

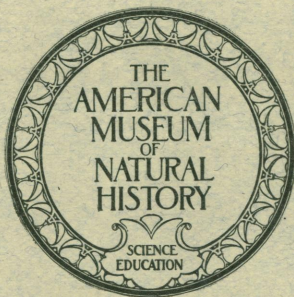
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM
OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XIX, PART IV

NOTES ON CEREMONIALISM AT LAGUNA

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS



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1920

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PREFACE.

The following data were collected during three brief visits to Laguna on my way to or from field-work at Zuñi in the years 1917-1918.¹ I lived not in the pueblo, but about three miles away in the house of Mr. E. F. Eckerman near the railway station. In this detachment there were both disadvantages and advantages. Observation of the general life of the pueblo was necessarily limited and my circle of acquaintances comparatively restricted. On the other hand, interrogation was unhandicapped by embarrassing visitors and the disposition of informants was rendered comparatively frank and responsive. My chief informants were the mother² and aunt of Mrs. Eckerman, José, sacristan and *shiwanna cheani*, and Wana, a younger woman to whose house in town I paid daily visits. For the old people Mrs. Eckerman interpreted. Mrs. Marmon was the sister of Giwire, the *shikani-kurena cheani* and as he had become deaf and feeble she had come to prompt him in his ceremonies. The *shiwanna cheani* had also assisted Uncle Joe, as Giwire was called by the Eckerman family. Between the *shiwanna cheani*, therefore, and my other informants, although there was a measure of reserve, there was much less distrust than one is accustomed to find between Pueblo Indian informants.

Although Laguna was one of the first pueblos to be visited by Americans, of it there is little or no ethnographic account—presumably because the ethnographers of the Southwest have felt that because of the late origin of Laguna (settled, it is said, in 1699) and its continuous contact with Mexican and American it would present a hybrid and therefore uninteresting culture. Such a preconception overlooks the tenaciousness and ubiquity of Pueblo Indian habits of mind or culture. Moreover, the preconception is unscientific in its indifference to some of the most significant problems of ethnology, the problems of acculturation. It is a preconception explicable only as a variant of the race snobbery which is ever seeking for pure races.

¹Since then, June, 1919, was spent in an Indian house in the pueblo. On my return East the following notes were in proof, and the proof has been corrected on the basis of this last field trip. Most of the data secured this time will be published in the *Anthropological Papers* under the title "Laguna Genealogies."

²Mrs. Marmon, a native-born Laguna woman, was the widow of W. G. Marmon, one of the early white settlers in the westward movement. Mrs. Marmon remained unsophisticated and uncontaminated by American shoddiness. She was a strong, gentle, and very lovable person. She died in 1918.

Wana (Juana), likewise an unsophisticated and sweet personality, died of the influenza in the same year. Giwire died in June, 1919. All his ceremonial paraphernalia, except the two *iyatik*^a in his care he ordered buried with him. The *iyatik*^a belonged to the people. Before his burial, as he was being laid out on the ground, there was a severe thunderstorm which was in some way associated with his passing away. The *shiwanna*, rain clouds, were taking him, they said.

Laguna appears to have been settled chiefly by Keresan immigrants—the language is Keresan and, as far as we know, the social or ceremonial organization; but other tribes were probably then, as now, represented—the Hopi, Ashiwi of Zuñi, and the Tewa. There has been considerable intermarriage with Navajo. In one household there lives a Mohave woman about whom, I remember, my Zuñi companion on one occasion displayed a lively curiosity.

A particularly interesting result of immigration is referred to in the following study in connection with the *k'atsina* cult. In its present form of organization the cult is associated with a Zuñi immigrant family. The genealogy of this family will be given in a following paper. Certain features in the cult are Zuñi. I hope to make a more complete analysis of the cult on a future visit since it appears to be the kind of ceremonial importation that has been customary among the Pueblo Indians for a long time and that tends to make of their ceremonial life a homogeneous tissue.

And yet notable variations¹ in the ceremonialism of the different tribes exist. The ceremonialism of Laguna is Keresan, corresponding in general and in striking details with that of Sia as described by Stevenson, with that of Cochiti as described by Dumarest, and with the account at large of Bandelier.

The most outstanding difference is the lack of a hierarchic head, a "cacique," and here is indeed, I surmise, an instance of disintegration without compensation—as yet; for the decay of the office is comparatively recent. The last cacique or *hocheni*, chief *par excellence*, died less than a half century ago. His daughter, a woman over seventy, gave me his history.

February, 1919.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

¹For example, Hopi ceremonial organization is said to be primarily for rain, and Keresan, for curing, whereas at Zuñi there are differentiated rain-making and curing groups. How intact such distinctions will remain after closer study and after the terminology of observers has been standardized remains to be seen.

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NOTES ON CEREMONIALISM AT LAGUNA.

The insistent classifier in religion might divide the Laguna pantheon much as the pantheon of the Zuñi has been divided—into nature gods, animals gods, and ancestor gods, with subdivision of the latter into *k'atsina*¹ and *santu*, and, for the war gods a somewhat ambiguous cross classification.

Osha'ch, Sun, is sometimes said to head the pantheon. When this earth was still dark, *Osha'ch* came up from the north, then he came up from the west, then from the south. When he came up from the east he went into the sky. That is the reason why all the people and all the *cheani*² and all the *kupishtaiya*³ consider him the head. . . And my informant, the *shiwanna* (rain cloud) *cheani*, added, "Very sacred or precious (*tsityu*) is this acknowledge."

Associated with *osha'ch*, perhaps his son, perhaps *osha'ch* himself, according to one informant, as a youth, is *osha'ch payachamür* (*payetemür*, youth). *Payachamür* is a common Keresan age term corresponding to the Zuñi term *tsauwaki*. Since at Zuñi the word *paiyetemu* appears to be taken as a proper name⁴, we may infer that the personage had been borrowed at Zuñi from the Keresan. At Laguna, as at Zuñi, *payachamür* is the great lover, the handsome lover of many maidens. He appears not to be thought of, as at Zuñi, as a musician. *Payachamür* is impersonated among the *k'atsina* (Fig. 1)⁵, coming with the *chakwena* or the *kaiya*.⁶

The moon (*tauwach*) and the stars (*shidyita*) are divinized. *Wakanianishtshawitse* is the Milky Way. *Gaiukumushi* is the morningstar in summer; *g'aidyuwe*, in winter. *Ma'sewi* (Fig. 2), the twin war god,⁷ is

¹The *katsuna* of the Sia "can not be considered to bear any relation to ancestor worship," according to Stevenson, (a), 68. The *katsuna* are "altogether a separate creation." Now at Laguna the *k'atsina* are referred to as "the lost children," and their origin myth is a variant of that of the Zuñi *koko*. [See Parsons, (a), 190]. Moreover, the Laguna feather-sticks to the *k'atsina* are almost the same as those to the dead. At Laguna, to be sure, Zuñi strands have been woven into the Keresan cult, illustrating with particularly clear cases that inter-pueblo weaving in myth and ritual that has no doubt been going on for ages. However, at Cochiti, likewise, the *shiwanna*, as Father Dumarest calls the *kachina* are associated with the dead. Above we noted the association of the deceased *shikani-kurena cheani* with the *shiwanna*. Nevertheless at Laguna the identification of *shiwanna* with the dead or of either with the *k'atsina* is not as clear, at least in general conversation, as at Zuñi. In Laguna texts recently collected by Dr. Boas the *k'atsina* even appear, as at Sia, as "a separate creation."

²See p. 108 ff.

³See p. 95.

⁴See Stevenson, (b), 48, 430.

The name was thus used by my guide on a visit to the *tomapa* shrine on *towa yallane*, a shrine where the Little Fire society and the Bedbug society plant feather-sticks to *paiyetemu*. *Bitsitsi*, a *ne'wekwe* personage, is also referred to as *paiyetemu*, indicating Keresan association. At Cochiti the term appears to be applied to any male supernatural. (Dumarest, 209).

⁵Figs. 1-6, 10-15 are reproduced with the kind permission of the author from *Schat-Chen* by John M. Gunn. The pictures were drawn by Indians.

⁶See pp. 97-99.

⁷*Oyoyewi* (*uyuyu*, Fig. 3) the elder twin may be mentioned, but the talk is always of *ma'sewi* just as at Zuñi there is one term, *aiyahut*, for both brothers. At Sia and Cochiti *masewe* is the elder brother, *uyuyewe*, the younger. Stevenson, (a) 43; Dumarest, 218. *Matsailema* (the younger) and *uyuyewi* (the elder) are the terms recorded by Cushing and Stevenson at Zuñi; but I have got *masewa* (the elder) and *uyuyewe* (the younger), and in songs and usage I am told *masewa* is the usual term.

There are nowadays no images of the war gods at Laguna, it is said, as elsewhere.

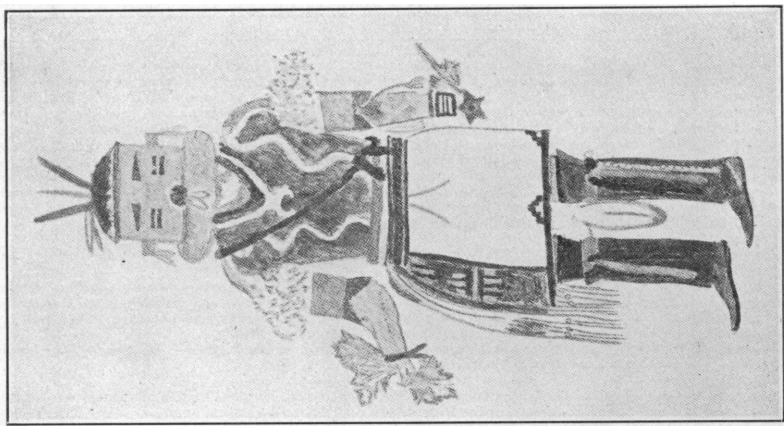


Fig. 1. Osh'ch payachamŭr.

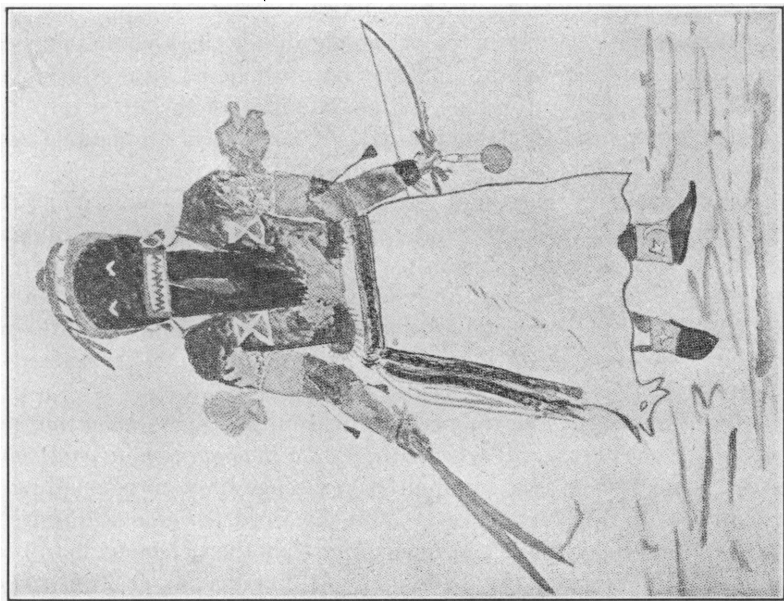


Fig. 2. Ma'sewi, likewise Chakwena.

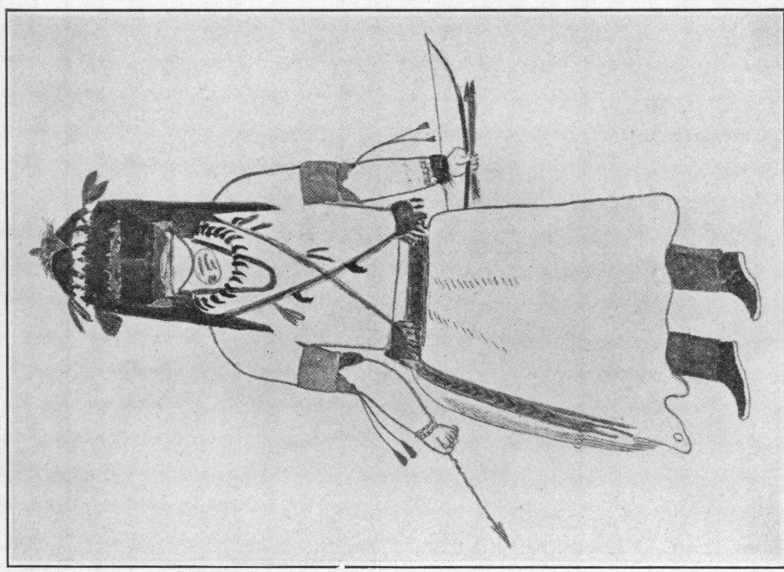


Fig. 3. Oyoyewi.

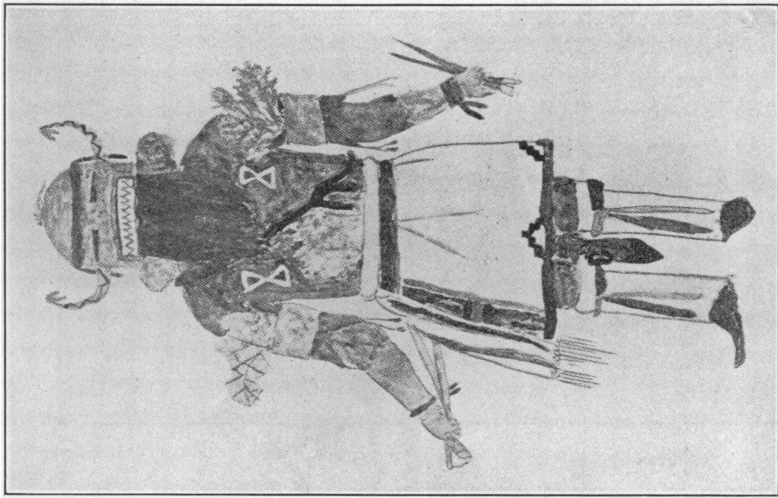


Fig. 4 Kaya'patsit'.

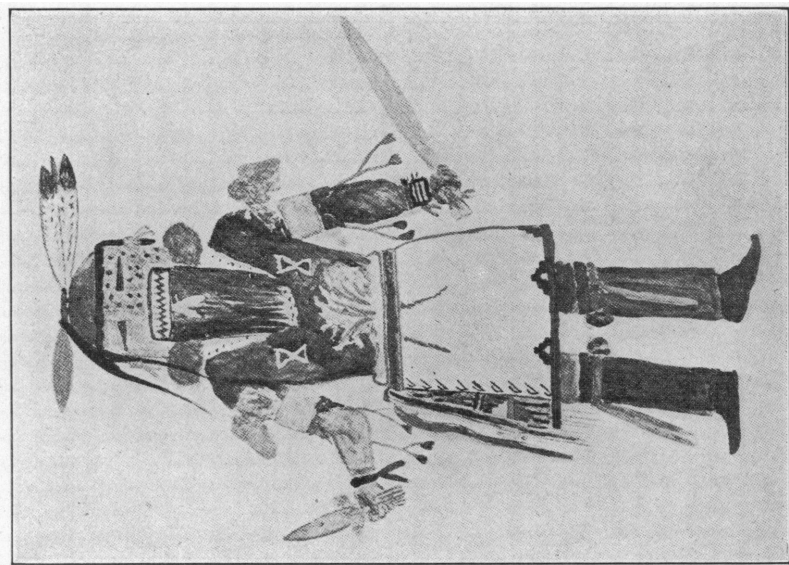


Fig. 5. Kauk'a kaya. To be equated with the *hizi* of Zuni. The mask of the "brother," of kauk'a kaya is parti-colored like *hizi*. On the kilt of the two kauk'a kaya is a tin cone trimming (*api'kats'vni*). The *api* or warriors wore this trimming.

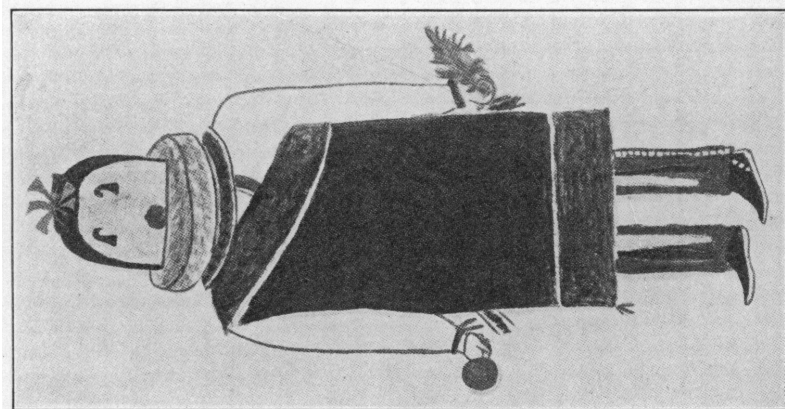


Fig. 6. Shotorok'a.

associated with a star—*shutsma'sewi* (*shuts*, unripe)¹. *Kopot'*² (*kaya'-petsit'*^a) (Fig. 4) and *kauk'a'kaya* (Fig. 5) were two brothers who became two stars close together and of which one is very red. *Kopot'*², the red star, had a fight with the antelope *k'atsina* to determine their respective authority and *kopot'*² was worsted. *Kauk'a'kaya*, in grief for his brother, tore out his hair, leaving but a strand or two. Thus is he represented as a *k'atsina*. Both brothers are very wicked. With the arrow points they carried they would strike the ground, cutting great fissures into which the people fell.² . . . From the fact that during the all night prayer of the *shikani cheani* at the winter solstice ceremonial the *cheani* call on the stars by name, we may infer that other stars are distinguished. . . . *Shiwanna* is Storm cloud (his home in the north), and *putruaishtji* is Lightning.³ To these gods, to *tauwach*, to *shidyita*, to *shiwanna*, and perhaps to other nature powers is applied the generic term *kupishtaiya*.⁴ *Naiya* (mother) *iyatik'*^a appears not to be included in this very much used term.⁵ *Osha'ch* is not necessarily included, for the expression "*osha'ch* and *kupishtaiya*" is common.

Although *osha'ch* is admittedly the supreme supernatural, I get the impression at Laguna that *iyatik'*^a is the central or most authentic of all the Laguna deities.⁶ She is deepest in the heart and, through her, religious feeling is most fully expressed. When a baby smiles, the old women say that *naiya iyatik'*^a is talking to it, when it cries, *naiya iyatik'*^a is scolding. *Iyatik'*^a is mentioned first in prayer, ritualistic origins are dictated by her, and *iyatik'*^a or, to use our own term, her symbol,⁷ is too sacred (*tsityu*) to be exposed commonly to view. What or who is *iyatik'*^a? In the ritual, *iyatik'*^a is the cotton-wrapped ear of corn which is possessed by the *cheani* and set out on altars. It is the Zufi *mi'li*, although, unlike the *mi'li* the *iyatik'*^a would not be carried in the *k'atsina* dances because, I have heard it said, of its sanctity.⁸ The *mi'li* at Zufi is taken apart at the death of its proprietary *tikyllona*.

¹For identification of the war god with stars, see Fewkes, (a), 7 n. 2.

²For a somewhat different account, given, I may say, the preceding year by the same informant. see Parsons, (a), 192.

³Referred to as *hocheni*, chief, head. Represented as a *k'atsina* at Cochiti (Dumarest, Fig. 25).

⁴It corresponds somewhat to the similarly generic Zufi term *awonawilona* (all roads having), the supernaturals "who take care of us, keep track of us."

⁵Stevenson refers to *kupishtaiya* at Zufi. My Zufi informants have always insisted that the term, one evidently not unfamiliar to them, is Keresan and not in use at Zufi.

⁶For "*kupishtaiya*" at Sia as well as for *paidtamo*, see Stevenson, (a), 32, 33. When the *nemosi* of Zufi called *kupishtaiya* of Acoma an unamiable organization of witches [Parsons, (e), 173, n. 3] he was referring, I guess, to the Catholic church (see pp. 97-8). *Kupishtaiya* at Laguna is generally translated "angels."

⁷"The *Iárriko* [*iyatik'*^a] is the Sia's supreme idol." (Stevenson, (a), 40, footnote). The same distinction is attributed to the *iareko* of Cochiti (Dumarest, 155).

⁸For the way the corn may represent the supernatural in Zufi tradition see Parsons, (b), 393-394.

⁹I heard of *ong iyatik'*^a loaned to the *shiwanna cheani* on the occasion of a *chakwena* ceremonial and of another loaned to him, i.e., set on his altar for the summer solstice ceremonial.

(society member), the corn planted, and the feathers mounted as feather-sticks to be put in the ground for the deceased proprietor. At Laguna the *iyatik*^u is kept in the family and loaned to surviving *cheani*. The *iyatik*^u which I had the good fortune to see and which had belonged to a *shikani cheani* was still in the keeping of his daughter, now an old woman. It was kept together with two stone knives¹ wrapped in buckskin² in a niche in the wall in a back storeroom—the third room back on the ground floor. Other objects belonging to the altar of the deceased *cheani* had been put away in this place, and these objects were sold to me, sold *because I was a friend*, but, even so, the *iyatik*^u could not be sold. The ear of corn was wrapped thickly with unspun cotton, the butt set in a buckskin cap, the top uncovered. Here in the somewhat hollowed out cob there were seeds, they would be grains of corn, wheat, melon and pumpkin seeds, I have been told. About one inch from the bottom a string of white shell beads, an abalone shell and two olivella shells (*yasi*) encircled the cotton. In use, feathers would have been tied on in a bunch near the top, I was told, not, Zuñi fashion, to envelop the whole cob, nor, Sia fashion, surrounded by what appear to be feather-sticks.³

In myth, *naiya iyatik*^u lived within the earth at *shipap*. From there she sent out *ma'sewi* to find the sun,⁴ but she herself together with her sisters⁵ remained within. "*Naiya iyatik*^u said that she would never come out of the earth. 'If I go out into the world and people see me they will not prosper. If they do not see me, they can pray to me and I can help them.'"⁶ And my old woman informant added, "For this reason there is no face on the *iyatik*^u (the corn ear fetish), so they will not see her. And the altar is on the ground so under it *iyatik*^u will be to hear."⁶

¹According to one informant, to the four sides of the *iyatik*^u four arrow points should be attached so that no evil (*tsaheyasuts* or *naishgunisha*) may reach it.

²The *iyatik*^u when it has to be transported is put in its wrapping in a *katani*, i.e., put between two thin boards, tied with a thong of buckskin. [Cf. Stevenson, (a), 76].

³Stevenson, (a), 40, footnote, and Pl. IX.

The Zuñi *mi'li* has a wrapping of wool, I have been told. Shells may be attached to it, and arrow points "to keep off witch sickness." The butt of the *mi'li* is set in a hollowed-out piece of century plant (?) stock covered with buckskin. With the *mi'li* now in the Museum was collected a small corn-husk package of seeds,—corn, beans, and squash. The corn ear of both *mi'li* and *iyatik*^u must be or have been a completelykerneled ear (Zuñi, *yapota*; Keresan, *kotona*).

Very desirable is a comparative study of the "sacred bundles" of the Pueblo Indians, of the *ettowe*, *poneyoyanne*, *mi'we*, *lashowananne* of the Zuñi; *tipon*, *hurunkwa*, etc., of the Hopi; *iyatik*^u of the Keresan, etc.

⁴See below, p. 114.

⁵See p. 114, also Stevenson, (a), 29 ff.; Dumarest, 212.

⁶It is important to learn whether this explanation of the altar position is more than an individual interpretation. Cf. Fewkes, (b), 55.

In myth, *ma'sewi* is the son of *iyatik'*.¹ He is also referred to as a *chakwena*, i.e., as a *k'atsina*. In every *k'atsina* dance a war captain leads, representing *ma'sewi*² and referred to as *shutsma'sewi*.³ Although in the ritual the character of *ma'sewi* as a war god is plain enough, curiously enough I was once told that *ma'sewi* had nothing to do with war. That he should be associated with the *chakwena*⁴ I take as perhaps a very significant fact, but a fact to be understood only when the origin of the *k'atsina* or *koko* cult is fully traced.

There is a tradition at Laguna that the *chakwena k'atsina* were introduced from Zuñi. In fact the *shiwanna cheani* told me the story circumstantially. "When I was a little boy, an old man, Choatyeto,⁵ called a conference to bring in the *chakwena*. There were no *chakwena* here then. Choatyeto and two others, Hawirana and Yokai, went to Zuñi to fetch the *guati* (i.e., masks). The Zuñi did not want to give them up, so they stole them." But many at Laguna did not want the *chakwena*, connecting them with witchcraft.⁶ They ridiculed the *chakwena* as ugly, and they would say bitter things against them as they appeared in *kakati* (the middle, i.e., the dance plaza), calling them *kanadyeya* (witch, evil spirit) and spitting at them.⁷ At one time the Zuñi were coming to take the *chakwena* away, but Kwime, the father of Giwire, *shikani-kurena cheani*, and of my old informant, Kwime, himself a *chakwena*, succeeded in retaining the *chakwena*. In a book brought by Kwime from Durango, Mexico, where for seven years he had been educated by the priests, there was information about the

¹As are *nayñésgani* and *badzistsini*, the Navajo war gods, the sons of *estsánatlehi* (*iyatik'*). The myth of *iyatik'* as creator is Keresan and Navajo (see Franciscan Fathers, 356). It is not a common Zuñi myth, although I have no doubt it may be found in the esoteric lore of some Zuñi society.

²Compare the facts that at Zuñi every society (*tikyanne*) must have in its membership a bow priest (*pitashiwanni*) and that the *awilona* (them having, i.e., leader) in the *koko* dances has to be taken from a society. Most likely before the diminution at Zuñi of the bow priesthood the *awilona* had to be the bow priest member of the fraternity to represent *aiyahut*. In the first of the summer *kokokshi*, Dr. Kroeber tells me, the *apitashiwanni mosi* is actually the *awilona*. In the final dance of the series in the summer of 1918 Hompike, a *pitashiwanni*, was the *awilona*. (Cf. Cushing, 433.) The war gods lead the *oinake* dance. Of significance in this connection is the fact that in the Zuñi origin myth *aiyahut* is said to have been initiated into the *kotikyanne*. (Cf. too Dumarest, 227). Even among the Mexicanized Tewa of Texas the "captains" are "to direct the dances in the plaza and to preserve order during the dance." [Fewkes, (e), 64.]

In the snake dance of Walpi a *kalektaka*, or warrior, with a bow and arrow and a whizzer appears in the rear of the line of Antelopes. [Fewkes, (d), 284, 298].

³Cf. Dumarest, 199.

⁴At Zuñi the *chakwena okya* (woman) is a prominent figure in the ceremonial hunt, and hunting, we know, is associated in myth and ritual with the war gods—the bow priests have charge of the hunt. It is an interesting fact that a member of the *cakwaina* clan of Hopi used a rabbit-stick as his "totemic signature." [Fewkes, (e), 7.]

The Zuñi *chakwena* have the same body mark Δ bow it is called in Zuñi, as the Navajo war god *to-badzistsini*, (Matthews, 23), and as *ma'sewi* at Laguna and at Cochiti (Dumarest). At Zuñi *chakwena* songs are expected to refer in archaic words "to what happened in the war".

⁵He was not a *cheani*. His clan was not remembered. K'aushiro, the Zuñi father of Wedyume (see below) was the *chakwena hocheni* (chief).

⁶According to Fewkes, the Hopi accounted Christian innovation *powako*, witchcraft (f, 145).

⁷Cf. p. 124.

chakwena. My informant opined that the *chakwena* was not a *k'atsina*.¹ A *chakwena* man called Santiago Pacheko once told Mr. John M. Gunn, a New Mexican rancher interested in prehistoric origins, that the *chakwena* as introduced from Zuñi had been taught the Zuñi originally by the *tutache*, the Catholic priest—acculturation legends or historic glimmers, as yet who knows?²

To the Zuñi *kyanakwe*,³ the hostile people on whose side the *chakwen okya* (woman)⁴ fought, correspond at Laguna the *shtorok'a* (*shturuk'a*).⁵ Their dance had lapsed, I was told, because the men to whom the masks belonged had died and the masks had as usual been buried⁶—a Zuñi practice likewise. But while I was at Laguna plans for

¹There appears to be a special initiation by whipping into the *chakwena*. Initiation as a *k'atsina* does not of itself suffice. A Laguna woman in Zuñi had told a Zuñi informant that her Laguna husband had been taken into the *chakwena* because he was sick. The *chakwena* was danced for two days, October 3 and 4, once while I was in Laguna. As a white I was not allowed to see the dance, but I got somewhat detailed accounts of it from others. In connection with it occurred a curing episode. The first day, before the *k'atsina* went into *kakati* they visited the house of the sick woman, each taking her a present,—melons, corn, chili, etc. She breathed out (*guputstani*) on the presents. There was no dancing or singing; but later, in the plaza dancing, the *k'atsina* would sing of the sick one. The *k'atsina* received *hachamuni* from the relatives of the patient, together with four beads (*tsa'tini*) to represent the patient. The second day in the afternoon dancing in the plaza the sick woman was led out by her relatives to spit on the yucca switch (*gayaishupsdia*) of one of the *k'atsina* and to sprinkle him with meal. I heard of a *chakwena* at Insinal dancing a woman was sick. It was danced at the bidding of the "war captains." According to one informant the *chakwena* would visit the patient at night, dancing four successive nights in her house. Her household feed the dancers. The Navajo conduct war dances as curing ceremonies.

At Laguna onlookers may help themselves to bits of the spruce above the armbands not only of the *chakwena* but of other dancers. [Cf. Fewkes, (a), 97]. The dancers do not throw away this spruce trim with indifference, but bury it near the river where it will be washed away. The *shiwanna cheani* once gave me some spruce twigs, telling me they would bring me good fortune and bidding me keep them until the needles began to fall when I was to burn the twigs. Spruce from dancers may be steeped and drunk to clean out the stomach.

²Fewkes states that the Tanoan *tsakwaina* clan or *asa* (Tansy-mustard) formerly lived near Abiquiu at a place called by the Hopi, Kaekibi. With the ancestors of the Hano people they went to Laguna where they separated, the *asa* going on to Zuñi about 1700-1710. Some of the *asa* stayed at Zuñi, becoming the *aiyahokwe*, the others moved on to the East mesa. [Fewkes, (e), 7]. For the *tsakwaina* mask fetish of the *asa*, see Fewkes, (g), 71-72. Of interest in this connection are the facts that at Acoma, on the way to Zuñi from Laguna, there is an *ise* (*Sophia halictorum* Cockerell, Mustard family) clan (Zuñi, *aiyahokwe*) and that seed corn is washed with *ise* to make the corn mature quickly.

We may note that the *k'atsina* (or *koko*) are the grain and fruit bringing supernaturals, and that in the Zuñi *molawia*, a fruition ceremonial of the *koko*, an *aiyahokwe* man functions.

³Stevenson, (b), 217 ff.; Fewkes, (b), Pl. LXI. The *kyanakwe* ceremonial was given last at Zuñi late in the autumn of 1918.

⁴At Laguna the *chakwena* have a "mother"—*chakwena kanaiyeshe*, *chakwena* their mother. *Kisiet's* is her personal name. "She has all the foodstuffs, same as *nautsiti*."

⁵Tuluka, a Zuñi informant named them to Dr. Kroeber, 145. Cf. the folk tale in which figure at Zuñi the *kyanakwe*, at Laguna, the *shturuka*, [Parsons, (c), 231-3]. The tale or myth proper about the *shturuka* is as follows:—

Hamaha (*hame*, long ago, *ha*, so far) in a place far away was the home of the *shtorok'a*. It was near *wenimatsé*, the home of the *k'atsina*, somewhere west of Zuñi. The *k'atsina* said, "Look over there in the western part of the country where the *shtorok'a* live. They dress like women, they do not wear men's dress." (The *k'atsina* did not mean that the *shtorok'a* were men—women, although in a variant of the tale given by Mr. Gunn this meaning was conveyed. Hermaphroditism figures in the Zuñi *kyanakwe* myth and ritual). That started mean feeling. The *shtorok'a* said, "We shall see who are cowards. If you think we are cowards, let us have a fight. In four days we will determine who are cowardly." They prepared for the fight. The *shtorok'a* made their bows, painting them red, as *shtorok'a* impersonators paint their bows today. They made their bowstrings of yucca [*mush hatini* (blade)]. The *k'atsina* made their bowstrings of sinew. On the fourth day there fell a heavy rain. The dampness improved the bows of the *shtorok'a*. The sinew-made bows of the *k'atsina* were of no use to them. The *shtorok'a* won the fight because their bows lasted. They relinquished two *k'atsina* to the *shtorok'a*. They called them the *na'wish*. In the *shtorok'a* dance there are two *na'wish* (*na'wish* may figure also in the *yakhanna* or corn dance). There were ten *na'wish* in the *yakhanna* danced in November, 1917, *Heme tsich* (thus long).

It was known in Laguna that the *shtorok'a* should be impersonated, as the *kyanakwe* at Zuñi, by Corn clansmen, but whether or not the Masseta revivalists were of the Corn clan I do not know. The theoretical association between the Corn clan and the *shtorok'a* was denied by some informants.

⁶Yet I have been told that only *chakwena* masks are buried—buried in the river.

giving the *shlorok'a* were underway on the part of the people of Messita, an outlying settlement about three miles to the east of Laguna. In September the dance had been revived, a Messita man having made new masks copied from a picture of the old *shlorok'a* in Mr. John M. Gunn's collection of pictures of Laguna masks. (Fig. 6). The day of the dance there was a terrific sandstorm and the two old people with whom I was spending the afternoon joked maliciously at the expense of the people of Messita who had, they thought, no right to the masks.¹ "That is the reason the wind is whipping them." And at each fresh onslaught of the winds the *shiwanna cheani* would sarcastically repeat, "The *shlorok'a* are having a rainstorm." The day they had begun the ceremonial, *four days back*, there had also been a windstorm instead of the desired rainstorm.² The picture of the repeated discomfiture at Masseta gave much enjoyment to my two friends, cherishers, as we shall see, of a sacerdotal feud against Messita.

Besides the *shlorok'a* and the *chakwena*, the only other group *k'atsina* appear to be the *kaiya* (*gaiya*), "mixed," a heterogeneous group corresponding to the *wotemla* of Zuñi, and the *hemish* (Zuñi *hemushikwe*) a group "always at Laguna." I had an opportunity to examine part of the headpiece of the *hemish*. From the cornhusk circlet project in front and on either side red and yellow zigzag slats (Fig. 7a), three lightning symbols³ which must be made by the *shiwanna cheani*, a proprietary medicine, so to speak.⁴ To the back of the headpiece is fastened a red and yellow slat which when not in use is kept detached from the circlet, the end wrapped in cornhusk⁵ (Fig. 7b). Unspun cotton fills in the top of the circlet and around it downy eagle feathers are tied. According to a Zuñi informant, there is no mask proper,⁶ but circumstances made his statement dubious,⁷ and my notes fail.

¹The people of Messita (Matsita) *kaapets* people, stubborn, "driving away from good," had also revived the impersonations of those two bad brothers, *kapot'* and *kauk' a kaya*.

²In another connection, at this time, someone had said, "It looks like snow," and the rejoinder was, "To be sure, they are dancing at Matsita." From such references it seems fairly plain that at Laguna, as at Zuñi, dancing is a form of weather control.

³Referred to as *hocheni*, one with authority, the same term that is used for Mt. Taylor's place among mountains or as was once used by a Zuñi informant for the "cacique" of Acoma. We recall that at Zuñi the *apilashiwanni*, those truly possessed of authority, become at death lightning makers.

⁴Formerly when there were *kapina cheani* (stick-swallowers) before coloring moccasins or feathers or wool you would go to the *cheani* and he would put on your article a little of the desired pigment. Pigments belonged to these *cheani*—except pigments for pottery or for the *k'atsina*.

⁵A similar circlet with lightning symbols is to be seen in the Hopi collection in the American Museum of Natural History. Projecting in front of the circlet is a piece of painted basketry. Cf. Fewkes, (b), Pls. XXII, XXXVI, LXIII.

⁶See Parsons, (d), 260, footnote 5.

⁷He had said that there were only two *k'atsina* dances at Laguna—the *chakwena* and the *kaiya*. I mentioned the *hemish*. "Yes, but they don't wear a mask." It was the quick-witted *nemosi* talking, and I suspect he made the distinction because it supported him as an authority on Laguna practice. However, he may have taken the *talawaiye* dance, a tablet dance without a mask (Figs. 8, 9) see Parsons, (d), 260, footnote 5, as corresponding to the *hemushikwe* in which a tablet is characteristic. Since then I have been informed at Laguna that there is indeed a mask.

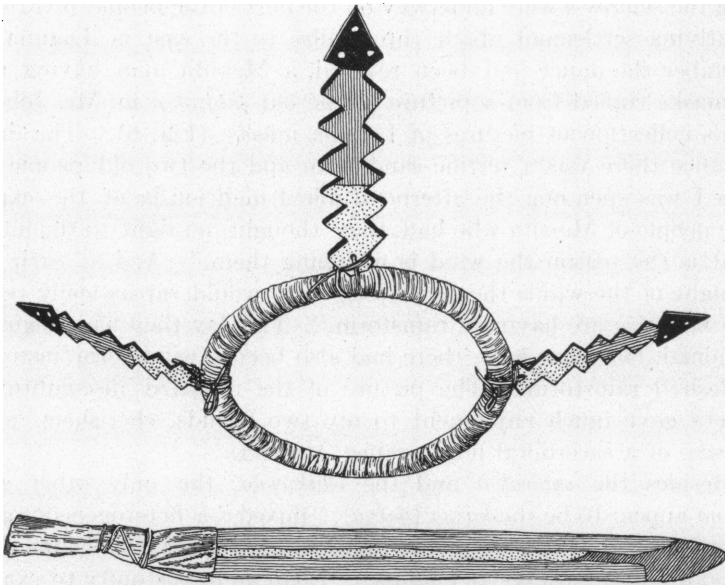


Fig. 7 a (50.2-1033a), b (50.2-1033b,c). Pieces of *hemish* Headdress. In the drawing, solid black denotes black: perpendicular lines, red; stippling, yellow. Width of a, 51cm., b, length, 31cm.

I heard of *waiyush* (duck)¹ *k'atsina* and of *gowapiots* (*gwapeuts*)² *k'atsina*, of which *k'atsina* there were formerly many in distinct dances, but now only single representatives in the *kaiya*,³ of *kohashtock*⁴ (so named from some arrangement of feathers in headdress); of *ts'i ts'ürnürts*⁵, the whipper *k'atsina* who whipped at initiations and who still whips children coming too close to dancers (Fig. 10); of *tsanowani* (*tsawana*) (angry person)⁶ on the back of whose mask is a bear claw, who cries "hu! hu!" shaking his head, and who stands in the middle of the line of *kaiya* as their song leader or *hocheni* (chief); of *salolopia* (*saloshpiyo*)⁶

¹To be equated with the *muluktakya* of Zufi. Its esoteric name, in fact, is *chupakwe*, the name of the Zufi kiva group associated with the dance.

²To be equated with the *kok'okshi* of Zufi. Its esoteric name is *haimatatsime*.

³According to others there are still group dances of *waiyush* and *gwapeuts*. Each set has its own organization and head (*hocheni*). It is the *gwapeuts* group that dances *hemish* and *kaiya* so that including the *chakwena* there are three *k'atsina* organizations—*chakwena*, *gwapeuts*, and *waiyush*.

⁴Their dance opens the hunting season. It is the *ololowishkya* ceremonial of Zufi. See Parsons, (i).

⁵Equated with *nataka* or *soyok wüti* of Hopi [Fewkes, (b), Pl. X] and *aweshi* of the *wotemla* at Zufi. At Cochiti, *tsayanawa* (bad men) are masks who keep women and children from approaching the masked dancers, and who whip dancers for violation of taboos. (Dumarest, 182-183).

⁶He wears a raven feather collar, has a long snout and his mask is blue, always blue. He uses his yucca switches when people come too near the dancers. Obviously he is to be identified with the *salymobia* of Zufi although he does not carry the characteristic deer scapulae rattle from which he is named, nor is he represented with this rattle by the Hopi artist, [Fewkes, (b), Pl. II (*cipikne*)] nor, as at Zufi, represented by masks of different colors the six directions.

who in the *chakwena* dance of Oct. 3-4, 1918, beat the bundle; of *chapio* who came out with the Christmas Eve dancers, a bugaboo from El Paso, the children are told, and equated by a Zuñi informant with the Zuñi *atoshle*; of *na'wish*¹ (Fig. 11), a figure familiar at Zuñi; and one day I was given a stone that looked like petrified wood (*ma'shch'chuwai*), and I learned that *ma'shch'chuwai* is a *k'atsina* who appears with the *chakwena*. He carries a pine branch with eagle feathers. (Fig. 12). It seems that before the world was ripe (*ganachē*), when it was still soft, *ma'shch'chuwai* was turned into stone, and any piece of petrified wood is today called *ma'shch'chuwai*.² Fig. 13, Mr. Gunn calls a gamester (also Fig. 17a). *Kuchinninaku* (Yellow Woman) appear in the dances to play on notched sticks, grinding as it is called. Their faces are painted yellow.³ The parts were formerly taken by men-women, but nowadays they are taken by men. There are said to be eleven⁴ *gumeyoish* (Zuñi, *koyemshi*) masks⁵ (Fig. 15). There is also the mask of *kuyocha k'atsina*, the incestuous sister of the first *gumeyoish*, the Zuñi *komoketsi*. The mask is white, and there is a small braid. The figure is represented as very old, walking with a cane. In the knobs of the *gumeyoish* mask are grains of corn (*yachini*), watermelon seeds (*chiritani chitani*), cantaloupe seeds (*omeloni chitani*), pumpkin seeds (*tani chitani*), piñon nuts (*dyaiyani*), yucca fruit (*hushkani*), coral (*yashdjamatse*), turquoise (*shuimi*), abalone shell (*waponyi*), a certain long pointed, pinkish shell (*yashtsha*). The *gumeyoish* make the road (*hiani*) for the people (*hano*). Such were their orders from *naiya iyatik*⁶. From this point of view they were once described to me as "the original *ma'sewi*."⁶ According to the *shiwanna cheani*, the *gumeyoish* came from Zuñi, but they came long ago.⁷ There were *gumeyoish* in Laguna when he was a little boy.

The *gumeyoish* masks are kept in the house of Wedyumē (*we>weni matse* where the *k'atsina* live, *dyume*, brother), or, as he is often called,

¹Four *nawish* will come out in the autumn *yakohanna* or corn dance together with three *hemish*, two *he'a* (Zuñi, *hehea*), two *kohashtoch*⁴, two *payachamūr*, and, as leaders, one *shonata* and one *shoradja*. The last two are spotted, white spots on black, *shonata* spotted closer than *shoradja*. From this and from the bonfire rite they formerly performed in time of drought they may be equated with *shulawitsi* of Zuñi. They belong to the Corn clan, "the fathers of the Corn people." *Shonata* carries an ear of corn in each hand.

²Cf. Franciscan Fathers, 28-29.

³There are two masked *kuchinninaku* (Fig. 13). They were equated with the female figure in Fewkes, (b), Pl. VIII, and they may be equated with the *kokw'e'le*, god girl, of Zuñi.

⁴During the *chakwena* dance of Oct. 3, 1918, two *gumeyoish* came out. On the second day of the dance none appeared. The reddish clay used to stain the bodies of the *gumeyoish* is collected at Servietta.

⁵The usual word for mask is *nashkainia*, head, or, according to one informant, *ē'petso*.

⁶Cf. Parsons, (j); Dumarest, 191.

Two variants of the emergence myth are told at Laguna—the Sun-*apilashiwanni-koyemshi* myth of Zuñi (for its Laguna variant see Parsons, (a), and the *iyatik*⁴-*ma'sewi* myth on pp. 114 ff.

⁷On the other hand it is said that these *nana* (grandfathers) used to live under the old lake of Laguna. As at Cochiti, the *kashare* are also said to live under a lake, and like the *gumeyoish* to be the leaders of the *k'atsina*.

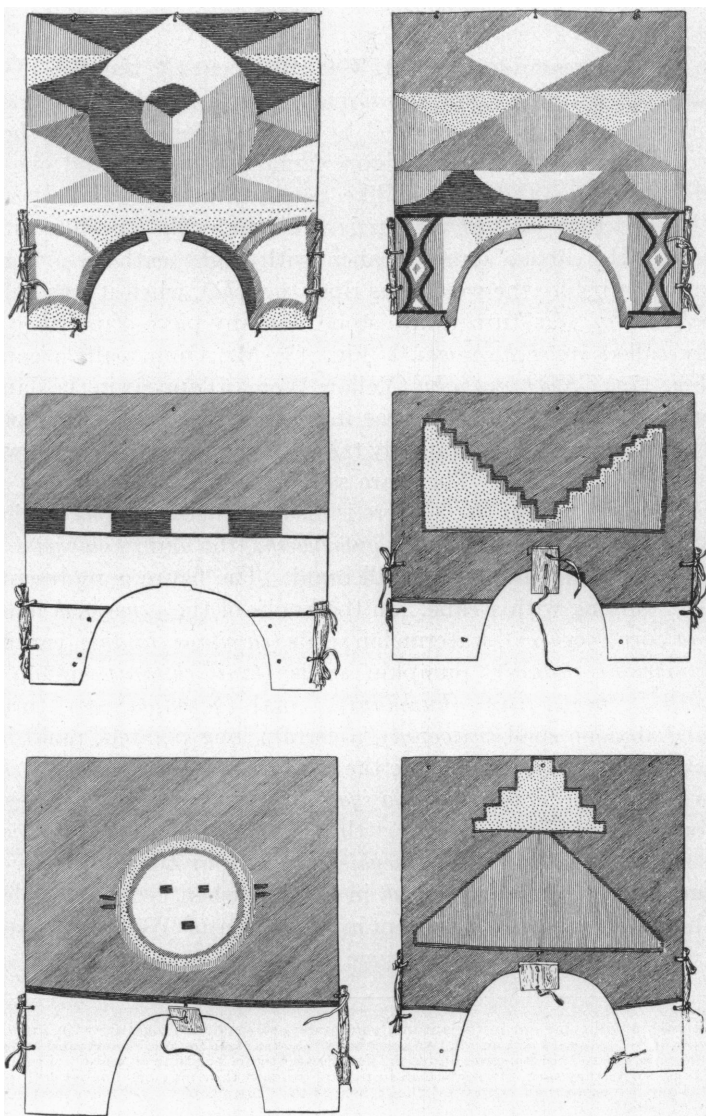


Fig. 8 (50.2-1032b, f, e, d, c). *Talawaiye* Head Pieces. *Talawaiye* is danced for four days at Christmas. The first dance in the morning is executed inside the church. The rest of the day the dancing is outside in *kakati*. The "war captains" go from house to house summoning the men to dance, and the "ditch officers" summon the women. A new set of dancers each day. During this period none may leave town without permission subject to work fine, to cleaning up *kakati* or to bringing in wood or fetching water. The tablet head pieces are no longer worn; but men may dress up as Comanche. The coloring of the head pieces is represented as follows: perpendicular lines, red; horizontal, blue black; diagonal, green; stippling, yellow; solid black, black.

hash¹ surni, old man Zuñi. Wedyumě came as a little boy from Zuñi with his mother Chuetse, a Badger clanswoman and his father a Corn clansman. "The *gumeyoish* are *ka iachi* (his children)"² as well, I infer, as are all the *k'atsina*. He has charge of them and is to them *ityetsa* (one with authority)³. He is *ityetsa* because he belongs to the Badger clan. It was the *chakwena* who gave the Badger the right to lead the *k'atsina*. Previously the Antelope clan led.⁴ Theoretically,⁵ the Antelope clan still has a right superior to that of the Badger clan, and recently the *kashare* (*cheani*) wanted to make an Antelope clan man (Rairu) leader of the *k'atsina* in place of Wedyumě because Wedyumě was so old and blind. It was argued, however, that no *cheani* had authority in the matter, the Antelope clan alone had authority, and so the suggestion was dropped. Until her death, about twelve years ago, Tsatsi, the daughter of Wedyumě's sister, worked for the *k'atsina* dancers, i.e., she brought water for them, swept the floor, etc. Her place has been taken by *Dziwid'yăi*, the daughter of another sister of Wedyumě. As Wedyumě does not live in the house of *Dziwid'yăi*, her participation is by virtue not of household membership, but of kinship. *Dziwid'yăi* is referred to as *dyiup naiecha* (Badger matron). Before her marriage she was referred to as *dyiup magürste* (Badger maiden).⁶ This association of the Badger clan with the *k'atsina* has a comparative interest. It is similarly associated among the Zuñi⁷ and the Hopi.⁸

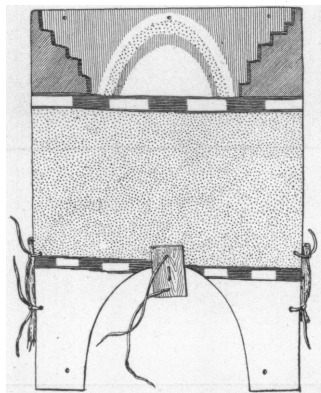


Fig. 9 (50.2-1032a). Talawaiye Head Piece. See Fig. 8.

¹*Hash* is an age-term of respect. Cf. *hast*, worthy age or dignity, *hastin*, respected old man, chief, of the Navajo. (Matthews, 8).

²He is said to designate the impersonators; but certain persons appear to impersonate habitually—mentioned were one Sun clansman, two Parrot clansmen, and one Antelope clansman.

³The *shitorok'a* impersonators at Messita had not asked Wedyumě's consent to give the dance. That omission was advanced as another reason for the wind whipping them.

According to one informant, either Badger or Antelope, may suggest the performance of a *k'atsina* dance. Permission must be got from the "war captains."

⁴Guardianship of the *gumeyoish* masks had rested, however, according to one informant, in the Wheat clan, now extinct. I heard from others that the Wheat and Pumpkin (extinct too) clans had been associated with the Antelope and Badger clans in connection with the *k'atsina*.

⁵Actually in the dance line, a Badger clansman, Rairu, is said to precede Wedyumě. Before Rairu, this *k'atsina* leadership was held by Dyaiyu, Antelope clansman and husband of Rairu's father's sister. —In the *chakwena* dance of Oct. 3–4, 1918, Rairu did not figure. Wedyumě was led by a stick (the common way of leading the blind) by one of the "war captains," not the head war captain, and behind these two leading figures came the *shiwanna cheani*.

⁶Cf. Kroeber, 133–134.

⁷The *kopekwini* and his *kopitashiwanni*, two of the four officials of the *koko* organizations are *tonashikwe*, Badger clansmen. Before a member of a *kiwitsine* becomes the proprietor of a mask he has to be whipped by all the Badger clan members of the *kiwitsine*, whipped "because the *koko* belong to the *tonashikwe* (Badger people)." Formerly at Laguna new masks were made by the *shahaiye cheani*, the group that seems to correspond to the *onakwe ashivanni* of Zuñi, a Badger clan group. Nowadays at Laguna masks would be made only by the Badger and Antelope clans.

Let us note, in connection with the aforementioned association at Laguna between the *chakwena* and the war gods, the fact that at Zuñi the *chakwena okya* has to be impersonated by a Badger clansman.

⁸The chief of the *k'atsina* priesthood was a Badger clansman [Fewkes, (e), 8]. It was Badger clansmen who introduced the Zuñi *shalako* to the Hopi [Fewkes, (h), 669].

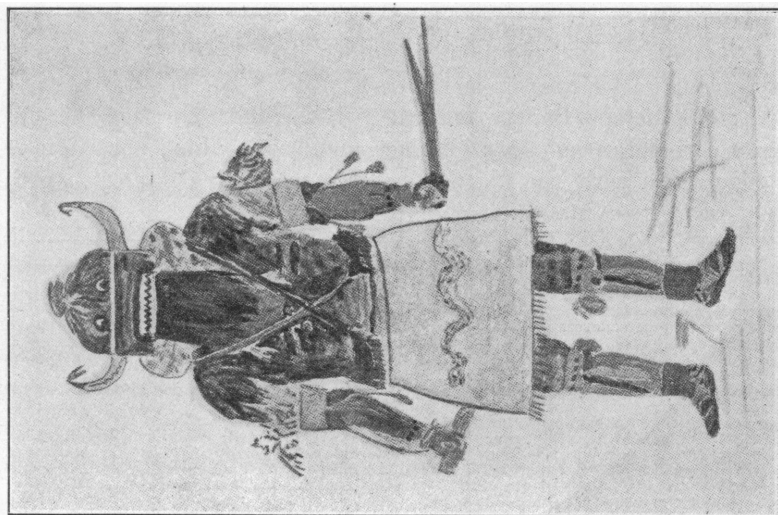


Fig. 10. Tsits'hrut'sy.

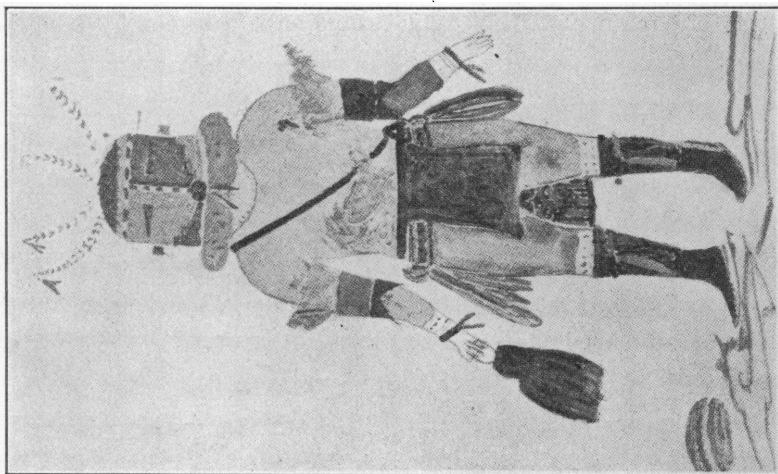


Fig. 11. Tsap' (Fly) Nawish.

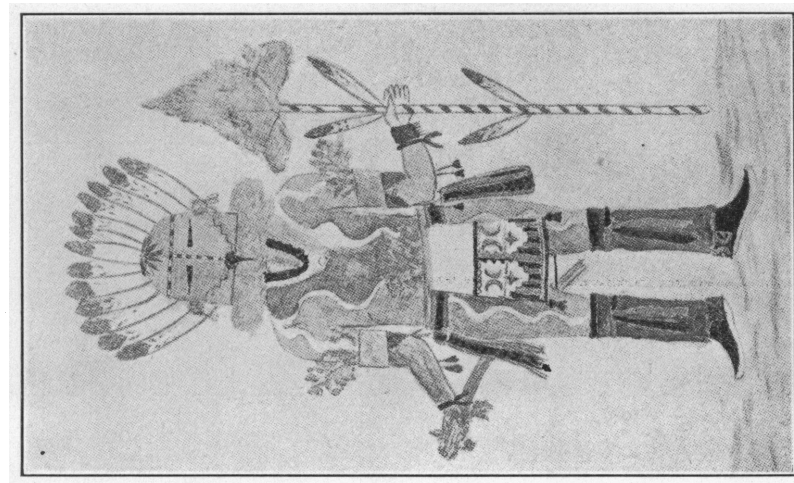


Fig. 12. Mashch'chuwai.

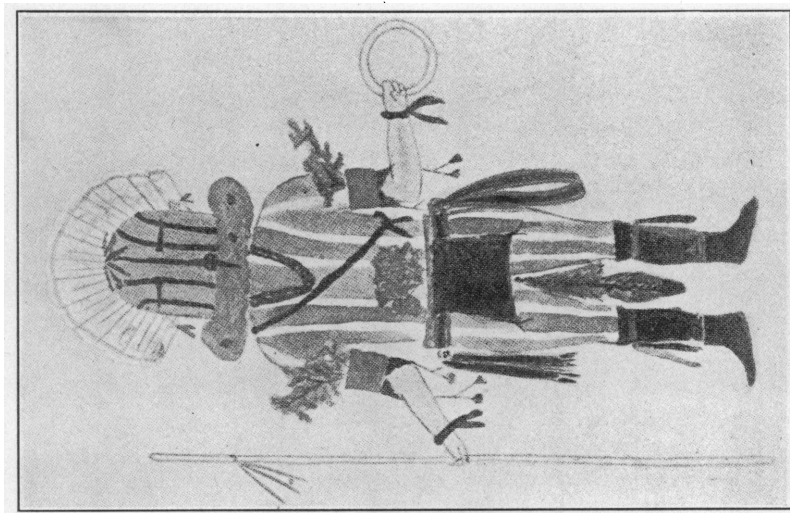


Fig. 13. Kaina'nyi. The stripes are black and white. This personage appears with the Chakvena.



Fig. 14. Kuchinninaku.

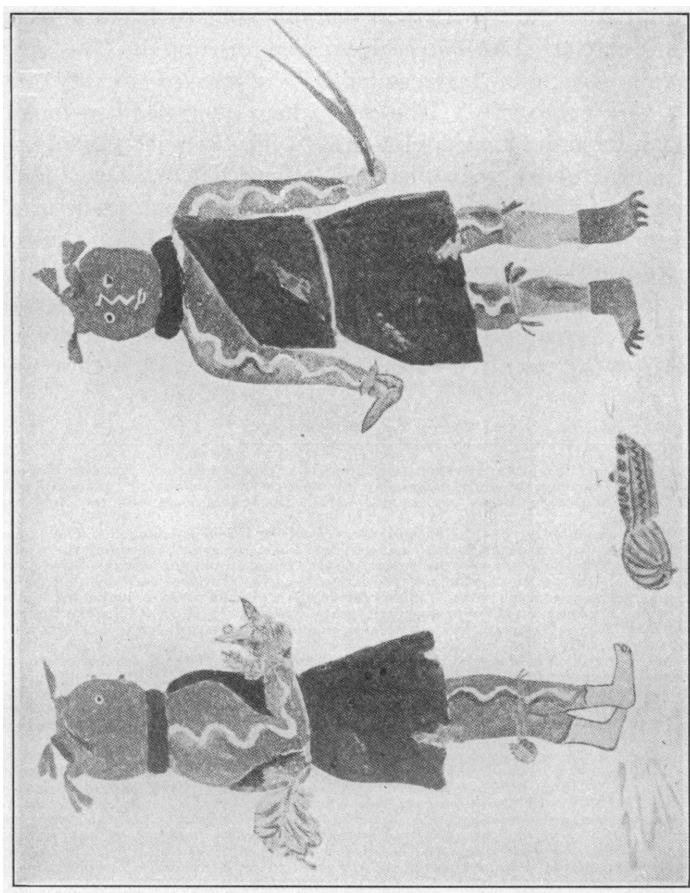


Fig. 15. Gumeoyoish.

This was not the first time I had heard the *kashare* charged with meddling in affairs none of their own i.e., with the *k'atsina*. Between the *k'atsina* and the *cheanitsa* (order of *cheani*) there is today a definite line,¹ just as at Zuñi there is a line between the *koko* and the societies. The *shiwanna cheani* is the only *cheani* left at Laguna²—the two *kashare*³ *cheani* live at Messita. In that memorable split to Isleta of almost a half century ago, the Laguna *cheanitsa* were disrupted. The *shiwanna cheani* gave me the following account of “*s'atiume temishe* (my brothers, a group, several) who left.” The *cheani* here quarreled,⁴ we fought like this (moving his index fingers criss-cross). The *kurena* (*shikani cheani*) were in control; they remained, the others left. When they left,⁵ they carried away all the altars (*yapaiishin*) and put them in a hole in the top of the mountain (pointing to the north). I don't remember how many days they were there. Then they went to the hole and took out the altars and carried them down to *hatsa* (Messita).⁶ They knew they had done a great wrong, so they kept moving further away. That was the reason they went on to *hanichina* (Isleta). First they went to

¹But whether or not this differentiation is original is an open question. It may have been introduced or intensified through the Zuñi Badger clan influence on the *k'atsina* cult. It is said at Laguna that formerly the *shikani kurena cheani* was an authority in the *k'atsina* cult. Cf. too, Stevenson, (a), 116, 117.

In the *chakwena* dance of Oct. 3-4, 1918, the *shikani cheani* had been overlooked. The dance was at Laguna and the *cheani* was living at Insinal, nevertheless his sister grumbled about the slight. Obviously she associated the *chakwena* with the *shikani cheani*. For example, the *shikani cheani* shared with the *chakwena* the right to use the feathers of the sparrow-hawk, *chutika*, (used by the *cheani* in his feather-stick) and the right to have painted on moccasins pictures of sun, moon, and stars. Nowadays, other *k'atsina* would encroach on these proprietary rights, wearing *chutika* feathers, like the *chakwena*, on top of their mask, and moccasins ornate with sun, moon, and stars. Even in non-*k'atsina* dances such moccasins are worn.

Of considerable significance may be the fact that formerly at the *cheani* solstice ceremonials the *k'atsina* appeared, coming into the ceremonial room two at a time.

Formerly the *shikani cheani* themselves danced. With face painted in three stripes, red, yellow and green, and hair put up in cornhusks, they came out at sunrise and danced at the four corners. Then they danced indoors until sunset, when again they danced at the four corners, this time the people dancing with them.

²Formerly, i.e., in the memory of my informant, the sister of *shikani cheani*, there were about twelve *shikani cheani*. There are two alive today at Siama, but they do not practise. When their ceremonial father died they gave his things, his mask and his turquoise, to northern Indians. I heard of a woman named Shena who had been cured by the *shikani cheani*, but not initiated. Joining the *cheanitsa* after a cure is, nowadays at least, not compulsory. Although not initiated, Shena helped the *cheani*, sweeping the floor, carrying water, etc. I heard also of a woman who had been struck by lightning and had therefore become a *shiwanna cheani*. A *saiyap cheani* (see p. 118) survives at Pohuati and still practises *shikatue wawa*, stocking medicine, for persons when “the cold had got into them.” The patient is steamed and, while sweating, massaged.

Laguna people are prone to call in medicinemen from outside, Zuñi or Navajo medicinemen. There is in particular a *mutu* (*muki*, i.e., Hopi) *cheani* married at Acoma, who, in serious cases, is summoned. He is *shui* (snake) and *si* (ant) *cheani*. My Laguna informant has heard this man talk against molesting ants. To get rid of ants one should not throw ashes on the ant-hill, he would urge, but sprinkle a line of meal out from the hill for them to follow.

³They are Bear clansmen and blood cousins, but anyone may become a *kashare*. In Laguna itself, married to a Laguna woman, lives a *kashare* from a northern pueblo. He is also referred to as a *shui cheani*.

⁴According to another informant, the quarrel was over the *chakwena*. Ordinarily, dancers make a round of the outlying villages, repeating their dance; but the *chakwena* in Laguna will not go to Messita to dance.

⁵According to another informant, the split was due to the Protestants (*shpärshitanityi*) who objected to the *cheani* and it was the orthodox *cheani* party that went to Isleta.

⁶In 1896 Hodge (133) describes Hatsáyí (Sp. Mesita) as a summer village.

hatsa. Half the people moved on from there to *hanichina*.¹ Most of the *cheani* at *hanichina* were from *hatsa*. They reached *hanichina*. What they did there with the *yapaiishin* I do not know. There was one woman *kurena* at *hanichina*, but she has died recently. So the *kurena cheanitsa* at *hanichina* is extinct. Of all the Laguna people (*gawekame*) who went to *hanichina* there is but one man left. His name is Lei.² The *cheani* who went to *hanichina* were the *hakani* (Fire), the *hish* (Flint) and the *shahiye*.³ The *gawekame* went after the altars at *hatsa* and brought some back. I was a young man and a *cheani* (*shahiye* as well as *shiwanna cheani*). Robert Marmon⁴ was *topopo* (governor), and he gave them authority to go after what had been stolen. They had taken the *santu* also. They had a big meeting. All the people from all the villages were there. They all said it was good that they had gone after the altars."

Before this troublous affair the *cheani* were considered to be in a "round group" with *shikani cheani* in charge of them all. Evidently the *shikani-kurena cheani* was accounted the *hanigy*⁵ (topmost) *cheani* because of the supremacy attributed to *osha'ch*. I heard too that "*osha'ch cheani* was the first one because he came to the light first," a reference presumably to the emergence myth.⁵ These statements were made, it must be noted, by the assistants of the *shikani cheani*. Curiously enough they admitted to no knowledge of the last "cacique" or *tiamoni hocheni*, *hocheni par excellence*. His personal names were Taiowityuë and Meyu (lizard), and he was a Lizard clansman. He had been a Flint *cheani* and then an *opi* or war priest and then, after he married, he be-

¹To my question about the clan composition of the immigration, Lizard, Sun, Eagle, and Road-runner clans-people were mentioned.

Writing in 1891 Lummis (206) states that a generation before, owing to a great drought, about 150 Keres from Acoma and Laguna settled in Isleta.

²And yet I was subsequently cautioned not to let this story reach the people of Isleta, for they would trace it to the narrator. Only one other in Laguna knew the history, the *shikani cheani*, and he was too old and deaf to be suspected. The facts are better known in Laguna than the *shiwanna cheani* represented.

³Subdivided into *shkuyu* (giant), and *sii*, ant. By one informant, *shahiye* was equated with *kawwatschia* who swallowed sticks a foot long and red at the tip. The stick doubled up by some device. There were stick-swallowers also among the *kapina cheani*.

For subdivision of societies, cf. Stevenson, (a), 74.

⁴It was his brother, a government school teacher, who married one of my informants, the sister of the *shikani cheani*. Mr. Robert G. Marmon settled in Laguna in 1862. Like his brother he married a Laguna woman. To native ceremonial he is indifferent, not having attended a mask dance for twenty years and never having attended solstice ceremonials. He told me that at the time the altars were recovered they were set out in the council room, and they seemed to be in the charge of old women. On this occasion people "promised not to use the things any more." Mr. Marmon thinks that in the last ten or fifteen years there has been a revival of the ceremonial life at Laguna.

⁵The *osha'ch* (*shikani-kurena*) *cheani* is associated, as we have seen, with *ma'sewi* who found the Sun (See p. 114). Now it is of interest that at Sia the Knife (or Flint) society was the first organized by the war gods and it is associated with the war society, and at Cochiti the head of the flint society becomes the *tiamoni* or cacique. According to one Laguna informant the Flint society at Laguna was also the leader (*tsiadiua*), but only in case of disagreement among the *cheani* in choosing the *tiamoni* did the selection fall to the Flint society. The Flint head and his assistant, the *shikani* head, installed the *tiamoni*, giving him the cane (*yapi*) and *chasumi* (feathered cane) from which he got his authority.

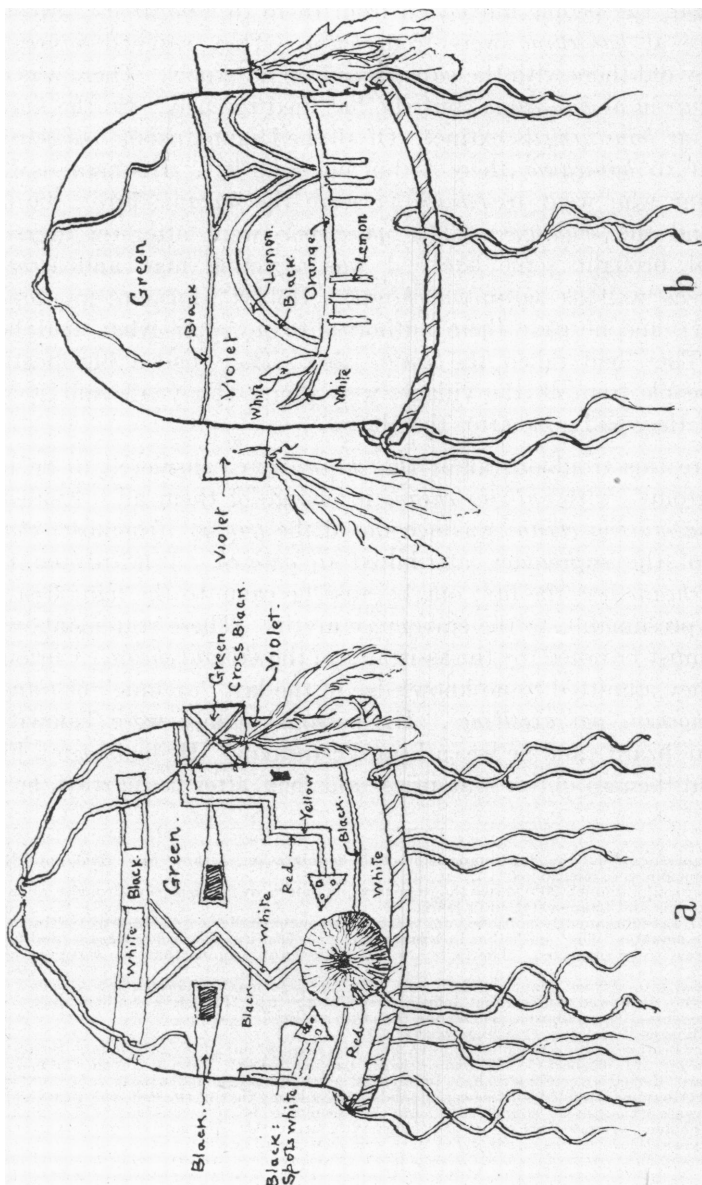


Fig. 16. Unidentified Mask. *a*, front. The base as in Figs. 17 *a*, *b* is a wooden frame, the thongs, buckskin. The feathers as in Fig. 17*a* are duck. The mouthpiece is of yarn; *b*, back.
The three masks in Figs. 16-17 are from the collection in the Brooklyn Institute Museum. For the drawings I am indebted to C. Grant La Farge.

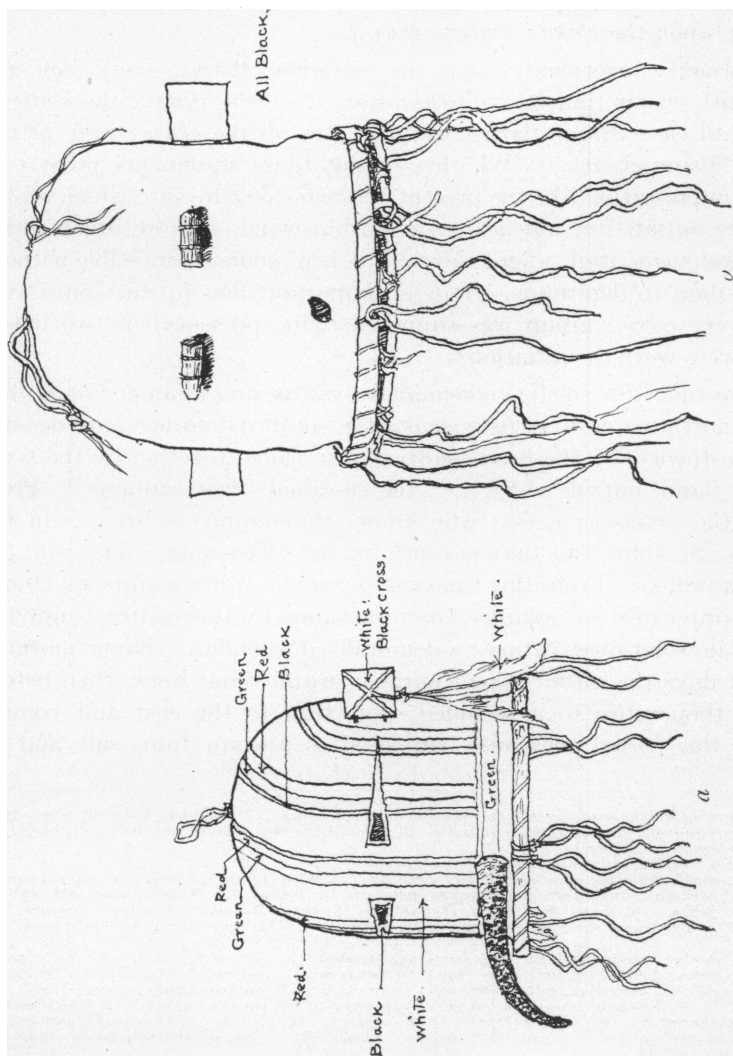


Fig. 17. *a*. Mask of Kaina nyi. The beak is a cornucob colored carmine for about an inch from the mask and to the tip black; *b*, Unidentified Mask. See Fig. 16.

came *tiamoni*. He had twelve children. About the time of the Great Split he went to live with a married daughter at Messita. Then or at his death the office lapsed, and headship or quasi headship devolved, I surmise, upon the *shikani-kurena cheani*.

Formerly, everybody, said the *shiwanna cheani*, every boy and every girl, was initiated into a *cheanitsa*.¹ *Ts'i'ts'urnurts'*, the *k'atsina*, was in all cases the initiating whipper, "so all the *cheani* were in this sense *k'atsina cheani*."² Whether or not these statements point to a former organization like the present *kotikyane* of Zuñi into which all the boys are initiated or indicate a state from which such an organization as the *kotikyane* itself might develop, it is of course impossible without further data to determine. It is an important fact in this connection that every *cheani* group was supposed to be possessed of two masks which were worn at initiation.

The times for solstice ceremonials, winter and summer (*kuamishukurtsa*, northeast corner, *dyamishukurtsa*, southeast corner), are decided upon, in theory, by the head (*yani*) *cheani*, called together by the *tsatio hocheni* (land, outside chief) i.e., the so-called "war captains." Practically the *shiwanna cheani* who knows the summer solstice is in the month of St. John [San Juan *tauwach* (moon)]³ fixes upon a date with the "war captains." From this time the *shiwanna cheani* counts six moons to the winter solstice—plainly, from the names for the solstices, implying as they do solar observation,⁴ a demoralized calendar.⁵ Every morning for four days the *cheani* take a purge of warm cedar brew, then before eating, they retire to a secluded spot, turn to the east and vomit.⁶ During this period they were supposed to abstain from salt and to

¹Another informant controverted this statement. According to Dorsey and Voth (9), every Hopi man or boy is at one time or another initiated into one of the four fraternities, becoming thereby a member of the Soyal fraternity.

²*K'atsina* initiates are called *shuts k'atsina cheani*.

³The moons he gave me were: *natsi* (new) *shaiti* (year), (2) *loko* (crazy) *tauwach*, (3) *chauma yamoni* (plant), (4) *bachasti* (corn planting soil broken, *patshasta*, cf. below), (5) *shawwitsi* (soil soft, sow, cf. *shau oitsche* below), (6) *sauwa* (San Juan), (7) *santiago*, (8) *kenach tauwach*, (9) *kityush tauwach*, (10) *haiatse*, (11) *shuma* (dead, skeleton, referring to All Souls' Day), (12) *nachu wena* (*Sp. noche buena*, i.e., Christmas).

From another informant I got: (1) *lei* (king) *tauwach*, (2) *loko* (crazy) *tauwach*, also *yamoni* (plant), (3) *patshasta* (soil broken) *oitshe* (sow), (wheat is sown), also *meyutsich* (lizard tail cracking, referring to ice), (4) *shau* (soil, soft) *oitshe* (sow) (corn is planted), *yachiti* (grains of corn, May?), (6) *sauwa*, (7), (?), (8) *santiago*, translated "August," also *gawitit* (cutting i.e. wheat), (9) *kuwawatit'* or *tsiwatit'* (gathering in), (10) *haiatse* (?), (11) *shuma tauwach*, (12) *chiwena* (*noche buena*) *tauwach*.

Spring is *gich*; summer *g'shraitit*; fall, *haiatsi*; winter, *kuk'*; from solstice to solstice, *ishgekuku*. Cf. Harrington, 62-66.

Giwire is said to have kept track of days by marking on his house wall or by making knots in a string.

⁴Observation of when "the sun turned back" is said explicitly to have been taken at *okatsaani* or *kuateshshkurtisho*, a conspicuous rock at the east side of town.

⁵This was the account given by the *shiwanni cheani* himself. December fifth and June fifth are said by others to be the solstice ceremonial dates. In 1919 the summer solstice ceremonial was held on June fourteenth, the postponement being desired by the war captains. Up to a day or two before, the *shiwanni cheani* was away, visiting his daughter in Isleta.

⁶Cf. Stevenson, (a), 75.

"stay away from home" i.e., to abstain from sexual intercourse.¹ Their water and bread were kept separate. This state of taboo, *kauch*², or, as a Zúñi would say, of being *teshkwi*, formerly preceded every *cheani* ceremony, but nowadays the restrictions are observed only² by the *shikani cheani*.³ On the third day of the solstice ceremonial the "war captains" call upon all the men to go hunting,⁴ the spoils destined for the *cheani*. On the fourth day all the men cut feather-sticks⁵ and that night the ceremony takes place. Today it is the *shikani cheani* and the *shiwanna cheani*⁶ who conduct it, making a single altar in the room loaned to them for the occasion.⁷ Bidden by the "war captains,"⁸ the *cheani* carry ashes and embers around the openings of the room "because there might be somebody around not thinking good thoughts and spoiling the ceremony." After the night-long singing or chanting terminates—the "war captains" tell the *cheani* when they have sung enough—the *cheani* take their feather-sticks "off somewhere" and pray

¹Cf. Stevenson, (a), 75.

²Probably observed by all taking part in the ceremonial. See below. By one man who lived near the house I was in at the time, the morning purge, I know, was taken, and the war captain about 7 a.m. the mornings of June tenth to thirteenth called out to the men "to clean their stomach."

³Habitual restrictions upon the *osha ch-kurena-shikani cheani* are abstention from the meat of jack-rabbit and abstention from the *waku* plant, Rocky Mt. bee plant (*Peritoma serrulatum* or *eleonac serrulata*), which is eaten by others as a vegetable. Jack-rabbit is not eaten because its blood is dark like human blood; *waku* is not eaten because the plant grew up from the blood of *ma'sewi* as with bleeding feet he traveled to the four corners of the universe (Cf. Cushing, 183-184), and the Zúñi believe that *waku*, in Zúñi *apitatu*, is a "cacique." Some people will not weed it out from their corn. In the ceremonial of dedicating the mask the Navajo drink a ceremonial tea of *wa'*, bee weed (Franciscan Fathers, 389). *Waku* is peculiarly fatal to the *cheani*. Were he to eat anything even from a pan from which the *waku* had not been thoroughly cleansed, his stomach would swell up and he would die. Taboos upon jack-rabbit and upon *waku* (*wako*) apply to the *shikarne cheani* of Cochiti (Dumarest, 189) and to the society of the *shi'wannakwe* at Zúñi.

The *shi'wannakwe* of Zúñi were equated by a Zúñi informant who had visited Laguna with the *kwilaina*, as Zúñi people pronounce *kurena*, of Laguna.

⁴The Hopi go rabbit hunting for three days after the winter solstice ceremonial. (Dorsey and Voth, 15).

⁵According to a Zúñi informant, *ukyahaia* or downy feathers are tied to the rungs of the ladder of the ceremonial room to be carried away by a masked impersonation he identified with the Zúñi *shitsukia*, only the mask was featherless.

⁶Formerly the *shiwanna cheani* performed only curing ceremonies, particularly in connection with broken bones. There has never been any society of *shiwanna cheani*. As at Zúñi, persons shocked by lightning are qualified to cure; but neither at Zúñi nor Laguna is there any evidence today that such medicinemen were ever organized into a group.

⁷In June, 1919, the ceremonial was held in two houses. In one house the *shiwanna cheani* presided, assisted by one *shuts kurena cheani* from Parahi, one *shuts shaiyaik* (hunting) *cheani* from Parahi, one *shuts k'apina* from Pohuati, one *shuts k'atsina cheani* from Tsiamia and one *shuts k'atsina cheani* of Laguna. In the other house, a house where the *kashare* masks are kept, the two *kashare* of Messita presided assisted by one *shuts Flint cheani* from Pohuati, one *shuts shiwanna cheani* from Messita, one *shuts k'atsina cheani* from Laguna, one from Pohuati, and two from Messita. All the *cheani* were supposed to take part in solstice ceremonials.

⁸In contemporaneous public opinion the war captains are present both at *cheani* ceremonials and at *k'atsina* dances primarily to guard against witchcraft. The war captains are under a great strain, and so they are chosen from the stronger middle-aged men. Formerly, older men were chosen for the office. One gets the impression at Laguna that sacerdotal initiative is to a large degree in the hands of the "war captains." For example, the *shiwanna cheani* would grumble that the war captains were not seeing to it that some of the younger men were initiated into the *cheanitsa* so when he and the *shikani cheani* died the *cheanitsa* could go on.

According to a Zúñi informant the dances at Acoma are determined by the "*katsena huchani*" and the *wishtaku* (Keresan for bow i.e., in Zúñi the *pitashiwanni*) *huchani*, i.e., war captain. At Laguna here are a *k'atsina hocheni* and his assistant-successor chosen by the group.

for the health and good of the people, for rain and good crops.¹ The night chant is in large part, I understand, a recital of the wanderings from *shipap* to *osha'ch gama* (home), the hill about four miles to the east of Laguna, and the song is thus analogous to the migration chants of the Zuni *shalako*, *sayatasha* or *kyaklo*. The following fragments of the myth were told by the sister of the *shikani cheani*. Upon her in recent years Giwire had relied as a prompter. I got the impression that in the solstice night chant the incidents are merely referred to, the chant without knowledge of the myth being more or less unintelligible.²

I

Emi hama (very long ago) when it was still dark, before there was any light, the *chakwena ma'sewi* lived at *shipap*. His mother *iyetiku* had three sisters, *tsichinnaku*,³ *naustiti*, *ushstiti*. They were working to bring light. The *chakwena ma'sewi* would go back and forth searching for the sun. *Iyetik* and her three sisters were working daily to find light. The only light they had was a little light from embers. They were in the darkness all the time. *Ma'sewi* was very obedient, he would do whatever his mothers told him. He would not look to see what was the food they had prepared for him until he arrived at the end of his journey. They sent him north, east, south, west. He could not find the sun. He thought his last chance was to go down into the earth.

His mother *iyetik* said to her sisters, "I wish we had something to make us laugh. We sit around here so quiet without anything to make us laugh." *Iyetik* rubbed her skin. Rubbing both hands she got a ball like dough. She put it aside and covered it with cloth. Out of the rubbings came the *kashare*. He was to make fun for people, to make them forget their troubles. *Iyetik* made a rainbow (*kashchasti*), an arch for him with pictures of the sun, moon and stars for him to climb on, up and down. He kept them laughing.⁴ *Ma'sewi* was gone and did not come back. The *kashare* got restless, he said, "Mothers, where did my brother *ma'sewi* go? I had better go and search for him." "No, you would only die of hunger. *Ma'sewi* will come back. You could not stand the journey." *Kashare* said, "I will take food and water with me." They had hardly finished speaking of him (*ma'sewi*), when in he came. He brought in the sun. He had found it in white earth way down in one of the four corners.⁵ His mothers said, "Have you come, my son?" "Yes, mother." "*Kashare* was going after you." "There was no need of going after me, he would have died of hunger and thirst." When they went to take out the sun it was so bright it dazzled

¹Formerly at the solstice ceremonials the *cheani* visited *hochanitsa spinna* (Mt. Taylor) and the pit shrine about sixteen miles east of Laguna (*shtuitawa*) "to find out good." See Parsons, (g). At both places the *cheani* got omens for the year. If there was to be rain, they saw growing in the pits green wheat and corn. These shrines are still visited, presumably by the war captains. The day before the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 a sometime Fire *cheani* visited Mt. Taylor—on a school picnic, he said.

²A character, I have little doubt, of all Pueblo Indian songs. (Cf. Voth, 311).

³The etymology given is *tsichu*, think, *chinnaku*, femaleness.

⁴*Bitsitsi*, the first *ne'wekwe* of the Zuni, was similarly created from epidermis. Stevenson gives a myth about him which describes him as jester and musician to the Sun, calling him *paiyetemu* (distinguishing him from the *paiyetemu* of the Little Firebrand society). The first *koshairi* of the Sia was jester and musician to the Sun. [Stevenson, (a), 33].

⁵According to another informant *iyetiku* gave the sun in wrappings to *ma'sewi*, bidding him not to open until he had visited the four corners.

their eyes. On the second day they were going to take it out in the world and put it up in the sky.¹ They were going to see which side would be the best for the sun to come up. They first tried the north. The light did not seem strong. Next they tried from the west. That did not suit them. Next they tried from the south. The fourth time they tried it from the east. It was just as they wanted it to be. That was the first light in the world.² They wanted to bring the people up in the light, the *cheani* and the people, to see the light. He (*ma'sewi*) went back and said, "My children, I have made a great light for you. You can all come out. You can go the length of my arm. I want to try you out. If you are wicked, you may have to go back into the darkness." He let them go as far as *kashoti*, white village. The houses were made of white shell. That was as far as he could let them go. For a while they all seemed to be good. It rained, the land was fine, the crops grew well. On the housetops they shook their rattles (*uyasihina*) and danced on the wall divisions (*kuyapa'uwitsa*). Their mother *iyetik* told them if they were all good they would be happy. If they were wicked they would have trouble. After all her talk they disobeyed her. They were deceived by *bacheani*. He came from the northwest. He made himself out of an arrow point. When he came, he told them he could do almost anything like *naishdia hus* (father *dios*). "I will show you that I can do things as well as *naishdia hus*. He sent me to do these things. Look now." From his toe he brought up two burros all bridled. The *cheani* said, "That is true. He did send you." Thus he deceived them. He was going to hold a ceremony like the *cheani*. They were all watching him. He had a bowl near him. He kept taking pebbles out of his mouth and he threw them into the bowl. He took out of his mouth bits of cloth. That pleased them. They believed in him. To this day the *kashare* do this, they take things out of their mouth.³ (The people do not think so much of the *shikani* because he does not deceive them.) As soon as he had deceived them, he ran away. He went first northeast, then east, then southeast, to Mexico (*g'churatsi*). That's the reason there are so many Mexicans (*g'chura*) to the south. From then on the *cheani* had no good fortune. When they had rain dances, the rain did not come. The wind blew. The sun parched their crops. They were struck by famine. They would take their own children and jerk off their shoulders and eat the meat. The officers (*uwacheni*) took the *cheani* and the war captains (*tsatio uwacheni*) and imprisoned them. They were in prison for many years. They were punished by not having anything to eat or drink. The *kashare* got so thirsty, they drank their urine, and so hungry, they ate their faeces. That is the reason when the *kashare* initiate they make the initiates drink urine and eat faeces. Mother *iyetik* took pity on them and told *ma'sewi* to open for them and then to go after *bacheani* and find him and kill him. They followed his tracks northeast, east, and southeast. They found him near the big water. When they found him, they killed him. They drowned him. They started back. Then they had better fortune. To this day the *kashare* believe in none as they believe in the *bacheani*.

II

When *ma'sewi* went round the four corners of the earth, he wore out the soles of his moccasins, his feet were bleeding. (That is the reason the *ma'sewi* never stand still. When the *shikani cheani* comes to that part of his song he stands up and does

¹Cf. Matthews, 30.

²Cf. Russell, 254.

³*Kokimuni* is a term for jugglery. All the supernaturals have *kokimuni* i.e., supernatural power.

not stand still). With bleeding feet he went on his way to find the sun. *Wikoli*¹ came from the north, *shumaekoli*² from the east, they met.³ *Shumaekoli* sang, "*Ai, wikoli.*" *Wikoli* said, "*Ai dui, shumaekoli.*" *Shumaekoli* said, "Where are you going? What are you doing here?" He said, "I have just come from the north. I am hunting for our mother. I have not done the right thing by the people. I have killed so many by cramps. Maybe you are our mother." *Wikoli* said, "No, I don't know, maybe I am. Now let us sit down and talk together, talk about the way we should respect the people and care for them." While they were sitting there talking, *ma'sewi* came from the east. He heard the talking. He started to sing—

aa to ee aa tiee hati (where) wikoli shumaekoli iani (road, life) ekatsa
(are talking) a hati (where) wikoli shumaekoli iani (road) ekoyota
(are singing)

Wikoli said, "Listen, *ma'sewi* has come back." "Where?" *Wikoli* said, "Here." When he met them, he scolded *shumaekoli* because he had not acted right. *Wikoli* said, "Have you come, *ma'sewi*?" "Yes, I have come." Here is *shumaekoli*, the wicked one, be careful and do not let him deceive you. I am going now." "Let us go," said *wikoli*. So they stood up together ready to go. *Shumaekoli* said, "My friend (*saukin*), *wikoli*, what is this hanging there?" He had a sparrow-hawk feather⁴ hanging in his hair. "What do you do with this feather?" "I have it there for a purpose." "Will you give me two of those feathers to put in my armband?" He gave him a feather for each arm. Still he kept asking for all the feathers. He said he could not give them, for if he did, he would lose the people, it was a sign he was carrying the people on top. "Go, I think you are bad." *Shumaekoli* went on, but only a little way when he stepped on a cactus. It lamed him in the heel. He went on leaning on his bow. "Lean," said *wikoli*,⁵ "that is the way you must go. You are not good."⁶

Ma'sewi was on his way back to *shipap*. His mother *iyetik* was cruel to him, but he was always obedient. When he found the great light, he was going to come out with the people. Mother *iyetik* said, "*Amuu seyach*, my dear child, *amuu*, the people in the great light (*gaishpieshe*) will make fun of you. They will say all kinds of things about you because you have crook eyes and your tongue hangs down⁷ and you have a black face." He said, "Mother, I must go with them into the great light. I care for the people and I want to go with them." She said, "You will have to go out once more, up to the north top corner." She wanted him to announce that the people were coming to the north top corner, the west top corner, the south top corner, and the east top corner, to announce that the people were coming from the darkness into the light.

¹The second in office among the *kurena* is called *wikoli*; the first, *shika*. The one to initiate is called *hotokoli*. According to Father Dumarest at Cochiti *wikore* is an officer of the *quirana*.

²*Shumaekoli* used to belong to a *cheanitsa*. In the dances they would start south of *osha'ch gama*. They were called *saiyap*. They would bring two small piñon trees pulled up from the roots to *kakati*. The masks of the *shumaekoli* were passed on to Zuñi. [Stevenson, (b), 547]. The name of the present director of the Zuñi *shuma'kwe* is *Ma'asewwi* (Kroeber, 171); but the name is said to be a personal, not a society name.

³The *kurena* masked impersonations always came in from the northeast.

⁴Property of the *kurena*, See p. 108, n. 1.

⁵*Wikoli* is given also as a term for one of the four officials of the *kashare*. The head was *honawaité* (a Sia term), the others, *tsaiyatsidyaku*, *wikoli*, *hotokoli*. One of the heads of the *chakwena* is referred to as *wikoli*, and the two masks of the Flint society used in initiating are also referred to as *hotokoli* and *wikoli*. Initiations were made, as at Zuñi, in late winter or early spring. The mask-wearing initiators of this society and of the *k'apina* society were *heleleka* and *s'amahiya*.

⁶*Shuma* in Keresan means skeleton, corpse. Probably the name is seen again in the *shuma'kwe* of Zuñi. There is a fraternity among the Hopi having *sumaikoli* and *kawikoli* masks. It makes offering to *masauú*, god of death. Fewkes, (i), 356-357.

⁷Here the *chakwena* mask is being described. My informant explained that in his journeys *ma'sewi* got so thirsty and parched that his tongue hung out. The *ma'sewi* (*chakwena*) impersonators are painted white to the breast because *ma'sewi* felt parched down to his breast.

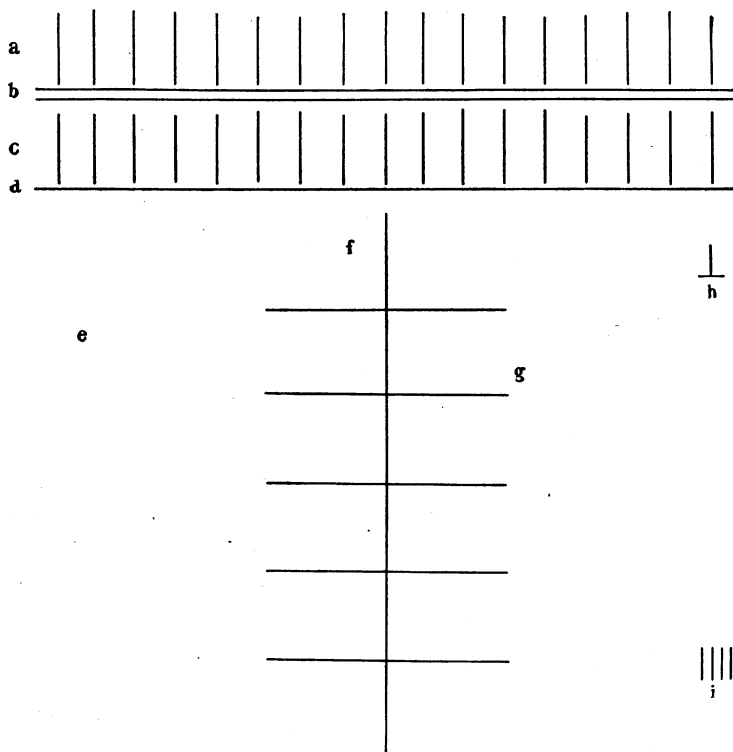


Fig. 18. Altar of *shikani cheani* in Curing Ceremonial. *a*, *hadjamuni* planted in *b*; *b*, *yashpatawe* (mud) i. e. mud wall about two inches high; *c*, *iyatik'*^a standing on *d*; *d*, a line of meal; *e*, *tsiwasi* (sick one), i. e. the patient; *f*, *hiani* (road) a line of meal with cross lines of meal; *g*, *utishumi* (*uwai' chumi*) (medicine bowl); *h*, *mapanyi* (paw) i. e. bear's claw, belonging to assistant *cheani*; *i*, *hishami* or *tsishamishochu*, four eagle wing feathers lying on a piece of buckskin.

In times of drought the *cheani* also conducted a ceremonial called *kuashiwannatia*, "They act like *shiwanna*."¹ They were *kaushish* for four days, eating freely on the fifth day. They visited a spring, finding the grass around the spring green if it was to be a good year, dried up, for a bad year. Their retreats were in sequence, but informants are more or less uncertain about the order. According to the sister of the *shikani cheani* the order was first the *shikani* and Fire, then the *shahaiye* and *saiyap*, then the *kashare*. According to other informants the order was Flint, the *tsiadia* or leader *cheani*, *shahaiye*, Fire, *kurena*, *shiwanni*, *kashare*. The *k'apina cheani*, *cheani* who put down feather-sticks, stained red, to allay high winds, were in retreat only two days and then danced.

From the sister of the *shikani cheani* I learned about his curing ceremony—all the *cheani* worked cures, being invited with a package of meal. The *cheani* gives the meal to his *iyatik*², asking her help. He visits the patient for four days before the ceremony. *Kuati*, "going after" i.e., of the heart of the patient, the ceremony is called. The heart is believed to have been carried off by *kanadyeya* (witch, evil spirit), the witch taking animal form. In the house of the patient the altar is set up facing, preferably, towards *osha'ch gama*.

In another connection, in connection with the solstice ceremonials, I think, the same informant stated that on the altar of the *shikani cheani* lay propped against the *iyatik*² two of the three canes (*yapi*) of the "war captains." She also drew the picture of a wooden cross lying on the left of the altar,² facing out, and near *samahiye* ("idol" translated my informant's daughter), a stone which was dressed with feathers on the back and a circlet of beads,³ dressed apparently like the *iyetik*⁴, except that on the stone a face would be painted in colors of turquoise and yellow. The appearance (shape?) of the *samahiye* reminded my informant of that of *kaina'nyi k'atsina*. (Fig. 13). The *samahiye* was never carved, it was a natural formation, preferably rounded at one end, found in the mountains.⁴ (Fig. 19.) The *samahiye* of the *shikani cheani* was over a foot high. With animal figures on the altar my informant appeared unfamiliar.⁵ On the right of the altar was a basket (*utani*).

¹The term was freely translated as calling rain, just as the corresponding term for the ceremonials of the rain priests of Zuni is rendered.

²Cf. Stevenson, (a), 77.

³When not on the altar the feathers and necklace are removed from the *samahiye* and, like *hachamuni*, it is wrapped with meal in cornhusk.

⁴Similar stones and somewhat similarly decorated, called likewise *tcamahia* are found on Hopi altars. [Fewkes, (j) 489]. They figure also on Zuni altars. According to another informant *samahiye* are found in ruins. *Yat'aisht*⁵ are ceremonial stones like them, but with less polish.

⁵Images of mountain lion and bear do figure on the altar, according to another informant.

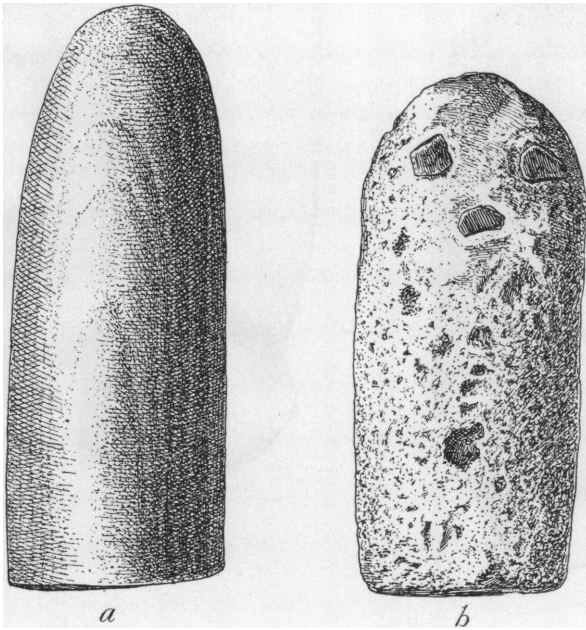


Fig. 19 *a* (50. 1-1040a), *b* (50-2996). Fetish Stones. *a*, Laguna *samahiye*; *b*, Tewa. Height of *a*, 13 cm., *b*, 12 cm.

On one side of the altar there was also a crook (*shoitsshia*) stick¹ to the point of which hung an eagle and a turkey feather.²

Shikani cheani is nude but for a breechcloth. He has across his nose two lines of red paint (*hakacha*)³ and two lines across his lips. There are four lines on each side of his face. He is painted, like *ma'sewi*, or like the representations of *ma'sewi*, the "war captains," "because it is through *ma'sewi* he hopes for success." His hair is tied in a top knot and over "the soft place in the head" is painted in red a small cross "to keep away the evil spirits." An assistant *cheani* (today it is the *shiwanna cheani*) holds a crystal (*mashanyu*, great light) to the light, and *shikani cheani* goes about the room as in a daze searching as it were for the stolen heart. The assistant sings.

¹The head *shikani* is referred to as *hachamuni kaiuk* (broken).

²For other particulars see Fig. 18.

³The pigment (a red ochre) is collected from rocks nearby and ground fine by men appointed by the *cheani*.

Hakacha is also daubed on the face by hunters.

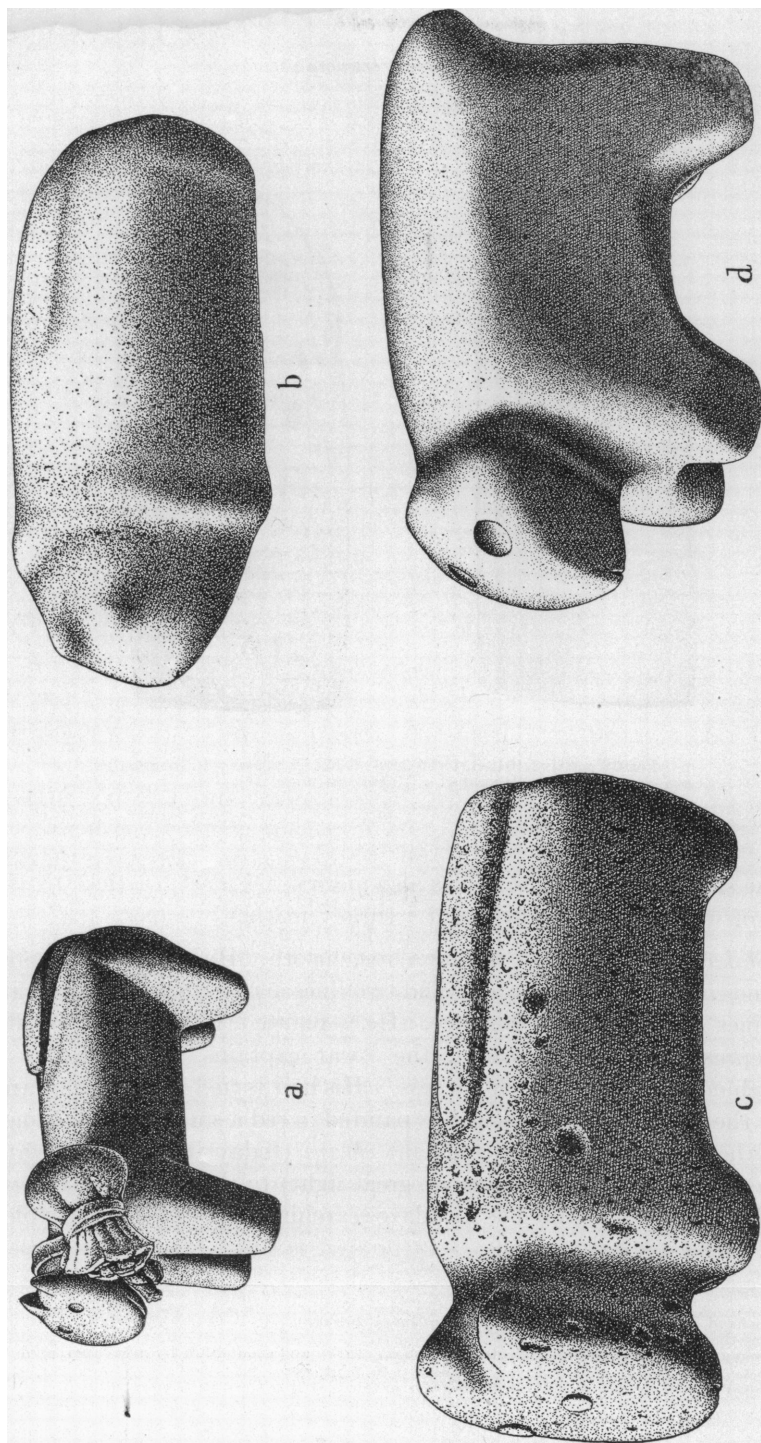


Fig. 20 a (50.2-1041a), b (50.2-1041b), c (50.2-1041c), d (50.2-1041d). Animal Stone Fetishes. $\frac{3}{4}$ actual size.

Shikani cheani proceeds to suck¹ places on the body of the patient. Then having rubbed ashes on his body as a prophylactic against witches and on the calves of his legs so as not to get tired, with his bear paw in his left hand, a flint knife in his right, he rushes outdoors, slashing the air with the flint.² Two "war captains"³ with bow and arrows and a blood relative of the *cheani* with a gun follow the *cheani* as he goes forth, running so fast that it is with difficulty his companions keep up with him. He may go to the river for the heart (it is usually found in the river bank) or he may dig somewhere with his bear claw. In a notable case, he dug up the girl patient's heart under a cedar.⁴ While he is out and, before that, while he is sucking, his assistant sings:—

aha ihi tsiano	toa uhe aha ihi aha ihi	tsiano	tuwa mati waishgunai
come back to life		come back to life	this man weed
kauwets'we'ie ⁵	gano	ma aha ihi aha ihi	tsiano
vomits	he did it now		come back to life

Returning to the house of the patient, *shikani cheani* creeps in on hands and knees, clasping in the bear's paw the "heart." The "war captains" take the "heart,"⁶ from him, and so violent is his behavior, that the "war captains" have to hold him down. He stiffens into a kind of spasm, and his female relatives⁷ have to massage him back to consciousness. They rub him with ashes. Restored, he is given warm water to drink, and he goes out and vomits.⁸ Returning, he takes from the altar

¹Cf. Stevenson, (a), 75; Dumarest, 158. According to another informant the *kashare* are the only *cheani* who suck. They suck out hair, pebbles, bits of cloth, etc.

The Zufi doctor sucks as well as rubs to draw out what the witch has sent into the body—flesh from a corpse, bone, insects, etc.

²To cut through the machinations of witches. For the same reason the war captains carry an arrow point in a buckskin bag under their shirt. An arrow point may be hung around a child's neck or tied to a woman's belt. Going out at night both men and women may carry a small arrow point under their tongue. Among the Sia and the Zufi a scalp taker carried an arrow point in his mouth. [Stevenson, (a), 122; (b), 600].

³Cf. Stevenson, (a), 73. Stevenson states that the presence of "warriors" to guard society ceremonials is a Zufi, but not a Sia, practice. Note contradiction, however, on p. 105. At Laguna it is stated explicitly that the war captains have "to look after" the *cheani*. At the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 it was the war captains who decided that we were not to be admitted to the ceremonial, the head captain coming to our house to notify us. Subsequently he sent a messenger to the house asking to have us locked in in case we were left alone in the house. As we had made a respectful application for admission to the Governor and council the precaution seemed extreme. The usual sanction attaches to the non-admission of Whites to ceremonials—were they admitted there would be no rain.

⁴The girl after a near drowning accident had been crying out in her sleep. Her father, a blood relative of the *cheani*, had accompanied him in the search for her heart. The *cheani* had looked first in the river. At Cochiti witches are supposed to hide in the river (Dumarest, 157). At Zufi there are a few doctors who go out to look for what the witch has hidden—hidden perhaps several feet under ground or in a tree.

⁵Onomatopoeitic for vomit.

⁶As for the bear's paw, whenever it was not in use by the *cheani*, the patient clasped it to his breast. It is clearly among the Keresans (See Dumarest, 158), as among the Zufi, a weapon against witches. The Zufi describe it as *sawanike*, possessed of destructive skill.

⁷The blood relatives of both the *cheani* and the patient attend the ceremony. The relatives of the patient, maternal and paternal, had come to his house before the ceremony to prepare gifts of food for the *cheani*. No matter how distressing the condition of the *cheani*, his relatives must not cry. A case is remembered where such an expression of compassion resulted in the death of the *cheani*.

⁸At Cochiti the vomiting is in connection with sucking out the pernicious objects in the body of the patient. (Dumarest, 158).

the *hishami*¹ of four eagle feathers and with them rolls up to the patient the "heart," three or four grains of corn² wrapped one by one in red cloth, bound with cotton. He undoes the tangle, searching out the thickly wrapped grains. If there are three grains only, the patient will die, if four, the patient will recover. In the latter case the *cheani* says, *wachutsa*, "there are enough." He places the four grains on the palm of his right hand and blows as if blowing them back into the body of the patient. He blows towards the left arm of the patient, then towards the right arm, then towards the left knee and the right knee. After this, in a shell, he gives the patient the four grains of corn to swallow together with medicine (*wawa*) from the medicine bowl from the altar. In conclusion, the relatives of the *cheani* wash the heads³ of the relatives of the patient.

After an account of a fight with Navajo raiders⁴ in which a Navajo scalp had been taken, the *shiwanna cheani* stated that four days after the fight they had the scalp dance. It lasted a day and a night. The scalp was brought out hanging from the end of a stick which the women held, passing it from one to another. Before the dance the scalp was taken around to the houses of the *opi*,⁵ as the killers were called, and food and other things were requisitioned for the scalp.⁶ The *opi* (*u'pi*) had to keep a piece of the victim,⁷ a piece of skin or something else (*koimata*) wrapped around their feet until the end of the dance. For twelve days after the kill the *opi* might not have sexual intercourse. Scalps were kept in jars in a cave to the north. The *opi* took care of this cave and from this function were called *dyinidit'kaiaame* (north cave). As at Cochiti a *cheani* would not become an *opi* (but see p. 109), nor would an *opi* become *cheani*.

¹Cf. Stevenson, (a), 79.

²In a Zuni folktale heard, but not recorded, witches had stolen a man's heart, substituting for it black corn. As the corn grew "rusty," the man pined away. "Sick in my heart" is a Zuni phrase.

³As among other Pueblo Indians the hair is washed before a dance. It is also washed on Saturday—rather an interesting instance of acculturation.

⁴When I was a growing boy (*situyimi*) the country was full of enemies, *tyényé* (Navajo) and *apachi*. They were always stealing cattle, sheep and horses, and that was what caused them to fight. This fight was in the *d'éd'pi aiti shuku* (north, there, corner). The Navajo took sheep from the corral of Tsitosh (nicknamed from his small round mouth). The *g'awegame* heard about it and all the men went out to fight. They tied bread around their waist and took their bows and arrows. The Navajo went to *shoakoishapa* [stepping-over i.e., Pohuatil]. There was a fight there. Kuowaituya was shot through the big toe. Samahiye was shot in the left hand. Legario came rushing into the fight. From the rocks above, they shot him through the chest. By this time all the men had gathered here and the Navajo fled. The Navajo who were fighting had lagged behind. They were driving the sheep ahead. One Navajo wore a cap (*shtukutsh*, of cat fur with ears, cf. Franciscan Fathers, 461). They shot him through the forehead. Another shot him through the back. Then he died. He was the bravest of the Navajo, so the others fled. The *g'awegame* overtook the Navajo with the flock of sheep. They took the sheep and brought them back.

⁵The same term is used for scalp takers at Jemez, Sia, Santa Ana, Acoma, and Isleta.

⁶Cf. Stevenson, (a), 123.

⁷But a man had only to touch a Navajo before a witness, the coup of the Plains Indians, to be entitled to become an *opi*.

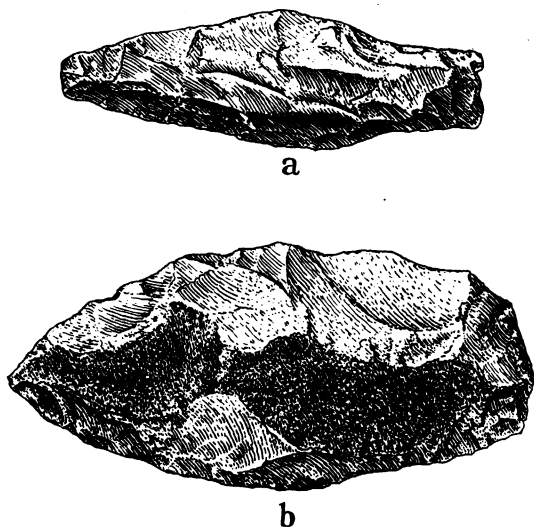


Fig. 21. (50.2-1042ab). Arrow Points kept with Anima Fetishes. $\frac{3}{4}$ actual size.

Nowadays, to have the war rain dance, *ahina*, from a word in the song, permission has to be got from the surviving *kurena cheani*. Two groups dance, one from the east, one from the west. One dancer represents *ma'sewi*.¹ He is nude and his face is blackened, around his wrist he wears a bracelet of olivella shells.² He is called *kakashte* from a word meaning to make black.³ He carries a bow and arrows, and he dances by himself. Presumably he also represents the *opi*. A woman dances in and out through the choir. She represents a "sister" of *ma'sewi*, an *uchinnaku* (virgin). The kinswomen, paternal kinswomen (*s'akuyate-mishe*), of the "war captains" throw presents to the dancers. A "war captain" blows a flute, the flute of *ma'sewi* (*koiashpiluts ma'sewi*). The dance lasts two days.⁴ At the close, the two groups come together. Then the *kashare*, who have the *opi* in charge, raise up the cactus, which they hold in both hands, four times in order to take away any harm coming from the scalp, sickness or ill feeling or other evil. Then as the *kashare* stand aiming their arrows in the direction the scalp has come

¹According to Sia myth it was *maasewe* who organized the *ope* into a society. [Stevenson, (a), 72].

²*Osha'ch cheani* wears a like bracelet during the solstice ceremonials.

³Cf. the blackening in the Navajo war dance (Franciscan Fathers, 371-372, 374-375).

⁴Obviously it was this dance which I saw in 1917 at Acoma. See Parsons, (e), 162-171.

This *kurena* dance was formerly held at Laguna in April and November. Now, as at Acoma, it is danced about the New Year or on September nineteenth, the Saint's Day.

from, the people (*hano*) spit into the quivers (*istoa pani*) of the *kashare*. The spitting accomplished, the *kashare* let fly their arrows, shooting away what fear or scare may have been caused by the scalp. The *kashare* are qualified to banish evil. They helped prepare the scalp.¹

Spitting in exorcism² is a familiar ritualistic pattern at Zuñi³ and among the Hopi.⁴ Other Pueblo patterns I found notable at Laguna. There is the use of meal both as a road opener,⁵ so to speak, or place indicator, and as an offering—the cornhusk wrapping of the *hachamuni* or of the *samahiye* for example, contains a plentiful supply of meal, and meal is sprinkled on *samahiye* on the altar. It is also sprinkled by the onlookers on the *k'atsina* dancers. Again at meals the *cheani* and the older people (formerly everybody) would sprinkle meal on the floor, calling in *iyatik*⁶ and the *kupishtaiya*. The prayer as given first in English was: "Here, take and eat, all of you, and make the road for us." Subsequently, the following text was given; it varies considerably from the first English version and, I may add, every time it was recited in Keresan it varied:-

naiya iyetik iani tsaiào batsashgama s'awitemishe tauwa peshaska
mother iyetik road take daily my clan people good condition
hemetu hano tokai amuma tsiutseani
that is all people thus prayer I said

The corn pollen given to hunting fetishes as well as the cornmeal enclosed with the *hachamuni* is said definitely to be food.—The *iyatik*⁶ on the altar stood, as we have seen, on a line of meal,⁶ and the "war captain" sprinkles meal in the *k'atsina* dances, for the dancers, it was said, to stand on. Leading out from the altar, as we have noted, is a line of meal, the road for the spirits to come in on.⁷ In little ceremonial trails in the shrine on Mt. Taylor meal is sprinkled.

The road (*hiáni*) as a pattern of speech or thought is established at Laguna as at Zuñi. For example, when something is breathed on (*g'oputs*, another pattern, corresponding to the Zuñi *yechu*), the

¹According to one informant the Flint and *shikani* societies had coöperated in the scalp dance.

²Three other instances of the rite at Laguna I have noted. As at Zuñi, it is believed that the cord of a new-born infant will run if one who has been snake-bitten comes into the room. The *shikani cheani* had been snake-bitten, so when he visited his newly arrived great-nephew the child's grandmother saw to it that her brother, the *cheani*, spat (*nishatsgu*). For the other instances, see pp. 97, 98 n. 1.

³Parsons, (f), 287. At the close of the lawekwe ceremonial spectators pass both hands down their sides, and then spit "to clear themselves of any trouble," they cleanse themselves (*ishuwanakya*).

⁴Fewkes, (a), 93, 102, 103.

⁵At Zuñi the rite of making a trail by sprinkling is called *attiha*, open.

⁶Cf. Stevenson, (a), 102.

⁷Cf. Stevenson, (a), 73-4, 105.

breather says, "*Hiani* (road, here, meaning long life) *duwe* (come here)."¹ It is the road from the east, I infer, that is meant. It is from there too the *kupishtaiya* are supposed to come with rain or snow.

The *kupishtaiya* are called from the east with a ritualistic gesture of invitation.¹ Four times the arms are outstretched, palms upward, and drawn back with a circular motion. Specifically this rite was mentioned in connection with the prayer of the *cheani* at the infant presentation ceremonial.²

In addition to the exorcising or discharming rites with spittle or ashes, there is a cutting and discarding motion called *kukatsě*, to cut away, the object being, it is said, to get out of the way the machinations of witches. The motion is made in the four directions and appears like a circular motion. A *k'atsina* dancer will exorcise by rubbing eagle feathers athwart each other, doing it over a sick person approaching him in the plaza or over a sick child held towards him.³ On the road to *Pohuati*⁴ there is a rock which is accounted a stone man having the power to turn away sickness. Passers-by will break off green twigs and (with them?) *kukatsě*, throwing a pebble on the heap there of pebbles.⁵ Hunters before setting out and after returning perform the rite of *kukatsě*.

I was shown another ritual gesture, partaking perhaps of exorcism, and mentioned as used by *kurena*. Parrot, chaparral cock, and eagle feathers would be held upright in each hand and the *kurena cheani* would move his hands downwards with vehemence as if pressing something down. The *kurena* are going to *kuotriokwiana*, it would be said.

The circuit in ceremonial smoking was given me somewhat doubtfully (given by a woman) as above, east, north, west, south, below.⁶ The prayer or formula used is, *dě chachkana kopishtaiya* (here smoke *kopishtaiya*).⁷ "The thoughts go up with the smoke."

The rite of *g'oputs* was ordered by *iyatik*⁸, and in performing it, it is *naiya iyatik*⁹ who is kept in mind. Meal, before it is sprinkled

¹Cf. Stevenson, (a), 94, 107.

²See Parsons, (h), 35.

³Cf. Stevenson, (a), 100. This motion with eagle feathers is probably the same as that practised by the *akwamosi* (medicine heads) at the *koyupchonawe* of Zufi and no doubt at other Zufi ceremonials, [Parsons, (i)].

⁴On or near this road are other places of interest. There is a cliff to the edge of which a jealous person will be taken to make them forget their jealousy. It is called *odyumichuwi* (forget). . . . *Tsipe* (instructor) is a rock which looks like a man's head. Here men pray for new songs, for new learning or experience. . . . Near *Pohuati* there are two rocks, one black, one of sandstone, where *kuchinninku* and *payachamūr* sat down and turned to stone. For a love charm a man or a woman may scrape these rocks and secretly mix the scrapings in a drink for the beloved person.

⁵The rock is called *putruaishtji* (lightning). It has marks of lightning on it.

⁶Cp. Stevenson, (a), 103, 109, 110.

⁷*Shipolnakya awikena teliyu* (vapor, the heart, more) is the descriptive Zufi term. "You feed with smoke, you give more flesh to them."

is breathed on,¹ likewise food offered to the dead, likewise *hachamuni* before they are placed, likewise *samahiye*. In greeting the *shiwanna cheani* I raised his hand to my mouth to breathe from it as one would do, if punctilious, to a *shiwanni* at Zuñi. The *cheani* at once completed the act by drawing back my hand to his mouth. My other Laguna informants, however, did not recognize this point of etiquette, and it is possible that the *cheani* may have learned it from his deceased Zuñi wife or others from Zuñi. One informant thought I was referring to the practice of kissing the hand of the *tutache*, the Catholic priest, on taking leave, a practice which may well have been, it seems to me, the origin of the Zuñi practice or, more exactly, of their application of *yechu* to hand-taking.

We noted that a purge, together with continence, are required of the *cheani* before a ceremonial. There are similar exactions of *k'atsina* impersonators. Just as I was leaving Laguna on a recent visit, preparations for the *hemish* dance were begun. On February 14² the impersonator started to take a purge for four days. During this time the impersonators would live at home and under no restrictions. On February 17 they were to go out rabbit-hunting to get meat for their coming retreat. On February 18 they were to withdraw to their ceremonial room to live continent and to cut their feather-sticks. If the weather is unpropitious during a dance, violation of restrictions (*cheatse*) on the part of some impersonator is suspected. Recently, during a *yakohanna* dance, there was a violent windstorm, and after the dance *hash* Surni called a meeting to determine who was the offender. During the dance it had been observed that from one headdress in particular the feathers had been blown off and the turquoise paint³ had run.⁴ Besides, the officers had seen the wearer of this headdress go to the house of a woman who was known to have intimate relations with him (both persons were married, the man to a woman much older than himself), in order ostensibly to take a dance doll (*uwak*) to the woman's little girl. After the conviction, they took the offender and dipped him through an ice hole in the river. He has not been allowed since then to take part in any dance.

¹Breathed from, among the Sia, [Stevenson, (a), 79, 85, 110, 116, 120]. Breathing from, or ritualistic inspiration, at Laguna is called *kutiyia*. The officers on being installed breathe from the canes—to get a new spirit. Breathing on, expiration, *g'oputs*, is "to show what you want."

²The following October *hemish* was danced again at Pohnuati.

³Both at Zuñi and among the Navajo (Matthews, 91) requirement of continence is connected with the sacred paint. Intercourse is taboo while there is any paint on the person of the impersonator.

⁴In the Zuñi *muwaye* ceremonial unless one man and two girl performers are continent four nights, their head piece will drop off or the paint will come off their face.

There remain of my notes on the ceremonial life of Laguna but brief accounts of certain personal rites, of the characteristic Pueblo rite of closing a woman's confinement and taking out her infant at sunrise,—this rite together with certain pregnancy and infancy practices and beliefs I have described elsewhere,¹—of funeral rites, and of rites observed by hunters.

A deer hunter will carry in a buckskin bandolier pouch together with turquoise, coral and *hish* (white shell) the stone image of an animal called *shuhuna*² or of a mountain lion. An arrow point (Fig. 21) is tied, point forward, to the image and a tiny buckskin bag (*ka'pa*) of corn pollen (*hatawe*) fastened around its neck. (Fig. 20a).³ This pollen is called food.⁴ Somewhere near the hunting ground a shrine (*amuma*, prayer; *ochani*, place) is set up for the image and it is asked to help catch the deer. The deer father and mother are also petitioned for their children, and to them the shell mixture is offered. After this petition the deer are sure to be plentiful and approachable.⁵ My informant, a woman, knew of no rite immediately in connection with the kill, but the place roundabouts, said she, was sacred (*tsityu*), none might urinate, for example, anywhere near by.

After a communal deer hunt, the returning hunters go to a place a little way to the south of the town, halt, and set fire to a big cedar. There they sing, and all the people turn out to meet them. Before returning home, the meat has been divided among the hunters, a division probably supervised by the two men to whom the governor and the "war captains" have delegated authority in the hunt. Over his own allotment of meat the hunter performs at home the rite of laying the

¹Parsons, (h).

²According to a Zúñi informant, the stone animals on Acoma altars are called *yoni*, stone.

³Fig. 20b, c, d were also referred to as *shuhuna* and as hunting fetishes. I surmise that they may once have been placed on altars. [Cf. Stevenson, (a), 77]. During the solstice ceremonial of *shikani cheani*, the animals as well as the stars are called upon. The *shiwanna cheani* said that in working a cure there were four animals to appeal to—the bear (Fig. 20d), mountain lion (Figs. 20a, b, c), badger, and wolf. He would call on the most potent among them for help. In describing his medicine bowl, however, he referred, in addition to cloud and lightning designs, only to bear and mountain lion designs. As at Zúñi, the mountain lion is associated with the north, the bear (*kwaia*) with the west, the badger (*dyupi*) with the south, the wolf (*gakana*) with the east, and the eagle with the zenith. My informants knew of no animal for the nadir.

Shuhuna are thought of, today at any rate, as private property to be held in a family as heirlooms. Before selling me the images represented in Fig. 20, the old woman of the house who had inherited them sent word about the proposed sale to her brother-in-law who was out herding. "He might want them sometime hunting." Word came back from him that the *shuhuna* were hers to do with as she wished. According to one informant, the animal is the mountain lioness, according to another, it is the weasel, an animal which cuts the neck of the sleeping deer to suck its blood. In a communal hunt, as men come up to the starting place, they greet the war captain with, "*muk'aich*" (mountain lion), he rejoined, "*shuhuna*."

⁴Compare the feeding of pollen to a fetish stone horse by the Navajo. (Matthews, 43).

⁵A small image of the mountain lion (*hoktilasha*, long tail) is carried likewise by the Zúñi hunter. The Keresan term *shuhuna*, like many other Keresan ceremonial terms, is known at Zúñi, but the Zúñi hunting fetish, like the animal fetish on Zúñi altars, is commonly referred to as *wema*, animal.

The Zúñi hunter sets up a little altar (*teshkwini*) for the *wema* and offers a feather-stick, sprinkling meal. He goes off a little way and sings the hunter song. On his return, if he sees tracks around the altar, his luck next day will be good.—After the kill he rubs a bit of the deer's heart on the *wema*.

"deer" (his portion) on a piece of cotton cloth and covering it with a *manta* (woman's dress) and buckskin and necklaces of value, a rite thought of as letting the deer return to *wenimatse*. Four days after the hunt there is a dance in which two stuffed deer figure.¹ The dance is held indoors and at it each hunter has to throw to the people a part of his venison. Rabbit hunters likewise perform a little rite. The rabbit is put down with his head to the east and sprinkled with corn pollen, the performer saying, *s'awitemishe* (relations) *nuyapeutstashu* (call), and meaning that the rabbit should summon its relatives to be killed on the next hunt.²

The success of a hunt may be affected by those at home. When he starts forth, a hunter will caution the women of his household to do what is right, for example, not to quarrel with their neighbors. Recently a man went hunting, and, although the deer were plentiful, he got none. On his return, a *teniente* told him that his wife had been quarreling. Said he to his wife, "It is not surprising I did not kill anything; you have been quarreling all the time."³ From his relatives a hunter must have "the best thoughts." Through misconduct with another man, a hunter's wife may spoil his hunt.⁴ Any envious person, maybe a relative, may also spoil the hunt, if he choose, by following in the shape of some animal and scaring away the deer. Serious sickness at home affects the hunt. Once the brother of my informant went hunting, and, plentiful though the deer were, he brought none down, and he therefore realized that something had happened at home. On his return, he found that his father had been dead a week. "I knew from the way the deer were acting," said he, "that something had happened."

After death, the father's kinswomen (*kuya*, corresponding to *kuku* in Zúñi) come in and wash the corpse. Recently in one instance I heard of a clanswoman of the deceased, not a blood relative, coming in to perform the same function, and, as at Zúñi, this performance by clanswomen is considered customary. A *cheani* paints the face of the deceased yellow—yellow (*uchini*) is thought of as flesh color. The *cheani* uses corn pollen⁵ and according to some informants, other pigments.⁶

¹Cf. the myth about the twin gods and the stuffed deer or bear, Dumarest, 219; Stevenson, (a), 47.

²For other particulars see Parsons, (e), 186.

³Not to quarrel or scold is part of being *kauchu*.

⁴Cf. Dumarest, 194; Parsons, (f), 282.

⁵But the omen of infidelity given by the deer to a Zúñi hunter was unfamiliar to my Laguna informant.

⁶See too, Parsons, (e), 180-181. The face of a deceased *shiwanni* at Zúñi is painted with corn pollen and with *tsuhapa*, micaceous hematite. The face of the Laguna *cheani* is said to be painted with two red stripes and two black, the red across lids and lips, the black over nose and chin.

⁷According to one informant every face is painted yellow from the mouth up, and from the mouth down, blue. According to another informant every clan has its own colors and designs for face painting at death.

After the burial, the place where the deceased had lain is watched (*kut-saia*, watching, *shuma*, corpse), watched by relatives (paternal and maternal) against theft by witch animals. On the third day a bowl filled with meal, according to one informant, filled with bits of food and covered with *matsini* (wafer bread) and unspun cotton, according to another informant, is prepared for the dead, "fed" to the dead. Four feather-sticks¹ are stood upright at equal distances in the bowl, and meal is sprinkled. On the fourth day the bowl is taken out by a *cheani* to be deposited somewhere in a rock crevice in a hill a little to the north of the town.² For deceased *cheani*, the service is rendered one day later, a kind of time discrimination between ritualist and layman observable likewise, but in other particulars, at Zufi.³

On the fourth day, morsels of food are collected and coffee, milk, and syrup poured over them, and all thrown into the house fire. All spit (*nishatsgu*) on the offering. At this time all the belongings of the deceased are exposed—even trunks and bureau drawers are opened—that the deceased may view it all. Then bits from all the belongings, bits from the clothes and even scrapings from a trunk or from the enamel of a bed, are cast upon the house fire, and the deceased is informed that all his property will follow these bits. He is asked not to return⁴ for property or for any member of the household. For further safety all his property is washed and then fumigated with smoke from a cedar wood fire.

¹For the deceased *cheani* the kind of feather-stick he himself made is offered.

²Cf. Stevenson, (a), 67, 145.

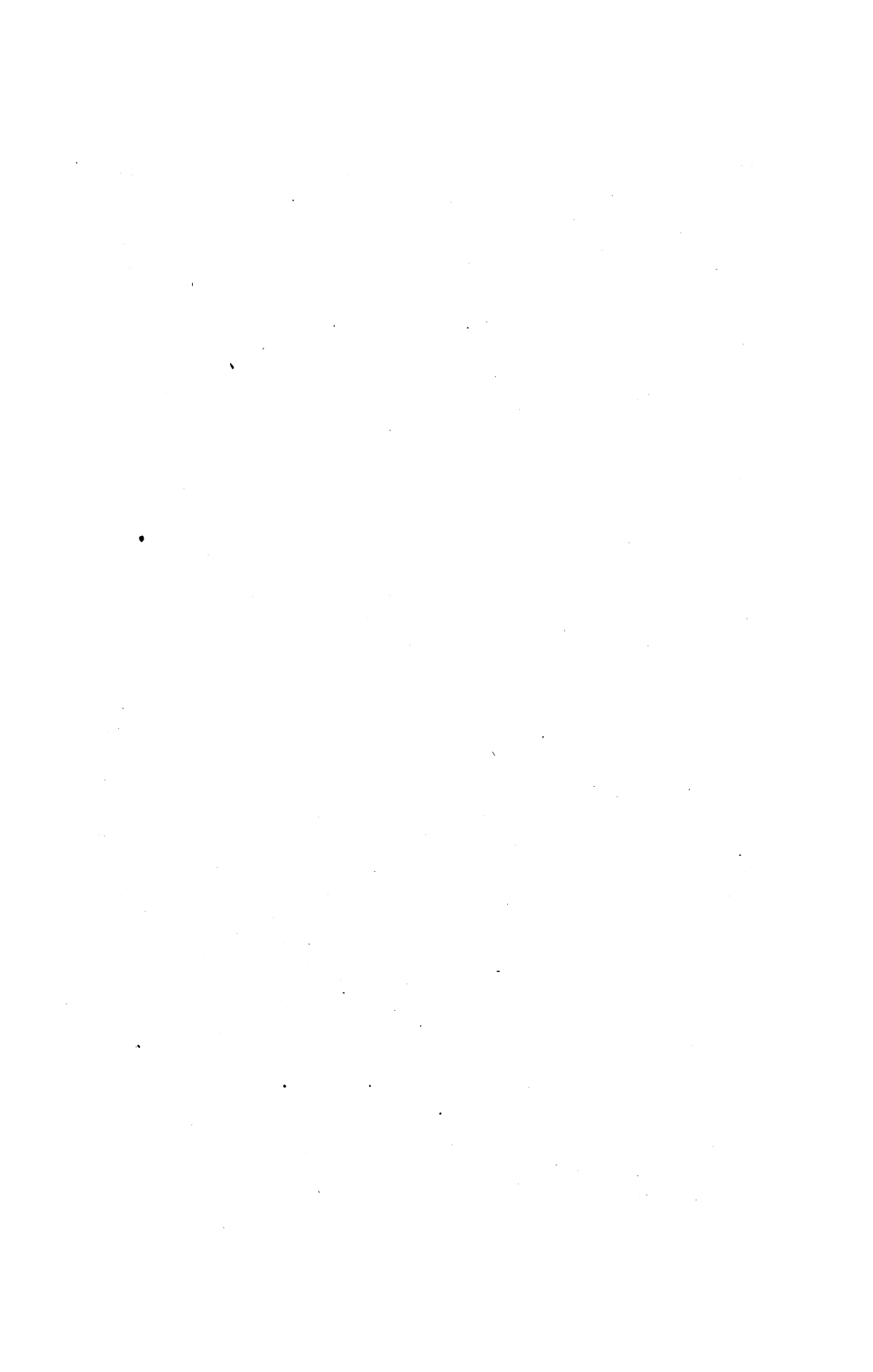
³For example, at the winter solstice ceremonial, fraternity members cut their feather-sticks one day before the general public.

⁴*Masyani* is the term for revenant or ghost.

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