was out of sight he hurried to concealment outside the pueblo, and after dark he deposited them, with the bread, in the "scalp-house."

This scalp-shrine, *tsíhel-uppanne* ("scalp house-inside"), was a very large jar embedded in the earth. Sticks were either laid across its edge, projecting over the opening, or were thrust through holes pierced in the sides of the vessel. The scalps were attached to the ends of the sticks, dangling inside the jar. Above them a basket was inverted and over this a flat stone was placed. Earth was heaped around the sides. There were two male and two female custodians of the scalps. The last one died in 1916, and the shrine has not been attended since that time.

On the day following the end of the ceremony the Bow fraternity carried the images of the war-gods from the pueblo and deposited them in their respective shrines on near-by mesas.

Initiation into the Medicine Order of Big Fire Fraternity

When the people reached Hálona, the two war-chiefs called Wolf for the east, Badger for the south, Bear for the west, Cougar for the north, Eagle for the zenith, and White Bear for the nadir. These in the order named were to be the head-men of Big Fire society. The war-chiefs instructed them in the manner of making and using medicine for the cure of disease, and told them to teach these secrets to the others. The head-men also taught the other members how to "eat fire" and to dance on hot coals.

Relative to his initiation into the medicine order of this society, an informant[84] said that, having been cured of a serious illness by the shamans of Big Fire society, he was to be initiated as a member. His uncle prepared a quantity of meal, about a double handful, and mixed in with it many small bits of turquoise and shell. The whole

84 He afterward became a member of Kâkkâhlánna order, and finally of Mákye and Hléwe.

he wrapped in a corn-husk, and soon after sunrise he took this to the assembled society, where his ceremonial father, or sponsor, opened the *sáko-pahlanne* ("meal package") and placed a small portion of the contents in the left hand of each person present. About the middle of the afternoon his sponsor came for the initiate, led him eastward from the village on the Shípapulima trail, and planted four prayer-sticks. He told the young man never to urinate in the open, but always in a pile of rubbish where no one could detect it.[85]

That night the novice went to the lodge-room and received a cigarette of native tobacco in a section of cane. He smoked it rapidly, inhaling the smoke. As soon as this was finished, he was given five others, one after another, until he became unconscious. While he was in this state, the Bow Chief put a small bit of crystal into the young man's mouth, and he swallowed it. This was supposed to descend to the pit of the stomach, the seat of the pain caused by the smoking, and revive him. The Bow Chief then drew on a pair of bear-skin gloves (the skin and claws of the forepaws) and rubbed the pit of the novice's stomach. When this did not produce the desired result, he sucked blood from the wrists, or pretended to do so. When consciousness was restored, the ceremonial father held out a pair of eagle-feathers, one in each hand, the hands being crossed at the wrists, and the initiate took hold of the tips of the feathers, lightly. The father turned his back to the initiate, passing his forearms over his own head in the movement and not uncrossing his wrists. The hands and the feathers were now behind his shoulders, and the initiate's hands rested on the shoulders of the elder man. A female relative of the sponsor took her place behind the novice with her hands on his shoulders, and as the three danced four times around the room, she pushed forward on his shoulders alternately. This ended the proceedings for the time.

During the next two days the ceremonial father prepared a corn ear fetish[86] and three small deerskin bags containing respectively six

85 Probably so that a hostile magician might not obtain the urine and thereby inflict illness on him.

86 *Míile,* or *yé'chunanne,* is an ear of corn with the base encased in finely woven diagonal basketry, and covered with feathers of various kinds as nicely arranged as the breast-feathers of a bird. Long feathers of the eagle and the

stones of the ceremonial colors (two of them being arrow-points), a brown pulverized medicine made of the roots of a shrub called *aqaáhona,* and a white medicine consisting of scrapings of stalactites.

On the third night after the tobacco ordeal the novice carried to the fraternity house a bundle of gifts for his sponsor. These usually amount to about twenty-five to fifty dollars in value. He returned to his home, and his wife bathed him, combed and arranged his hair, and adjusted his ornaments. Then the ceremonial father came and led him to the lodge-room and seated him at the end of the room opposite the altar, and the male members painted themselves white on hands, forearms, chest, back, and feet, and applied a streak of graphite across the face under the eyes. The women painted only hands, forearms, and feet. Each member had a short eagle-feather dyed red attached in the hair on the crown of the head, and a yucca head-band. By this time the room was filling with spectators, each of whom on entering tossed a bit of meal on or toward the altar.

When all had finished dressing and painting, they sat down at one side of the altar, and the head-man of the fraternity (the Mâssânna), his assistant (the Péqinne of the society), his Bow Chief, and the ceremonial father of the novice, took the young man into another room, where the sponsor painted him like the others and adjusted a head-band, but tied no feather in his hair. In addition he painted broader lines of black under the eyes, and smeared white on the forehead and the chin and in a circular spot on the crown of the head. On the white paint were stuck white downy eagle-feathers. Around each wrist was placed a band of yucca-leaf with a raven-feather projecting from under it toward the back of the hand, and an owl-feather was tied across the raven-feather.[87] Then the four head-men and the initiate joined hands

parrot project beyond the tip of the ear. Inside the wrappings of varicolored cotton yarn is a turkey-beard. At the lower end is a deerskin bag containing seeds of each color of corn, each color of beans, and of squash, pumpkin, melon, watermelon, gourd, and every variety of cultivated plant, as well as of such wild fruits and roots as are eaten, such as yucca, piñon, cedar, grasses of various species. The epithet *yé'chunanne* is said to signify "draw in the breath." It refers to the fact that the Corn Mother gives the breath of life. The fetish of the informant was briefly exhibited with reverence and secrecy.

87 Feathers of ravens and owls are favorite charms of Pueblo sorcerers.

in a circle, and danced four times around it, the Mâssânna intoning a song with closed lips. When they had finished this, the Mâssânna said: "Now we are going out into the room where the people are, and we will cure some sick person. When we take out the sickness, be very careful. Do not swallow it, but spit it out. Do not fear." Then all passed out by another door than the one through which they had entered. It led out on the housetop, whence they passed down the ladder and around to the door of the lodge-room. The Mâssânna opened the door softly and called: "Our great father in the east is the head-man of this society, Wolf. Is he here?"

The members responded, "Yes, he is here."

"Our great father in the south is the head-man of this society, Badger. Is he here?"

"Yes, he is here."

"Our great father in the west is the head-man of this society, Bear. Is he here?"

"Yes, he is here."

"Our great father in the north is the head-man of this society, Cougar. Is he here?"

"Yes, he is here."

"Our great father above is the head-man of this society, Eagle. Is he here?"

"Yes, he is here."

"Our great father below is the head-man of this society, White Bear. Is he here?"'

"Yes, he is here."

"Are they all friends here?"

"Yes, we are all friends here."

"May we come in?"

"Yes, come in." And the shamans began to shake their rattles, while the five entered. In front of the altar was a long line of meal extending toward the other end of the room, and it was intersected in four places by lines at right angles. There was also a dry-painting representing the various animals of the cardinal points, and the constellations.

The Mâssânna and his followers danced around the altar four times, one behind another, each with his hands on the shoulders of his predecessor. Then the novice sat down on the dry-painting, and making motions with his hands as if scooping up the spirit from the various

animals there represented, raised them to his mouth and sucked in his breath, thus drawing in something of their power and life. This he did six times, facing the altar. Then he obliterated the mosaic and picked up a few grains of the corn that was lying on the floor. After a while, when the grains had become well moistened in his mouth, he put them in his hand, to take them home for lucky planting. His sponsor picked up some short eagle-feathers that had been lying on the mosaic and tied them in the novice's hair on the left side; the latter turned about, still squatting, and faced the east with his back to the altar. The four principal actors put on bear-skin gloves and in single file passed around the altar and the initiate, and each time they passed him they rubbed his abdomen and back with their hands. This was to give him their power, the power of the bear, and make him a shaman, imparting to him a new, strong heart. The crystal given to him on the first night was for the same purpose. Symbolically it became his heart, a heart as strong as stone. After they had gone around six times, the ceremonial father raised the novice by the right arm and led him to the spectators. A sick person was found, and the initiate sucked at his wrist. The father held out his empty hand, the initiate blew upon it, and there lay some small lumps, the supposed sickness. Three times this was repeated on as many other patients. The father made the novice sit down beside the singers and drummers for a quarter of an hour, then led him to the side of the room opposite the spectators, and two girls stood beside him, one on each side, and the three danced, turning this way and that. All night this continued until sunrise, the women taking turns at dancing with the novice. The only intermission was that if the dancer became breathless the young women might lead him outside and while they scattered sacred meal he leaned against the house and recovered his breath.

When daylight came, the Bow Chief of the society took the bowl containing what purported to be blood and sickness sucked out of men's bodies (it really was water mixed with sticks, broken eggs, pebbles, thorns) and emptied it about half a mile east of the pueblo. A bundle of blankets was now placed before the altar, and beside it a bowl containing water and yucca-root. There was another bowl containing water and "medicine," which probably was a powdered preparation of yucca-root. Then a young girl, a relative of the ceremonial father, came forward to the first bowl, and the Bow Chief took her

hands and slowly pushed them down into the water. She began to beat up a lather. At the same time a shaman began to stir the water in the other bowl with a length of hollow cane (which possibly contained the powdered yucca-root), and soon thick lather piled up. He continued until the suds rose far above the edge of the bowl like a great mass of cumulus clouds. The other members were singing. The novice was already seated on the bundle of blankets with the four principal actors standing beside him, singing. Then the Mâssânna took two eagle-feathers, dipped the ends into the suds, and touched them to the initiate's head. One after another the Péqinne and the Bow Chief of the society, the ceremonial father, the shamans, all members of other societies, and finally all other spectators, did likewise. The young girl placed a mass of suds from her bowl on his head and washed his hair, and then bathed his body with cold water from another jar. The father replaced on the initiate the necklace and feathers which he had removed before the bath, and put in his hands the feathered corn-ear fetish, the three small bags of "medicine," and four ears of corn tied up in a bundle with yucca-leaves. He made various passes on the initiate's body with the corn fetish, and the director and all the other shamans did likewise with their own individual fetishes of the same kind. Members of other societies and the common people present borrowed the fetishes from Big Fire shamans to perform this rite of blessing.

The Bow Chief of the society ceremonially raised the initiate by means of the eagle-feathers, and the latter sat down in his place at the side of the room. Soon thereafter he went home, and found the women of his natural father's clan and of his own clan there assembled. Each had some offering in the form of food, and a procession now formed and marched to the lodge-room, where after the ensuing feast a basket or a bowl of food was given to each group of the other societies present, who carried the gift to their own quarters.

In the afternoon the four principals and the initiate visited a shrine at the summit of the hill called Tânashi-na-qin ("badger at place") near Matsaki, and after the Mâssânna had made a speech of instruction and exhortation to the novice, they planted prayer-sticks. They returned to the lodge-room, and the new member went home.

For four days he was to have only bread and water. On the fourth day some female relatives of his ceremonial father brought bowls of meat and other food to his house, and he was taken by his sponsor to

the lodge-room, where again the ceremony of washing his head with medicine-water and suds was observed. Then a bowl of food was given to him. The father made a roll of wafer bread, dipped the end into the stew, and placed it in the novice's mouth. Four times this was done. Then the initiate began to help himself. On the fourth night following this his sponsor conducted him to the quarters of the society and there instructed him in the story of the origin and migration of the people, and in knowledge of the different kinds of medicine. The information given on this occasion, however, was very general, not specific.

Accurate knowledge of the use of medicine was imparted in summer, when plants could be identified. Wishing to learn some additional secret, the novice took to his ceremonial father a gift worth about twenty-five dollars, and a husk filled with meal; and the father led him away from the village and pointed out some of the plants used for medicine, and explained the method of using them. He told the initiate that the shamans cannot really suck disease out of the body, that they cure it by means of plants;[88] but he warned the new member

88 This statement is illumining. The writer has always doubted the sincerity of Indian shamans. The old priestly idea of self-aggrandizement at the expense of the credulous is usually present.

Zuñi medicine-men use an unidentified root called *méwishâqa*, which they masticate and then spit upon a patient, telling him that it will put him to sleep. The fact that it is said to be effective in about half of the cases indicates that the good results are due to suggestion.

Jamestown-weed, *ánneplakya,* is gathered, after planting prayer-sticks by the heads of Little Fire and Bedbug societies and by the Áshiwanni, and is administered as a soporific. There were living at Zuñi in 1909 a man and a woman whose bodies were covered with white spots said to be the result of excessive use of this drug. The woman had been confined in a room by a medicine-man, who administered a strong potion to her and to himself, and then cohabited with her. He himself died as a result, and the woman was thereafter regarded with aversion because of her appearance, so that none would marry her.

Both Jamestown-weed and a plant called *ténatsali* are used for producing a condition in which thieves and lost articles are supposed to be detected. *Ténatsali*, which resembles a hollyhock, is obtained at the sacred lake near St. Johns, Arizona. It grows also on the east side of Corn mountain. The root is crushed and rubbed on the eyes and ears, as well as eaten. To find a lost or stolen article a man who has never been wounded procures some small roots

that he must not reveal this secret to the people, citing the case of a man of ancient times who, after initiation into a fraternity, told the people that the shamans were impostors and could not really suck disease from the body. Soon after that his roof caught fire, the house was ruined, and his wife and children were destroyed. Thereafter the man lived alone, an object of pity and aversion,and a constant prey to misfortune[89].

The new member of a society learns the traditions and the secrets of his fraternity in this way: The members sit smoking in their lodge-room, occasionally indulging in desultory conversation. It becomes late, and the head-man suggests that it is time for young men to be in bed. Some go out. One who is ambitious to learn remains, but says nothing. The smoking continues, and after a time few are left except the oldest men and the ambitious initiate. All the inmates of the house are asleep. The head-man inquires: "Why are you waiting here so late? It must be that you wish something." The youth replies that he desires to learn about the secrets of the fraternity. Then the old man begins to tell him a little of his lore, and for this the new member pays a small fee. At the next meeting the same thing is repeated, and the youth learns another secret, for which he pays. So it goes until he has received complete instruction.

of Jamestown-weed under the direction of the proper shaman or priest, and eats a small quantity on the spot. Returning, he goes alone into a room cleared out for the occasion. The priest inquires how much of the root he has eaten, and then carefully observing the man's condition he tells him whether or not he is to take more. The man is then left alone in the room, and the priest sits in an adjoining room listening. When the stupor has partially passed, two young men are sent to accompany him about the village, wherever his feet happen to carry him. This, it is said, invariably results in finding the lost or stolen article, or at least in detecting the supposed thief

A mountain plant that grows in a single spike, like a shoot of asparagus, is surreptitiously given to a woman as an aphrodisiac. An informant declares that he has seen virtuous women become promiscuous under this treatment. A black root called *shi'qamu* (*Quamoclidion multi-florum* Torr.) is used for the opposite purpose, and there is a root believed to be capable of correcting impotence.

89 This probably refers to an actual instance of apostasy and punishment.

Initiation into a society is the fulfillment of a pledge made by a sick person to join the ranks of the shamans who heal him, or the penalty for trespass, whether intentional or not, upon a member engaged in esoteric rites. An interesting form of trespass may occur in connection with the killing of certain predatory animals.

If a shaman and another man are hunting and the former shoots a cougar, a bear, or a wolf, and urges his companion to seize it, the latter, remembering the status of his friend, may refuse to touch it; or he may quickly moisten his finger, touch his red paint, and smear a line of it over each eye of the animal before actually taking hold of it. By so doing he avoids any liability to join the society. But if in the excitement of the moment or in a spirit of bravado be seizes the dead or dying animal before the shaman touches it, he is bound to join the society. The other at once sends word to his fellow members in the village to prepare the altar for a dance and an initiation. The two hunters then skin the animal and cut off the flesh.

The society members approach, ceremonially clothed and painted, and accompanied by many non-society people. The whole procedure is like that of greeting a successful war-party. They take pieces of the meat and carry them to the village, some impaling them on long staffs and holding them aloft like scalps. The skin and the flesh are taken to the lodge-room after a march four times around the village. Meanwhile the pledged initiate's female relatives are preparing to cook the flesh; and from the lodge-room, after the members have sprinkled meal on it and sung, it is taken to the other house and the women cook it.

Next morning at sunrise they bring it to the society house, and the members eat it and pile the bones in a basket.[90] The skull is painted red above the eye-sockets, and eagle-feathers are attached to it. Two boys and a girl are chosen from outside the fraternity membership. The former wear deerskin caps and deerskin robes in the manner of the war-gods, and the girl is dressed in the usual female costume, but with an eagle-feather on her head. She carries the basket containing the skull, and the two boys have war-clubs in the right hand and bow and arrows in the left. They proceed around the village, a boy leading,

90 Darwin, Voyage of the Beagle, says of the cougar: "The meat is very white, and remarkably like veal in taste."

the girl following, and the other boy bringing up the rear and swinging a bullroarer. After completing the rounds of the village they go to Corn mountain and place the bones in a shrine in the western face of the cliff.

The hunter becomes the ceremonial father of the new initiate, and gives him his own *míile*, an ear of corn surrounded with feathers, which is kept, carefully wrapped up, suspended in the individual's house. This fetish is the emblem of fraternity membership. If a member is absent from the village at a time when the society meets, the fraternity chief sends for the absentee's *míile* and stands it in its accustomed place in the altar. A new member, as soon after his initiation as possible, must engage the fraternity chief to make a new fetish to replace that of his ceremonial father.

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