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TAOS PUEBLO

By

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V. CEREMONIALISM

ORGANIZATION

Between the kivas and the groups associated with them the connection appears to be so close that kivas and groups must be considered together. There are six kivas: three on the north side of town, three on the south, where a fourth may be counted (pl. 11A) which is thought of, however, as a disused building not pertinent, at present at least, to the ceremonial organization. This place, called tu'punana or wa'pañanamuhaie (not with water muddy touched, i.e., never covered by flood) is described positively yet vaguely, as "claimed," having once belonged to "ancestors." Of these, more later.

On the north side (pl. 4D) are:

- (1) Big-earring People² kiva (pialuKa t'aine³ tōataana⁴)
- (2) Day People kiva or Sun People (tōō t'aine tōataana or tulte t'aine)
- (3) Knife People kiva and Water-dripping People (chiat'ai tōataana⁵ and pañul⁶ t'aine)

On the south side are:

- (4) Feather People kiva or Parrot big People (fiat'ai tōataana or talKa t'aine: talu, parrot, Ka, big. Also referred to as taluKafia,⁷ big parrot feather)
- (5) Water People kiva or Lightning-Corn-cob⁸ (? ear) People (p'at'ai tōataana or up'ele k'an t'aine) (pl. 11B)
- (6) Old-axe kiva or Corn meal⁹ Old-axe (kwañauuna¹⁰ tōataana or hōpun kwañauuna) (pl. 11A)

Within each kiva membership there are a division or divisions, itialmo, "divided," but "branch" was the English term used, and a branching tree was drawn to picture the relationship between kiva membership and division. These groups are:

- Big Hail People (iakōlKa t'aine) in Big-earring kiva and in Water kiva.
 White Mountain (pianpatōna)¹¹ in Day or Sun kiva
 Black Eyes (chifunana) in Knife kiva mostly
 Corn Mother (kuyukana)¹² in Knife kiva,

1. Used it is, however, as the spruce observed on January 6 (1926) lying near the hatch would indicate. Similarly spruce lay at the hatch of Water People kiva. This was spruce that had been used, I was told, on January 1, when Turtle dance had been performed.

By an Isletan visitor this seventh kiva was said to be the place of retreat for the boy initiates. One informant thought that scalps might have been kept there. One "must be so brave" to go into this kiva, most "can't stand it." Red Elk, a very old man, was once seen coming out of this kiva, likewise some of the racers, perhaps the panena (winners).

2. Literally, abalone big (pialuxhaímulune, abalone; Kanōmō, big). The reference here is to the abalone shell earrings, formerly worn by some of the men, whether or not by the men of this group and only by them I do not know. It is of interest that abalone shell is peculiarly connected with the war god cult, notably at Zuñi, where a piece of abalone has to be hung around the neck of the war god image. Later: The term now given me for abalone is paxona; and see personal names, p. 43.

3. t'ōina. 4. Dyōdana, dyidana (White). 5. Apō (sky) chiye (knife) (White).

6. Klulhwa or ūlhowa, dripping. My informant appeared to interchange his kl and ū sounds at pleasure.

7. Given as a separate group on p. 113.

8. As translated, but literally should it not be Lightning Mother People? The grains on red and white corn sometimes form a zigzag which is thought of as a lightning design. I infer that it is this type of ear which is referred to in a tale in the designation Forked Lightning Corn-cob. I also infer that the tale personage Printed Red Boy or Spotted Corn Boy, Tatōaōwia, so called from the zigzag marked corn ear (see p. 109), who is lightning, is the kachina war spirit (twin war gods) of the other pueblos. Water kiva is associated with war and with traits of the Kachina cult.

In the tale about killing the man-preying giant it was said that the people were helped by the "medicine men" who caused a storm. The clouds came up, it thundered, and Giant was killed by lightning. In another tale it is Printed Red Boy who kills the giant.

9. This is a fine meal (Sp. pinole) which is mixed with water to make the gruel, atole.

10. This is an obsolete term, "hard to translate," and to translate it there was much consultation. (Compare Isletan, koata, war club.) Kwa, axe, kwamuna, war club head, i.e., a stone ball; Kay, old.

11. The reference here is to an actual mountain (see p. 112), for, after the Emergence, that way, by White Mountain, they travelled. At least so said my informant who did not tell me about the anthropomorphic fetish owned by the society and called White Mountain (White). See p. 113.

Sierra Blanca, east of the Rio Grande, figures as one of the first made mountains, inferably a sacred mountain, in the Emergence myth of the Jicarilla Apache (Mooney, 200). "White Mountain is at Fort Garland."

12. Kuyune is a ritual term for corn as a whole — Corn. One woman informant persistently refused to translate the term.

Feather kiva, and Old-axe kiva

Papta t'aine (pop't'ana) in Feather kiva (for papta or popta there is no translation, although as the word occurs as a woman's name it was translated flower-dance)

Bear People (kōa t'aine) in Water kiva

Each of these groups is small, from four to ten members. The Big-hail People have the largest membership. The head of the group or "branch" is the kiva chief, although most of the groups have a special head or chief. Into the Big-hail and the Corn Mother groups are taken the boys who are not "trained," i.e., who have not undergone the initiation of eighteen months; and, subject to the consent of all the chiefs, men who have married into the town and stayed long enough to become assured townsmen may be taken into these groups which do not require the full tribal initiation. Members of the "branches," the untrained, get a new name, as well as the "trained" kiva members. All the "branches" have special functions or ceremonies. Again, members of the "branches" may dance if they wish to, but they do not have to. They sing. This fact is significant for the theory that the "branches" are the societies within the kiva memberships. My chief informant affirmed for a long time that the "branch" served merely as messengers, errand men for the kiva chief. He would despatch them for needed supplies. For example, were no eagle feathers at hand, the kiva chief would send a "branch" member for them, even as far as to San Juan. In the folk tales told by this informant he makes similarly consistent references to the errand men. I was never satisfied with this account of the "branches," and latterly it has become plain that some of them at least may be regarded as societies that perform ceremonies. But the relation of the "branch" to the general membership remains obscure, because my informant ever withheld as much about the ceremonial organization as he could.

Big-hail people or society are in charge of the month and ten days period which begins the end of November. Their ceremony is for snow, and they are referred to as tuin t'aine, winter people.

The chief of the Day or Sun People¹³ and of the White Mountain People is the Hunt chief (Chō'auhanama). He talks before they start on the surround on a communal deer hunt. The Day People and the Old-axe People were formerly associated with buffalo hunting. After the hunters returned they gave

the buffalo fat they had to these groups, who then held a ceremony.

The Day or Sun People have the fewest members of all the kivas, only seven members. This small membership is traditional. All but one man, Chōu, Hunter, are also White Mountain People.

White Mountain People hold a ceremony outside of the town at an eclipse. If it is for an eclipse of the sun all the townsmen attend, but no women; their ceremony after an eclipse of the moon is attended by everybody, men, women, and children. In these eclipse ceremonies a buffalo skull is burned¹⁴ "so nobody would get sick from the eclipse." Fire for this is made with a wooden drill. The wood of a tree vine called pimatsena is split and a hole made in the split piece for the drill which is of any kind of wood. The spark is caught on dry grass or rotten wood.¹⁵ A pregnant woman would carry a stone arrow point (chiawina, real knife) in her belt¹⁶ while the White Mountain People were curing for eclipse, lest the child be born deformed.

The White Mountain People are possessed of an anthropomorphic stone fetish which figures in kiva ceremonies and "out in the bush." This image is painted white with kaolin (fig. 3) and is called P'yenp'atōna, White Mountain. It looks Keresan.

Of the Knife People it was said by one informant that they were a curing society,¹⁷ and that convalescents were initiated; but this was denied by one better informed. Probably the first reference was to the "branch" in this kiva — the Water-dripping People (pa'ul) or Black Eyes (chifuana),¹⁸ the Chifonetti or clowns as they are called in English. This group or society has curing or exorcising ritual, which is conducted only by those who come out to play. These are members between thirty and forty years of age. Young members and old members "do not paint," i.e., come out to play. When they are painted and go from house to house, in the Deer dance, is the time they give treatment to a sick child, giving also a name.

Ordinarily boys are given by their parents to this society as to the other societies for no special reason, and given at the same age, at about nine years. The membership is about thirty. At the Deer dance I saw in 1931 twelve members were out playing (pl. 13A).

13. In a tale Sun gives his twin sons a medicine bundle through which they become good hunters.

14. Buffalo skull is also burned after a buffalo is killed "to calm (moderate) the weather" — drought or strong wind or severe weather.

15. Formerly in camping this wood drill was used. Gunpowder was rubbed on a piece of cloth, to catch the spark.

16. This is a practice in other pueblos if a pregnant woman has to leave the house during a lunar eclipse.

17. The Knife or Flint society is one of the two curing societies of Jemez. It is also a Keresan and Tewan society.

18. Compare the term Shifunin for the Black Eyes of Isleta.

When the Black Eyes come out to play they do not allow anybody to go close to them. They might pick up a man and throw him into the river to teach him to keep his distance. Formerly they would splash with urine in punishment of disrespect. "So people are afraid of them, don't dare to go close to them." Like the clown organizations elsewhere they have other quasi disciplinary functions — they may be sent to fetch absentees, at the Deer dance, the only dance they are out, or if anything is lost at the dance, a necklace, for example, they will search for it. They may say or sing anything "mean or funny" they wish;¹⁹ "there is no stopping them." They say what they do not mean to make people laugh; but they do not "talk backwards." They keep up a chatter in high pitched voices. Their practice of calling each other *paiu* is mentioned as part of their usual way of speaking. And their use of miniature bows and arrows to shoot at the deer in the Deer dance is "to make fun." On their food collecting trips they keep on a run. For other particulars of behaviour and their appearance see the account of the Deer dance (pp. 87-88).

The chief of the Black Eyes must belong to the Water-dripping People. Manuel Herero or Taköa, Slope, (Gen. IV, 7), had belonged to the Knife People; when they wanted him to fill the vacancy in the chieftaincy of the Black Eyes they took him into the Water-dripping People. But not all Black Eyes belong to the Knife People or to the Water-dripping People; i. e., members of other kiva groups may be put into the Black Eyes without losing their original kiva membership. In other words there are two kinds of Black Eyes membership: those who belong to the Water-dripping society which must conduct whatever ceremonial belongs to the Black Eyes and which is limited to Knife kiva, and those who belong not in Knife kiva but in

some other kiva. At least this is the only way I can interpret the very confusing facts given me.²⁰ The use of Feather kiva by the Black Eyes as in the Deer dance or on San Geronimo day, is also puzzling; unless it expresses, as I think it does, that part of the Emergence myth which tells of how the Water-dripping People and the Feather People lived together. It was said definitely that Feather kiva and Knife kiva, the Black Eyes kiva, are connected.

Once the Black Eyes were possessed of two²¹ masks which were worn when they came out to play.²² The masks were of buffalo hide; flat face and erect ears or horns. One of these masks (*tsipuna xenenemu*, *chipuna xenena*, Black Eye "head")²³ was lost,²⁴ forty years or more ago. The other mask is no longer worn, at least publicly. It is considered exceedingly precious.²⁵ These masks were kept in the mountains²⁶ in charge of the Water People. My guess is that the masks were kept in the ceremonial cave which is about six miles to the north, where I am told there is a water drip forming in winter a column of ice and that the term Water-dripping People contains a reference to this cave. The cave is called *Pañu Kena* (*pañu*, eagle-down; the foam looks like eagle-down). There is a tradition that this cave was the place of pilgrimage before Blue Lake was discovered.²⁷ Possibly it was thought of as the place of Emergence whence the Black Eyes led the people when they came up.

Members of the Kuyukana, which is represented in three kivas, are not trained. The function of all is to gather herbs in the mountains for medicine. "Do they gather corn pollen?" — "No." Of the fourth group, it was said that both Feather People and Papta People had "one ceremony together," but what it was for I could not learn. It was also said that the Papta People were not

19. For example, they have a little song about seeing a girl going with a Mexican, highly disreputable conduct.

20. It is stated that not all Water-dripping People are Black Eyes. In the census of kiva members there is one Black Eye in Water kiva, and one, in Old-axe kiva. Dr. White was told that the chief of the south side Black Eyes was the chief of the Corn People [? Old-axe Corn meal People]. The Black Eyes were described to White as if organized by moiety.

21. According to another informant there were several masks.

22. Thirty years or so ago the Black Eyes of Picuris wore masks, said my Taos informant. They were square, painted red, with two earlike points from the top. "They have such masks today at Isleta, also at Santa Clara." At Isleta six such masks are worn by the Grandfathers, three men from each moiety (Parsons 8: 263-64).

23. Head is *pinemu*; *pimuna*, head cover; *xieno*, hat; and by another informant *chifuna xenenemu* is translated Black Eyes hat.

24. They are supposed to have been stolen. See p. 118. When a kinsman of the chief of the Black Eyes who died in 1921 visited New York, he searched the American Museum for these masks. Later I heard in Taos that the masks had been sold to "a western museum."

25. See p. 118.

26. Papago clown masks are kept in a jar somewhere in the hills. They are "too strong" to be kept near by. "Perhaps you would die from their power" (Dr. Ruth Underhill, personal communication).

27. This, not so long ago, within the memory of elderly White people. It was stated to Jeançon that the use of the cave was discontinued because the Mexican village of Seco was built too near. Jeançon describes the cave, including two circles painted in white on the roof, on one a cross design (Jeançon, 7), which appears to be the Taos symbol for the lake of the kachina and the dead. See Figures 5 and p. 99. Among the Tewa a cross within a circle is made with pollen on the top of the head of a deceased Town chief (Parsons 7:68).

"trained," excepting Porfirio Mirabal. It is striking that three of the "doctors" are Papta People: Porfirio Mirabal, his assistant and nephew, Antonio Mirabal, and Lorenzo Martinez, now deceased, who was their chief. Of the fifth group it was said that Water and Lightning Corncob represented an actual division,²⁸ not merely two different names for the same group as in the case of the Day or Sun People,²⁹ and that all three divisions, Water, Lightning-Corncob, and Bear had a joint ceremony. Besides, Bear People have a winter ceremony, which is performed just before the solstice observation.³⁰ The Bear People have curing functions,³¹ for bear bite and formerly for snake bite and they are recruited through infant boys³² vowed to them in sickness.³³ These boys are not "trained," i.e., do not undergo the initiation of eighteen months. But there are other members who are "trained," possibly those who have been treated for injury by a bear. They were never recruited through Scalp takers, although they had charge during the Scalp dance; "they did the work those four days." They also "worked" for the warriors away fighting.³⁴ Together with the warriors they prayed to Big Red Bear, and to Rattlesnake. They are the errand men of the Water People³⁵ whose kiva is associated with war. The Bear People also have bear and deer hunting songs. In the Water kiva are kept the scalps or the scalp bundle. Old-axe People function distinctively in the summer rain ceremonies, which they always initiate, also in the Earth Mother (or Sun-Moon) ceremonies of spring, and in the spring, when the winds are high, this kiva or kiva chief and another kiva or chief selected by him³⁶ "have two days work against the wind."³⁷ People are "afraid of the wind; it spoils the snow, drying it up." It is the Old-axe chief who

watches the summer solstice. The Old-axe People are possessed of an anthropomorphic stone image like that of the Day People, but larger. It is called Pilchiuwkena, Summer Eagle-tail (White). The Old-axe People are referred to as the grandfathers (tafužina) because they are the beginners.

Chief of the three kivas³⁸ on the north side is the head of the Big-earring People. He may be referred to as Big-earring People or Big-earring man.³⁹ He is Chief of the Houses (töbiana t'unena, house chief), i.e., Town chief and Council chief. The present Big-earring man is Tomás Romero (Gen. I, 5), son of Ventura Romero⁴⁰ (Gen. I, 2) who was also Big-earring man. Tomás was trained by his father. He was only twenty when he took office, at his father's death in 1918. Tomás has put his own sons into Big-earring kiva. The office is not considered hereditary, but there is evidently a tendency to keep it in the family. The chief of the Water kiva is chief of the three kivas on the south side. He is referred to as the Water man. Associated with him is the Cacique (kasikei'nna). In fact in 1923 the positions of Water man and of Cacique were held by the same man. The position of Cacique is described as "an old Spanish office."⁴¹ It is hereditary, from father to son. Yet the Cacique might choose as his successor his brother or his nephew, either his brother's son or his sister's son. His choice would have to be ratified by the Council (see below). According to another account, the Cacique is chosen by the old men (tafuži) of the societies, about twenty old men.⁴² The present (1923) Cacique whose name is Antonio Concha or Pilpaiña, Summer Star, is very old (about eighty-five) and five or six years ago he took his son into Council meetings,

28. Corroborated on p. 113.

30. See p. 86.

31. The association of Bear with medicine is plainly indicated in the tale of Bear Digs Medicine. But as I have been told by more than one that the Bear medicine of the southern pueblos is not found at Taos, I think this curing must be for bear bite or injury. Dr. White was so informed. I heard of one townsman who had lost three fingers in a fight with a bear.

32. Geronimo Mirabal, K'oaw'ey, is a member of the Bear People and he is a bear hunter. See p. 20.

33. An Isletan observer met the kōatoyide (Bear doctor, in Isletan) and learned that he had recently been sick himself and so had resolved to initiate a certain boy of eighteen called Paw'ipabu (water tail spread), "so in case he died his ceremony could go on." — That was as close as the Isletan could get to Taos organization.

34. Compare the Antelope society of the Hopi.

35. Dr. White was told that the Bear People were in the Water People's kiva, but did not belong to the Water People.

36. One informant insisted that all the chiefs together made a ceremony to allay the wind.

37. Possibly this is one of the times when buffalo skull is burned. We recall that Old-axe People are associated with the buffalo (see pp. 20, 78).

38. Neither for these as a group nor for the group of the three south side kivas is there any term.

39. He is identified with the Town chief (taikabede) of Isleta by an Isletan observer, and called Zauwide.

40. He had renown as a buffalo hunter (Grant, 83-4). He visited Washington and had an interview with President Theodore Roosevelt.

41. The legend about its institution is as follows: Mexicans and Indians had been fighting so much that they decided they would put up a Mexican and an Indian and shoot at them, the survivor to be Cacique. So two men, one Mexican, one Indian, offered themselves. The Mexican was hit, so the Indians had the Cacique.

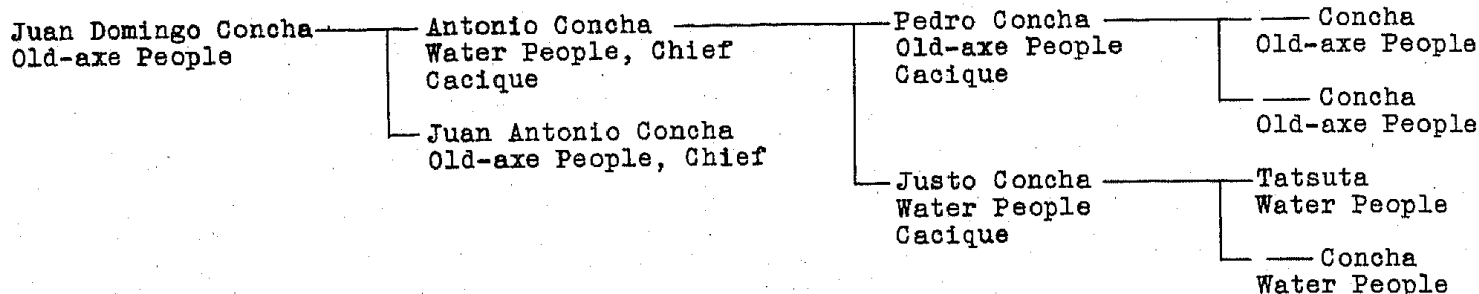
42. When the present Cacique was selected, some years prior to 1896, another man was proposed. In 1896 his proposers were still saying of the man selected that they did "not care for him" (Miller, 31).

29. Contradicted on p. 113.

to learn. (And for him his son now watches the sun.) Since writing the foregoing Summer Star has died (1924) and his son, Pedro Concha, is in office. Pedro Concha is about sixty-four years old. At the death of Summer Star, there were some who "wanted to make Tony Romero Cacique, but they could not do it because it [the office] had to go to the son of the Cacique."⁴³ In 1928 Pedro died and now (1932) Justo Concha, the brother of Pedro,⁴⁴ is Cacique. The son of Justo Concha attends Council meetings. He

as in some pueblos, nor are there any restrictions upon him such as not going to hunt. As far as I could learn he has but two functions, nominating, together with the Water man, two men for Governor, and passing on the canes of office or installing the annual officers, and making solar observations.⁴⁷ He watches the sun for the winter solstice and for the beginning of the series of winter ceremonies. From any housetop⁴⁸ he watches the sunset in connection with two peaks on the western horizon, where the

Kiva Affiliations in the Family of the Cacique



is about 28, the only young man I saw at the council. He read through to himself the copy of the Congressional bill that was to be reported on. He was a clever looking fellow. Summer Star belonged to Water kiva; he was in fact its chief and so was referred to as Pataine, Water People;⁴⁵ his son and successor, Pedro Concha, belonged to Old-axe kiva; his successor, his brother Justo, belongs to Water kiva. It is stated that the kiva membership of the Cacique is a matter of indifference; the Cacique could give his sons to any kiva, to a north side kiva or to a south side kiva. And yet the south side kivas are certainly favored by the Concha family. Pedro Concha's sons are in Old-axe kiva, and Justo Concha's sons are in Water kiva. The father of Summer Star, Juan Domingo Concha, was in Old-axe kiva.

One year (odd years) the Water man has charge of the annual summer camp to the lake, the alternate years (even years), the Big-earring man.

No field work is done for the Cacique,⁴⁶

Sun's house is located.⁴⁹ Another time I was told that the chief of the Old-axe People watches the sunset for all the ceremonies.

Both Big-earring man and Water man⁵⁰ have a bundle, a fetish, which they hand on. These things are always kept wrapped, i.e., they are never exposed. The ritual attaching to them is known only to their trustees — "their own doing; nobody else knows." They are referred to as itōmeyakie, to go by or live by.⁵¹

To the Big-earring man belong the Saint's day dance, the Deer dance, and the Buffalo dance; at least his permission to dance must be solicited. Buffalo dance is also associated with the Day kiva (as having hunt ritual, presumably) and, for no reason I could learn, with Old-axe kiva. In folk-tale Coyote brings the buffalo to Taos, taking them first to the Big-earring man and then to the chiefs of Day kiva and Old-axe kiva. Turtle dance is associated with Water kiva.

43. Nevertheless the office has not always been held within the Concha family. Juan Domingo Concha was the first of the line. Before him the office was held in the Herero-Espinosa family. There is said to be documentary evidence for this, the paper showing who is entitled to be Cacique.

44. Pedro Concha had sons but they were too young to succeed to his office.

45. His successor as Water People chief is Juan Mirabal.

46. This was also Miller's impression (Miller, 32).

47. White was told that the Cacique does not watch the sun. All the chiefs watch it in turn, i.e., each for his own ceremony. The Cacique was described as the head of the Catholic religion.

48. From a certain tree, Miller was told (Miller, 36). In Miller's day the top house on the south side was repaired by the people and "given" to the new Cacique (Miller, 32). My guess is that this is the ceremonial house of the Cacique, and that from here he watches the sunset.

49. The whole western range is called tultōnbianana.

Tsikomo peak in the Jemez range is called tultōnpianenemo, sun leaves house mountain; tulena, sun, tōnema, leaves house.

50. Referred to once as the scalp bundle.

51. Cp. the Zufi reference to the ettowe, "what we live by," elleteliwa. In referring to the itōmeyakie the same feeling of reverence was shown as in references at Zufi or elsewhere to the most precious fetishes.

Each kiva has a chief (t'unena or t8'tunena, kiva chief). The position is lifelong; a vacancy is filled by the older men of the kiva acting with the chief of the three kivas of the side where the kiva is situated. The kiva chief has an assistant (poabaemu, near by him sitting or waiting);⁵² if he is qualified, he succeeds to the chieftaincy.⁵³ This is custom also at Isleta. However, although there is no explicit hereditary principle in chieftaincy except in the Cacique chieftaincy, factually sons do succeed fathers. Tomás Venturo, the Big-earring man, succeeded his father, and the eldest son of Tomás, Nalpæ (Birch Deer), Tomás gave to his own kiva; Santiago Martínez, the Hunt chief, appears to be training as successor his son who is in his kiva, the Day kiva. I surmise that chiefs give one son or more to their own kiva in the hope of training a successor within the family.

If the office becomes vacant through death shortly before the annual election of the secular officers a new chief will be installed at once for "they need him." Otherwise they may wait several months before filling the office. There is no installation ceremony, I was told. The idea that the position of kiva chief is exigent and dangerous, just as such ceremonial offices are thought of elsewhere, was once expressed in these words; "It is very hard to be t'unena. Sometimes they die after they become t'unena, it is so hard."

A word now about the defunct organization of the disused kiva, "Never-covered-by-flood,"⁵⁴ historically a very important organization. The kiva belonged to the P'i:ñle-nöma.⁵⁵ They were associated with the warriors, dancing with them in the Scalp dance. They were painted red and used red paint in their offerings of pollen and feathers to the Night People, the Stars.⁵⁶ They danced very hard, and they made others dance around the scalp pole.⁵⁷ They kept a lookout for men who did not come out to dance. They would throw a shirker into the river⁵⁸ and then make him dance all day, unless he were ransomed with a gift of food from his family. The chief was called P'iult'unena; his second, P'oawana.⁵⁹ Boys were given to the group, in the usual way, I was told at one time; at another time I was told that members were merely chosen by the War chief; they were not trained and there was no recruiting by self-vow as in the case of the

Black Eyes.

My guess is that the Bear People were originally associated with the Red painted People, as their "branch." Then when the organization lapsed and the kiva fell into disuse the Bear People transferred into the adjacent Water kiva. Possibly the scalps were also transferred from one kiva to the other. In spite of hints that the scalps are kept in the disused kiva informants insist that the scalps are kept in Water kiva.

At any rate the Red painted People supply a missing link with the ceremonial system of Isleta. They are the homologues of the Isletan Red Eyes. Furthermore their existence gives to Taos the double "clown" system of all the eastern pueblos, explaining away the anomaly of the Black Eyes as a solitary clown group. Finally, the association of the Red painted People with war supports the theory that Pueblo clown or quasi clown groups were sometime war societies with clownishness or perversity or highhandedness as a trait of warrior behaviour, as among the Plains tribes.

It is denied that the Red painted People had anything to do with the racing; just as the Black Eyes are not connected with racing, and yet their respective kiva groups (or in the case of the Red painted People what I surmise was its kiva group) do have race functions. The night before the Holy Cross day (May 3) race the Knife People sing and in Water kiva the War chief (Talat'unena) or chief of the Bear People sings. "The Big Bear People give strength to the runners." Furthermore before racing the runners go into the "disused" kiva to pray and make offerings to the image called Blue Water.⁶⁰

The chiefs form a council (töbiana: to, house, biana, rule or ? heart). Included in the Council are the Governor, the head war captain and head fiscal, the sacristan, and all who have been Governor or Lieutenant-governor two or three times. From twenty-five to thirty men will make up the Council, perhaps forty. In fact, nowadays, any middle-aged man might be admitted to the Council. This was not so when my middle-aged informant was a boy. Then the Council was made up strictly of the chiefs, a purely sacerdotal assemblage. One way of describing the sacerdotal character it still re-

52. At another time the same informant stated that the kiva has two chiefs equal in authority.

53. The organization pattern of chief with right hand man and left hand man which prevails at Jemez and among the Tewa is unfamiliar at Taos.

54. Is this a way of saying imperishable? See p. 113.

55. "Scalp connected," translates my informant; White's informant translates "Red painted People."

56. See p. 108.

57. The functions of the K'ashale in the Acoma scalp dance were similar (White 1:97ff.). With the lapse of war both groups, K'ashale and Red painted People, became extinct.

58. Cp. Isleta (Parsons 8: 322).

59. This term, given by White's informant, was unfamiliar to mine who could not translate it. But see poabaemu (p. 79), the regular term for assistant to the chief.

60. See p. 96.

tains is to say that "Councillors sing, they do not dance."

No women belong to the kiva groups,⁶¹ (according to one informant, one woman is connected with each group to grind their meal), and there are no women's societies. Compared with the ceremonial organization of other pueblos women are notably omitted from the ceremonial organization of Taos.

The meetings of the Council are generally held at night: all night "they talk, talk, talk, repeat, repeat, repeat." The summons to the meeting which is held in the house of the Governor is called from the housetop. The names of those expected to attend are called out. As each enters he takes a seat, any seat along the wall, on covered mattress, or bench. No order in speaking is followed; however at the two council meetings I attended I noticed that the Governor, the Big-earring man, and the Cacique were among the first to speak; and two men never started to speak at the same time. The head was a little bowed in speaking, the eyes kept on the ground or half closed, the voice pitched to a quiet monotone. At any pause there were general assents. There is no opening phrase, but a speech concludes with pious words:

wamöya anakayama kiutamaa
Dios knows will help us

kinakwiawalwiayaa
will give us strength (? medicine)

Although the fire on the hearth made the room quite warm, most kept their blankets wrapped around their heads. Their old shoes were heelless. There was little smoking. Some listened closely, others looked half asleep. Nobody looked at the speaker.

Indian manners, and the subject of the meetings truly Indian. — the acquisition of Blue Lake;⁶² but the room, although too clean and bare to be Mexican or White, looked but little Indian. The ceiling was planked; the floor was of earth but was well covered with linoleum. There were wall benches and at one end a table over which in wall brackets were two guns and a bow. On another wall hung the image of a saint and a calendar-

advertisement; and opposite hung the canes of the Governor and his lieutenant, and a picture of President Lincoln, the donor of the Governor's cane. No clock; but the war captain has one in his house.

List of Kiva and Society Chiefs (1931)

Big-earring People	Tomás Romero or Hal'u, Little Shell (H.55); Santiago Bernal ⁶³ or Tuatapa-pa, Green Standard, or Kweltelu, Flying Shield (H.58)
Big-hail People	Manuel Lujan ⁶⁴ or Kwilawipatö, White Race (H.15)
Day People	Santiago Martinez or Xemköng, Speckled Mountain Lion: he is also Chöfauhanama, Hunt chief (H.119)
White mountain People	Santiago Martinez
Knife People	Antonio Romero or Tulfauwa, Sun Chief (H.76) ⁶⁵
Water-dripping People and Black Eyes	Manuel Pacheko or P'aw'ia-paxöfa, Lake Star ⁶⁶ (H.68)
Kuyukana Feather People	Manuel Pacheko Santiago Trujillo ⁶⁷ or Pientö', Mountain Mark (H.11)
Papta People	Miguel Mirabal ⁶⁸ or Xemki, Mountain Lion Blanket (H.32)
Kuyukana	Santiago Espinosa or Könpa-felmo, Cradle Water-sprouting-up, or Poptuna, Flower Kaolin (H.161)
Water People	Juan Mirabal or Kalpien, Mountain Wolf (H.166)
Big-hail People	Albert Martinez or T'ö'ny Looking Elk (H.172)
Bear People	Domingo Gonzalez or P'ia-paw'ia (Piaepaw'ia), Sedge (Cattail) Lake, also Talat'unena, War chief (H.41)
Old-axe People	Donaciano Cordoba ⁶⁹ or Tol-w'ilu, Sun Bow (H.117); assistant, Juan Esteban Martinez or Tulpialo, Sun Earring (H.77)
Kuyuka Cacique	? Justo Concha or Kanxena, Buffalo Weasel (H.148)

61. This is indirect evidence that the curing society of the Keresan type does not exist.

62. See p. 11.

63. His father has also held this position of second chief.

64. The other kiva chieftaincy (Big-hail People) is vacant (1932). The sometime chief, Tuchula or Lorenzo Martinez (H. 1a), was ousted as a "peyote boy." He was succeeded (perhaps as a temporary makeshift) by Kwilawipatö, Manuel Lujan (H.15), who threw up the office from pique over a land site settlement by the Governor.

65. The deceased father of Albert, Juanito, and Juanita Lujan is said to have been chief of the Knife People. Albert, Juanito, and a son of Juanita are all Black Eyes, and Juanita grinds the society's prayer-meal.

66. He succeeded Manuel Herero to whom he was not related. Herero's son, Doroteo, is a Black Eye in the Knife People, but when his father died he was too young for office.

67. He succeeded Cruz Suazo or Paw'eapappah, Lake Sprouting-up.

68. He succeeded Lorenzo Martinez, the doctor (H.105).

69. He succeeded T'öfauwa, Elk Chief or Juan Antonio Concha (H.136), who died in 1927. Juan Antonio was the brother of Antonio Concha, the Cacique who died in 1924, and the uncle of Pedro Concha and Justo Concha, successive Caciques. Juan Antonio was chief of Old-axe People for one year only. He was no relation to his successor, Donaciano Cordoba.

List of Kiva and Society Members

Big-earring People

- T'ò'maiu, Elk Horn, Pomoseno Rena (H.5)
 Tapaïu, Red Dance, John Mirabal (H.6)
 Tulpañu, Sun Eagle-down, Lewis Castilliano (H.9)
 Páenutsuli, Deer Yellow Hill, — Castilliano (H.9)
 Sa'mu, Porcupine, Santos Lujan (H.16)
 Lalpa, Birch Flat, — (H.27)
 Páekónö, Speckled Deer, Pablo Suaso (H.34)
 Ki'rena, Weasel Robe, Santana Sandoval (H.39)
 Pianpaimu, Red Mountain, Inocencio Romero (H.42)
 Chiuu, Eagle Child, Juan Concha (H. 43-44)
 Hal'u, Little Shell, Tomás Romero (H.55)
 Nalpaé, Poplar Deer (H.55)
 Tulta', Sun Antelope, Manuel Rena (H.58)
 Pape, Earth Cloud, Santiago Romero (H.91)
 Xena, Weasel, Louis Gomez (H.100)
 Chiato', Leggings, — Lujan (H.101)
 Tuipaiyu, Red Clay, Juan Antonio Lujan (H.120)
 Pienkúlme, Mountain Raining, Julian Lujan (H.125)
 Walsah, Medicine Putting-down, — Lujan (H.133)
 Paiña, Red Wood, Severino Mondrogon (H.138)
 Tukusi, Felix Bernal (H.140)
 Ta'patö, White Dance, José Bernal (H.140)
 Tuatapa'pa, Green Standard, Santiago Bernal (H.141)
 Pianpumeme, Mountain Look Going, — Ortiz (H.147)
 Tu'chula, Humming Bird, Lorenzo Martinez (H.1a), ex-member
 Kwawipató, White Race, Manuel Lujan (H.15)
 Zaumu, Quiver, Leandro Bernal (H.19)
 Iawala, Corn Medicine, Onecimo Archuleta (H.38)
 Tsiwiu, Bird, Salvador Archuleta (H.52)
 Pañu, Eagle-down, Geronimo Trujillo (H.63)
 Ukatsilu, Leaf Ball Cry, Teles Martinez (H.154)
 Papatö, White Water, Henrique Giron (H.179)

Day People

- Chöu, Hunter, Santana Martinez (H.7)
 Pá'ya, Beaver, José Lacruz Romero (H.26)
 Hütatsuta, Beads Shirt, Pedro Mirabal (H.31)
 Kemkónö, Speckled Mountain Lion, Santiago Martinez (H.119)
 Holkwan, Hanging Shell, Juan de Jesús Rena (H.120a)
 Kónaña, Speckled Arrow, Lupe Sandoval (H.117)
 Hólpañu, Olivela Feather-down, Santiago Lucero (H.143)

Knife People

- Tulñauwa, Sun chief, Antonio Romero (H.76)
 Chiupa, Eagle-down, Severino Archuleta (H.77)
 P'anchilu, Race-winner (or Gopher) Cry, Lupe Archuleta (H.80)
 Patsuli, Yellow Clothes, — (H.82)
 Pañupume, Blowing Eagle-down or Kappiana, Corn Tassel Mountain, Geronimo Herero (H.17)

- Páetsul(ia)ña (?), Deer Yellow Willows, Antonio Lujan (H.23)
 T'ò'mana, Elk Hand, Jerry Mirabal (H.29)
 Xieno, "Indian hat," Cristono Mirabal (H.30)
 Kaiuwa, Kaiowa, Cruz Hiron (H.56)
 Walupuime, Medicine Blowing, — Zamora (H.66)
 T'ò'wáé, Elk Tail, Manuel Mondrogon (H.103)
 Tuat'a, Dance Standard, Joe Lujan (H.109)
 Chihau, Little Field-rat, José Lacruz Concha (H.123)
 T'ò'ñiua, Arrow Kaolin, Joe Archuleta (H.135)
 Kaláeháé, Coming Wolf, Don Mondrogon (H.181)
 Tapa, Antelope Water, Antonio Romero (H.182)
 Tulhiwa, Sun Stone, Teofilo Romero (H.36)
 Zuakila, Arrow Prone, Joe Sandoval (H.46)
 Tachilu, Dance Cry, Francisco Zamora (H.65)
 Ya'ko, Good Singing, Juan Lujan (H.67)
 Tsiuñu, Eagle Arrow, Manuel Duran (H.79)
 Taketame, Chickenhawk Dancing, Doroteo Herero (H.93)
 Pánpáé, Snow Deer, Juanito Lujan (H.96)
 Xenaña, Weasel Arrow, Albert Lujan (H.97)
 Pienñua, Mountain Arrow, — Concha (H.121)
 Ötsiwu, Leaf Bird, Patricio Concha (H.122)

Feather People

- Hóalupató', White Hill, Manuel Espinosa (H.3)
 Tulpaka, Sunshine, Julian Lujan (H.8)
 Paw'epaiana, Red Lake, — Lujan (H.8)
 W'ilu, Bow, Pablo Trujillo (H.10)
 Pientö', Mountain Mark, Santiago Trujillo (H.11)
 Panu, Race Winner, Bernardo Lujan (H.14)
 T'ohiu, Elk Stone, Lorenzo Lujan (H.18)
 Páewolo, Deer Medicine, Juan Jesús Romero (Archuleta) (H.27)
 Tsiupaxöña, Eagle Star, or Tsiupahöla, Eagle-down Shell, Juan Concha (H.33)
 Piapaxöña, Road Star, Geronimo Sandoval (H.47)
 Pilpáé, Summer Deer, Geronimo Mirabal (H.61)
 Papiá, Duck, Adán Trujillo (H.64)
 Tómpáé, Morning Deer (Pleiades), Manuel Cordova (H.95)
 T'ò'papuime, Elk Water Blowing, Rafael Martinez (H.108)
 Kwanepáé, Rain Deer, — Panto (H.151)
 Pa'tópatö, Elk Shell, Ilario Panto (H.151)
 Zuapatö, White Arrow, — Romero (H.153)
 Kuapöntö', —, José María Martinez (H.157)
 Tahölu, Antelope Arroyo, Cesario Romero (H.159)
 Puipaxöña, Blowing Star, Avel Romero (H.160)
 Kónpafelmo, Cradle Water-sputting-up, Santiago Espinosa (H.161)
 Piano, Mountain, Antonio Mirabal (H.164)
 Kuyupia, Sacred Corn Road, Henrique Romero (H.167)
 Kuyupaxemo, Sacred Corn Mist, Porfirio Mirabal (H.171)
 Kütü, Lorenzo Martinez (H.105, H.173)
 Tómkü, Good Morning, Teles Rena (ex-member) (H.5)
 Xemki, Mountain Lion Robe, Miguel Mirabal (H.32)

Water People

- Puipieno, Blowing Mountain, Juan Domingo Archuleta (H.20)
 Po'wielme, Running Water, Manuel Suaso (H.21)

Kol'ua, Olivella Arrow, Donaciano Marques (H.50)
 Papatö', White Clothes, Eliseo Suaso (H.57)
 Naököna, Speckled Leaves, Juan de Jesús Montoyo (H.62)
 Tsulw'etsilu, Bluebird-tail Call, Bautista Pacheko (H.68)
 Tuna, —, José Romero (ex-member) (H.70)
 Páetau, Deer Piñon, Joe Bernal (H.78)
 Kanu, Looking Buffalo, Joe Gomez (H.83)
 Tatuya, Antelope Kaolin, Timoteo Mirabal (H.106)
 Tömpaxemu, Morning Mist, Julian Suaso (H.116)
 Tsixa', Field-mouse, — Suaso (H.127)
 Kane'he', Buffalo Come, José Suaso (H.128)
 Zuata, Arrow Dance, Antonio Gomez (H.131)
 Paxö'api, Star Road, Geronimo Gomez (H.132)
 Tatsuta, Dance Shirt, — Concha (H.156)
 Chöya, Hunt Song, Juan Gomez (H.158)
 Kalpien, Mountain Wolf, Juan Andrés Mirabal (H.166)
 T'ö'pöäde, Elk Dust-storm, Santiago Mirabal (H.171)
 K'oaw'ey, Field-mouse, Geronimo Mirabal (H.174)
 Kwano, Looking Rain, — Mirabal (H.174)
 Piäpaw'ia, Cattail Lake, Domingo Gonzalez (H.41)
 Napait'a', Red Hill Antelope, — Marques (H.51)
 T'ö'ny, Looking Elk, Albert Martinez (H.172)
 Kanxena, Buffalo Weasel, Justo Concha (H.148)

Old-axe People

Tö'auwa, Elk Chief, Juan Antonio Concha (H.136)
 Piäpæ, Mountain Deer, Eliseo Lucero (H.2)
 P'atuya, Water Clay, Agapito Lujan (H.22)
 Pianpaxemu, Mountain Mist, José Lacruz Rena (H.24)
 Pækwano, Deer Rain Looking, Benito Rena (H.25)
 Tabatö, White Antelope, Geronimo Rena (H.37)
 Pianwiala, Mountain Fast, Rafael Gomez (H.48)
 T'uit'a', Dance Kaolin, Juan Marques (H.49)
 Tulta, Sun Dance, Esteban Mirabal (H.71)
 Tulpialo, Sun Earring, Esteban Martinez (H.77)
 Köw'ilu, Cradle Bow, Albino Lujan (H.81)
 T'ö'tsiuwæ, Elk Eagle-tail, Henrique Romero (H.85)
 Ta'paiena, Red Antelope, José María Cordoba (H.99)
 Tsiuwæ, Eagle Tail, Candido Romero (H.111)
 Pætsiwu, Deer Bird, Juan de Jesús Romero (H.113)
 Tulw'ilu, Sun Bow, Donaciano Cordoba (H.117)
 Tulpatö, White Sun, Juan de Jesús Martinez (H.130)
 Tulkönö, Speckled Sun, Pedro Concha (H.139)
 Paxö'kau', Little Star, Juan Isidro Concha (H.145)
 Piantö'ö, Blue Mountain, Juan de Jesús Lucero (H.146)
 Naöpaxö'ka, Leaves Star, Guadalupe Lucero (H.175)
 Pöantsilu, Po'anai Shout, Eliseo Lucero (H.176)
 Ta'i, Antelope Grass, — Mirabal (H.6)
 Tulya, Sun Song, — Concha (H.92)
 Pianw'i, Mountain Line, Pedro Suaso (H.118)

Big Hail

A. Big-earring People

Kwiawipatö, White Race, Manuel Lujan (H.15)
 Zaumu, Quiver, Leandro Bernal (H.19)
 Iawala, Corn Medicine, Onecimo Archuleta (H.38)
 Tsiwui, Bird, Salvador Archuleta (H.52)
 Pa'u, Eagle-down, Geronimo Trujillo (H.63)
 Tukusi, Felix Bernal (H.140)
 Ukatsilu, Leaf Ball Shout, Teles Martinez (H.154)
 Papatö, White Water, Henrique Giron (H.179)

B. Water People

T'ö'ny, Looking Elk, Albert Martinez (H.172)
 Chöya, Hunt Song, Juan Gomez (H.158)

White Mountain

Pä'ya, Beaver, José Lacruz Romero (H.26)
 Hytatsuta, Beads Shirt, Pedro Mirabal (H.31)
 Xemkönö, Speckled Mountain Lion, Santiago Martinez (H.119)
 Holkwan, Olivella Hanging, Juan de Jesús Rena (H.120)
 Köna'ua, Speckled Arrow, Lupe Sandoval (H.117)
 Hölpä'u, Olivella Feather-down, Santiago Lucero (H.143)

Black Eyes

A. Knife People

Pien'ü, —, — (H.11)
 Zuakila, Prone Arrow, Joe Sandoval (H.46)
 Tachilu, Dance Shout, Francisco Zamora (H.65)
 Tsiu'ü, Eagle Arrow, Manuel Duran (H.90)
 Panpæ, Snow Deer, Juanito Lujan (H.96)
 Taketame, Chickenhawk Dancing, Doroteo Herero (H.93)
 Rena'ua, Arrow Weasel, Albert Lujan (H.97)
 Pien'ua, Mountain Arrow, — Concha (H.121)
 Ötsiwu, Leaf Bird, Patricio Concha (H.122)
 P'aw'iapaxö'ka, Lake Star, Manuel Pacheko (H.68)

B. Old-axe People

Tulya, Sun Song, — Concha (H.92)

C. Water People

Napait'a', Red Hill Antelope, — Marques (H.51)

Corn Mother

A. Knife People

Tulhiwa, Sun Stone, Teofilo Romero (H.36)
 P'aw'iapaxö'ka, Lake Star, Manuel Pacheko (H.68)

B. Feather People

Tomkü, Good Morning, Teles Rena (ex-member) (H.5)
 Könpä'elmo, Cradle Water-spurting-up, Santiago Espinosa (H.161)

C. Old-axe People

Pianw'i, Mountain Line, Pedro Suaso (H.118)
 Ta'i, Antelope Grass, — Mirabal (H.6)

Papta

Kenki, Mountain Lion Robe, Miguel Mirabal (H. 32)
 Kuyupaxemo, Sacred Corn Mist, Porfirio Mirabal (H. 171)
 Kutu, Lorenzo Martinez (H. 105)
 Piano, Mountain, Antonio Mirabal (H. 164)

Bear People

K'oawe'ey, Field-mouse, Geronimo Mirabal (H.174)
 P'iapaw'ia (Piapaw'ia), Sedge (Cattail) Lake, Domingo Gonzalez (H.41)

CALENDAR

As elsewhere the seasonal divisions are accounted winter (to'wina), December-February; spring and summer (pilta), March-August; and the harvest tide or autumn (payuga), September-November.⁷⁰

December, nuupapana or nupa'pana,⁷¹ night fire moon.
 January, sōenpana,⁷² man⁷³ moon.
 February, wāpāpana, wind big moon.
 March, naxōpana, ash moon.⁷⁴
 April, kapana, planting moon.⁷⁵
 May, iakapana, corn planting moon.⁷⁶
 June, kapnakoyapana, corn tassel coming out moon.
 July, tultōpana, Sun house moon.
 August, na'ōtsul'pana, green yellow moon; also paw'epana, lake moon.⁷⁷
 September, iakōwapana, corn ripe moon.
 October, ōkulpāna, leaves falling moon.
 November, iatayāpāna, corn depositing moon.⁷⁸

November 20 — The Cacique (?) has watched the sun and about November 20 tells the chief of Knife kiva (or Water-dripping people) to hold his ceremony.

natoiyemu,⁷⁹ Dec. 1-Jan. 10 — At its conclusion the chief of Knife kiva tells the Big-hail People in Big-earring kiva to hold their four day ceremony. At its close the Big-hail chief tells the Big-earring man (chief) who tells the Big-hail People in Water kiva to hold their four day ceremony. Meanwhile the chief of Knife kiva has notified the townspeople to prepare their houses for "staying still."

The Big-hail People take charge of winter. Their ceremony is for snow for the sake of vegetation.

After the Big-hail People of Big-earring kiva go in, all the townspeople must move within the walls.⁸⁰ Nothing may be moved about; digging in town is not allowed, nor chopping wood, nor plastering;⁸¹ and no wagons or automobiles may travel. Wagons are taken out of town, and Mexicans are hired to haul wood or carry grain into town to market.⁸² (One year an Isletan visitor drove his host's wagon into town for him several times and a White visitor drove his host's car for him.) Permission to drive wagons into Fernandez de Taos to trade grain to prepare for the Christmas feast may be obtained from the Big-hail man. Wood may be packed on donkeys. Women may not clean house or sweep except at night,⁸³ when they must put a live coal near the door. No singing or dancing; no body painting; no hair-cutting.

In conclusion, the Big-earring man "takes his four days alone," i.e., conducts his ceremony by himself, after Kings' Day, and then gives notice by exorcism in the river that "staying still" (ika'timemu), the period of quiet, is done for all.⁸⁴

December 12 — Council meeting, called by Governor and head war captain, to determine dances to be performed Christmas day and Kings' day. (1931, because of other

70. Miller's divisions differ. His are winter ("still time"), November-February; spring ("beginning time," i.e., of work), March-April; summer ("good time"), May-July; autumn ("ripe time"), August-October (Miller, 36). "Summer begins in June," said one informant.

71. Referring to the luminarios before Christmas. Compare Isletan term (Parsons 8:288).

72. Given also as pilsōma poyna, New Year's moon.

73. So called from mens' races. See p. 97.

74. Referring to Ash Wednesday. By another informant this moon was given as wāpāpoyna.

75. To a youthful informant April, May, June, and August were known only as Abrel, Maiu, Juno, Agosto. Another female was afraid to give the month terms — "men knew them."

76. Also kaukwelopa'na, referring to Cross day.

77. Referring to the pilgrimage to Blue Lake.

78. The reference is to the contribution of corn on All Souls' day.

79. Cp. terms for "medicine," p. 58, n. 86.

80. Old family houses are moved into, or families who own no house within the walls are loaned a house or room by relatives.

81. Rooms are plastered in November and then kept fresh against the Christmas festivities by withdrawing into other rooms.

82. By asking the Mexicans to do this the old people betray their ceremonial period, and then, commented a youthful critic, "they scold us for talking."

83. Nor do they sew on American machines, nor grind (Grant, 107). The taboo on using sewing machines is no longer observed.

84. Compare War ceremony of First Mesa, after the winter solstice ceremony (1920, Dec. 28), a ceremony to freeze the ground, one day of which people must stay still, the women not grinding, the men not singing.

matters before the Council the meeting to decide on Christmas ceremonies is postponed to December 15. Morning of December 16 Governor calls out from highest housetop to begin to prepare.) Luminarios⁸⁵ in the evening.

December 12-24 (1931, Dec. 16-24) — Little fires (luminarios are built, in front of their own house or on housetop, by the small children; after visperas on December 24, on the road from the church taken by the Blessed Mother, the fires are lit by men.

December⁸⁶ — The turning of the Sun (winter solstice) is observed by watching the sunset.

Bear People's ceremony. It is "before Christmas;" possibly it precedes the observation of the solstice. During these four days an exception is made to "staying still" and the members are free to sing and to paint.

December 24 — Childrens' dance and procession of Our Blessed Mother and the Saints.

December 25 — Deer dance and Konfi, with Black Eyes. Not regularly; in 1926, not in 1925 and 1927, when Matachina was given. (If Matachina on Dec. 25-27, then Deer or Buffalo on Kings' Day and vice versa). Deer dance and Buffalo dance are preceded by night practice, theoretically for four nights.

December 26-27 — Pascua Navidad, Christmas festival; permission to dance anywhere may be obtained from the Governor and war captains.

January 1 — Usually Ahataana or Turtle dance, the maskless kachina dance of San Juan or Isleta. Preceded by four nights of practice dancing. Installation of the officers.

January 6, Kings' Day (laitoko) — Matachina (2 or 3 days) or Deer dance and Konfi, with Black Eyes;⁸⁷ or Buffalo dance. Night ceremony in Knife or Old-axe kiva, over the animal heads and pelts. Deer or Buffalo songs.

Children visit the newly elected officers' houses to dance and receive bread.

January 6-10 — Big-earring ceremony.

January 10 — Everybody takes a sunrise bath in the creek, to conclude the period of "staying still."

January 10-13 — Ceremony by Big-hail People of Big-earring kiva (prayers to Earth Mother for crops, plenty of deer, no epidemic).

January 14-17 — Ceremony by Big-hail People of Water kiva.

January (? 30)⁸⁸ — Arrow looking (ʔua puu'ne) or, as paraphrased in American terms "inspection of arms." Men go to the place on the north side called paʔeyuta,⁸⁹ in Indian clothes, carrying arrows. The war captains (humʔauwena) are in charge. The head war captain warns of enemies; they discuss plans for defense. The meeting is held about 8 A.M. on a day when there are clouds over the mountains and it is misty. Women look on from the house tops. They put their brooms beside their door, outside.⁹⁰ Before leaving the meeting the men exchange arrows as presents.

January-March — Begins the kiva initiation of the boys to continue until August of the year following, i.e., a year and a half.

February-March — Yunane (Navaho) is danced — a circle dance with men, from forty to fifty, forming the ring, and women from twenty to thirty, within. The choir is from the Feather People. Drum and notch-stick playing by men. It is danced outdoors in front of the church, in the day time, in anti-sunwise circuit. Whites may look on. Four or three nights preceding, dance practice in Feather People's kiva, at which each kiva presents a special men's dance.

Two day ceremony against high winds by Old-axe kiva chief and another kiva chief selected by him.

Irrigation ditch ritual for the ʔatsina.

Ash day (Nahafotena) — "No dancing after this until Cross day;" but this statement does not agree with that about February-March dances.

Lent (towaive)⁹¹ — Fasting from fish (!) and meat, but not observed by most people. Forty years ago or more the Mexican schoolmaster had the boys set up stone crosses (stations of the cross) and everybody visited these and the image in the coffin in the church. (This "statue" is never taken

85. The posadas in Mexico begin on December 16, and of the Christmas ritual the luminarios are presumably a part. They light the way for Our Blessed Mother as she seeks a resting place. Cp. San Juan, Parsons 7: 222.

86. Said in 1925 to be six days — Dec. 22-27; in 1932 the sun "turned" on Dec. 21.

87. In 1927 and 1932.

88. Grant, 92.

89. From a grey mountain bird (?).

90. Told by a woman. A man insisted this was a fiction for Whites.

91. Cp. p. 58, n. 86.

out.) Holy Week, people used to fast; "maybe some do now." Sabado de gloria, Easter Saturday, the town is cleared of weeds; a Mexican now deceased used to clear the graveyard in return for food and old clothes. In the evening men from Water kiva go from house to house with eagle feathers, hitting one against the other, four times, and saying pa'an! "to send out all sickness."

No Easter dancing.

March at full of moon — Series of six one day ceremonies, for the Sun and Moon, each kiva having a ceremony. Old-axe kiva initiates the series and determines the succession. Later, a springtide series of kiva ceremonies in which Earth Mother was prayed to was alone referred to. Whether or not there are two springtide series or only one, I do not know. But it was said definitely that the moon was asked to bring the crops to maturity.

May 3 — Konñit'aana by unmarried men and women (White). Morning relay race by kiva moieties. "Cross day."⁹²

May 15 — San Izidro. The image of the farmer saint is taken out to the fields. (Formerly they danced for him.)

June: any Sunday — The Saints may be taken out, as in 1922, in procession through fields for rain.

June 12 — Rabbit hunt

June 13 — San Antonio Day.⁹³ Konñi-ta'ana. Dancing in front of the house of every godchild of the saint. Also in front of the houses of the Governor and Lieutenant-governor and of the two war captains, finishing on the south side (White).

Summer solstice — The solstice (mahaintsana tóntatina, he (sun) turns back from his house),⁹⁴ is watched by the chief of Old-axe kiva.

June (after solstice) into August — Series of six rain retreats or ceremonies, one by each of the six kivas, Old-axe People starting the series and their chief watching the sun. The order is variable. Each group at the conclusion of its ceremony chooses the next group, notifying it of its turn.

At the conclusion of each retreat there is a dance for all the townspeople in the open, at the dance place up the river.

June 23 — Rabbit hunt.

June 24 — San Juan day. Konñita'ana. Rooster race (imagaiumho, "they are playing a rooster race"). Played likewise on other saint's days.

July 4 — Tsalitsi, danced in Fernandez de Taos.

July 23 — Rabbit hunt.

July 24 — Sant' Ana Konñi.

July 25 — Santiago Konñi. Clay images of horses,⁹⁵ cows, and deer are buried and "fed," as at Christmas.

August 24-27 — "They go to the lake" — offerings of prayer-feathers.

Round dance, at night.

August 28 — Dancing by day at two places up river.

September 29 — Vísperas, San Geronimo, Race dance (Kwlaw'itana)

September 30 — San Geronimo's Day. Morning relay race, by north side and south side kivas. Black Eyes climb pole at the Middle. A sheep⁹⁶ at the top of the pole and other goods which all the Black Eyes share. The pole has been cut⁹⁷ by the war captains after they have sprinkled it with meal.⁹⁸ Race dance.

October 2 and 3 — The Blue Lake ceremonial is concluded. "Some girls and boys" go up into the foothills north of town, Pak-wiuta, North Canyon, where there is a little stream. They make camp and then ascend Taos Peak for a sunrise ritual.

October or November — After last harvest, night ceremony in Big-earring kiva (perhaps in others) to give thanks to Earth Mother and Zatsina for the crops.

November 2 — All Souls' Day, Dia los muertos. Iat'oyateona,⁹⁹ corn deposit day, referring to the tithes for the padre. He

92. Formerly people tied flowers to the top of the ladder up from the koye, the ground room.

93. As in Mexico a sick man will make a promise, a vow, to serve as mayordomo for the year. He takes office on December 2. The cura names the mayordomo for Guadalupe.

94. Another reference is: pilktulena imuwa' tónawanake' (summer sun watching to reach his house). "Twice the sun may repeat his stopping place."

95. Santiago is the patron saint of horses.

96. The sheep used to be alive until the Agent ruled against it.

97. This annual cutting of the pole is characteristically Indian, suggesting the cutting of the tree in the Plains Sun dance; but the pole climbing as a whole is, I think, Spanish. Where it is a fiesta feature, in Mexico, in Mitla, Oaxaca, for example, the same pole is kept from year to year.

98. All standing timber, green wood, is to be cut with ritual, I infer. One of the current grievances of the elders is that the young men after getting a license to cut timber from the Forest ranger cut green wood.

99. Iatonyeka.

asperges the food gifts in the church. At twilight, loose turkey feathers and meal are put down towards the north, just outside the pueblo. Food and water are taken to the graves and candles burned on them. At night hidden ball is played in the ancient sacristy, and all night the church bell is rung by a rope from church to sacristy.

Bear People's Ceremony¹⁰⁰

Prior to December 21¹⁰¹

In the Water People's kiva in the day time, sometimes at night, dance four men painted black. Each holds a bear head in his hand. Other members of the Bear People sing. They too are painted black (?). When the song is finished, the dancers raise their bear heads towards the sun four times — moving the head from a position close to the floor up as high as they can reach. Four songs are sung in this manner. Then they lay their bear heads on the floor. The Bear People's chief (Domingo Gonzalez) gives each dancer a pinch of medicine and two or three turkey feathers. The dancer prays and sprinkles the medicine on the bear's head and puts the feathers in the bear's mouth.

The ceremony is performed "so the bears will be peaceful to people."

Children's Dance¹⁰²
and the Procession of the Saints
Vísperas de Noche Buena
December 24, 1932

About 2.30 in the afternoon the choir of a dozen men with the child dancers following, forty children, walk to the dance place in front of the wall of the churchyard (see map, A). The choir bunches together and begins to sing, the drummer in the middle. The children circle around the choir, anti-sunwise. Then all move into the churchyard. They form into two opposite lines, boys and girls in each line in no order as to sex. They dance a quadrillelike figure, the boys marking the beat with more of a stamp than the girls. The girls move their flexed arms up and down, alternately. Nothing in their hands; the boys have a gourd rattle.

The boys wear a kilt of colored cloth or silk, the body nude. Necklaces, moccasins; one has skunk heel bands. Dabs of red on their cheeks. An eagle wing feather is tied across the back of the head. The girls wear slips of silk or cloth, and belts, with a silk kerchief over the back and knotted across the chest, southern style; small boots; hair flowing, unless it has been bobbed; red paint on their cheeks.

In the second figure the lines turn

facing east. The boys hold their hand over their eyes, the body inclined forward. The Governor and war captain who manage this dance have to show some of the boys the proper posture. The children are all under fourteen and some are not more than five or six. Two of the littlest boys are too frightened to dance and stay huddled next to mother or father who hold their blankets around them and do not urge them at all to dance.

In the third figure the boys get down on their knees and elbows, and standing behind them the girls rub their bare backs up and down as if grinding meal, sometimes one girl, sometimes two, to each boy's back. Most of the girls are not very good at it; they should "grind" realistically, as formerly they did, and some girls have to be instructed.

The three figures are repeated in the three dance places, A, B, C, along the house walls of the north side. The choir sits on the ground or on a doorstep, in an oval, between the wall and the dancers. They clap to the drum beat. Among them I notice Alvino Lujan of the Corn Mother society, in Old-axe kiva.

The choir withdraws with the drummer into Big-earring kiva. The children scatter to their houses.

Procession of Our Blessed Mother and the Saints

People are carrying their two candles into the church, men and women, but mostly women, sometimes couples. The large image of the Virgin stands on a table in the middle of the church, surrounded by the smaller images, seven or eight. The Virgin has on a white dress and veil; new I am told. Above the place she had occupied on the altar is painted a picture of Santiago on a white horse. On either side on the walls are painted a Virgin, two monks, a Christ. Christ stands on a crescent moon and at the side of his right leg emerges the sun; three quarters of a round sun with a face. The Fiscal points to the paintings, saying, "Perhaps the moon and the sun." On either side of the altar is a small spruce,¹⁰³ not more than two feet high. The spruces last year were large, says the Fiscal, and the padre objected.

We are waiting for the arrival of the padre who is due this afternoon at 4.15. He arrives, a little late, the bell rings, and at once there are calls from the housetops on both sides of town. A little boy stands at the church portal, beating a drum. After vísperas are chanted by the cura and a group

100. Contributed by Dr. White.

101. White was told that this ceremony was in February.

102. No'pautana, night fire child dance.

103. Spruce is fastened to the images of the Saints that are hung to the house wall.

of Mexicans, the Governor comes out and says a few words at the church portal to which nobody listens. Then the Virgin is carried out by four men, the other images are carried behind in the arms of townswomen. Meanwhile fires of criss-cross sticks have been lit, four in the churchyard and others along the route the Saints are to follow. Some Roman candles are set off; the idea of a townsman who had been visiting Mexico. (He said he was reviving an old custom, but nobody else remembered it!) There is a full moon.

At the head of the procession go two men carrying each a huge torch, ten feet high, of splits of pitch pine (w'ine) aflame at the top. Near them to one side move in dance step and singing to their drum a choir of townsmen. Then child dancers who dance forward and backward in front of the Virgin. Just behind her walk a group of Mexicans singing their alabanzas, then the townswomen with the other images. Alongside the whole procession straggle young men shooting off their guns and a motley crowd of lookers-on.

The dancing and singing procession moves eastward along the houses to the last house, then turns back, passing nearer the river, making a long sunwise oval. At the church the crowd disperses; the fires go out, the torches are taken to the hatches of two kivas, later that night I saw one smoldering at Feather kiva. Inside the church a few Mexicans sing one more alabanza as eight or more townsmen begin to restore Virgin and Saints to their niches. While this is being done with reverential care, I notice three men at different times holding their right arm forward stiffly outstretched, making the unmistakable gesture of sprinkling meal. All the Mexicans have left. This is the moment to treat the Saints as all Spirits should be treated, to feed them.

Play of Black Eyes: Konfi:
Deer Dance (P'et'aana) — December 25, 1931

Play of Black Eyes

About 10.30 I reach the pueblo; the Black Eyes are out, twelve, and a few people are watching them from the housetops. They are collecting food from house to house, in shallow Apache baskets: apples and other fruit and small loaves of bread, now and again a bowl of stew. They go mostly singly, sometimes in couples, on a run, and hollering or talking in the high pitched voice of Pueblo clowns. All collections are taken to Feather kiva, within the wall on the south side. One young man passing by me stops and asks for a gift by gesture and in Tanoan. I put a package of cigarettes into his basket for bread. Later the same man passes by again and gives me an apple from the fruit he is carrying this time. During

the morning they may visit the same house for food more than once. In groups of three, four, or five they also go from house to house bidding the dancers prepare or make haste. (If they catch anyone hiding in order not to dance, they will throw him into the river.) I was in several houses when they came in either to get food or to hasten the dancer. There was nothing of a ritual character; no meal sprinkling, no prayer; the only set form of speech are a few words of thanks:

Taa	wamöya	kitámöna	kana
Thanks	God	our father	mother

suwiaaya
will give you

In one house a woman held in her arms a boy baby; this is the occasion the Black Eyes doctor, but even if this child was to have been doctored and given to the Black Eyes, nothing would have been done about it while I was there. In another house one of the Black Eyes asked a man to give him his blanket, a joke parried by the man asking the Black Eye to give in exchange his sheath knife. "They wouldn't trade their knife today for anything. This is the day they need it" — for cutting meat, he might have added.

During this house-to-house visiting there are intervals of play. One comes out with an antlered deer head on his head, the pelt down his back, as the Deer dancer is arrayed; the others stalk him, then throw a lump of snow at him and he falls down "dead," is "skinned," and deer head and skin are carried away on another fellow's shoulder. This deer hunt burlesque is performed near the river on the south side and again under the ramadas on the north side. Again near the river three or four do a dance, a capering step, to the singing of one who sits down beating a drum. Another time all twelve assemble on the middle bridge and sing. One gets down into the hole cut through the ice and splashes the water up on the others. Perhaps he was discarding from a cure,¹⁰⁴ as the others sang. There are several snow ballings, or rather one throws a handful of loose snow on another or drops it down his back. A food collector finds a buffalo head in a second story house; he puts it on and does a few dance steps on the terrace.

The hair of the Black Eyes is tied up on either side of the head, like the former headdress of adolescent girls,¹⁰⁵ and into each queue is fastened a large bunch of corn husks, the tips pointing backwards. The hair on top has white paint on it. One has a few husks on the top of the head. Another wears a wreath of dried yellow flowers, wild sunflowers (tullipapena, sun grass flowers); some that were gathered when they went to

104. See p. 75.

105. Compare Isletan and Hopi clowns (Parsons 8: fig. 21; Stephen, 332, 370).

the lake. Another has two hawk wings as part of his headdress, and he carries a wing in his hand. The shoulders and a space above the waist are whitened, the upper body is blackened; the arms are banded black and white. The face painting varies, although all are painted a solid black around the eyes. On some there is a white triangle on the forehead, the rest of which is black; the cheeks may be white with black diagonals; one had circular bands of alternating black and white over his entire face. Old trouser leggings are worn held up by a string attached to a cord around the waist, with two shabby pieces of blanket doubled over the cord back and front, in the style of the old breech clout.¹⁰⁶ On the feet, old moccasins or heelless shoes.

Kon'ïi¹⁰⁷

About three o'clock the choir and the dancers assemble outside the churchyard where straw has been laid because of the slush. The choir of about ten men, middle-aged and old, from Big-earring kiva, stand bunched together and rotate slowly in anti-sunwise circuit, the drummer in the middle. First the men dancers join them, five, circling on the outside; then from their house come the women, to circle outside the men. A short song, then two lines of dancers face each other, east and west, the choir sitting down in an oval, between the dancers and the wall. The singers clap to the drum beat. The men dancers stand in the middle of the lines, three on one side, two on the other. Their step is stamping from foot to foot, not at all vigorously. The women's step is still quieter; they move their bent arms up and down alternately in the familiar woman's dance motion. After dancing in line two or three minutes, the lines break up into groups of four or five who move around in an anti-sunwise circle and then renew the line. This is the only distinctive figure; it is repeated three or four times.

Meanwhile the Black Eyes, five or six, burst through the eastern line and shouting to their own drum begin to burlesque the dancers.

The women dancers wear their silk or cotton dress in the old style, left shoulder and arms bare; but not a single dark woolen dress is to be seen. There are a few red and green woven belts. Ribbons of all colors hang from the back of the neck and from the belt. They wear their boots, not the wrapped moccasins (kweñ peñena, on leg, wrapped). Their hair is flowing, with a small stiff feather in the forelock, and white paint on top. Necklaces, earrings. Red spots on each cheek.¹⁰⁸ In each hand a

twig of spruce. The Black Eyes give each woman some of their wild sunflowers to hold with the spruce.

The men dancers wear a kilt of colored silk or cotton, a foxskin pendent from the back of the belt. Their body is nude, unpainted, their hair flowing, an eagle wing feather tied in horizontally at the back. Gourd rattle.

From the church the choir moves to the first dance place (B) along the house walls; the dancers straggle behind as best they can, in the midst of the lookers-on, through slush and around the heaps of snow. From this place after the same dance figures they move again to the dance place (C) along the last houses towards the east — in all there are three performances. Then the men dancers withdraw into Knife kiva and the women, into Big-earring, the choir sitting down on the wall around this kiva. Food is brought to the kiva by two women from the south side — the dancers' families supply the food, I was told, two heaped up baskets covered with white cloth.

Deer Dance

The three repetitions of the Kon'ïi dance took less than an hour. About 4.30 we see the Deer dancers emerging from the hatches of Old-axe and Water kivas. Five or six elders who have been sitting at the wall at the northeast gap together with as many more from the wall around the hatch of Big-earring kiva at once proceed as choir towards the Middle where on the river side a fire or rather smoke has been made — the hunt fire — and around it they sing. The choir is furnished by Big-earring kiva.

Meanwhile I can see the dancers forming in two single files, outside the wall and I can also see one antlered figure leave the line to stand alone, facing the east, as if in prayer. Then the files follow the trail outside the wall (pl. 10C) and enter through the northeast gap. They are led by two of the deer watchmen, pãxina; the other two watchmen are rear guard. The watchmen wear fringed buckskin shirts and leggings, and on their backs carry a large quiver with arrows. One of the rear watchmen is an acquaintance and he smiles at me as he passes. Behind the watchmen in the lead come the two Deer chiefs. They are whitened all over, antlers and body, and wear a white kilt and the kind of net leggings used by Hopi dancers. Then come other deer, antelopes, four buffaloes, a little coyote, two wild cats, two mountain lions. All wear kilts and moccasins; their body nude and unpainted. The head of the animal is over the dancer's head, the pelt

106. See p. 101.

107. The Saint's day dance referred to in all the pueblos by Whites as Corn dance. Kon'ïi could not be etymologized. For minor variations when danced on a Saint's day see pp. 97-98.

108. Above the red, I was told, are stars or moons in white; "it shows pretty."

hanging down his back. A bit of spruce is in the mouth of the deer.¹⁰⁹ Downy feathers are fastened to the tips of the buffalo horns. All carry in each hand a short stick to lean over on, the better to imitate the animal posture. The older men come first, then the boys according to size, some very little ones at the end.

The dancers proceed to the dance place (A) in front of the churchyard wall, where the choir¹¹⁰ and the Deer Mothers join them, also the Konñi dancers who merely form an outer ring, not dancing. Each Deer Mother heads a file of "animals" to form spirals, circles, diagonals — it is difficult for the eye to follow the two files as they twine in and out, packed very close together. Their progressions are definite figures, however, not merely the milling around as seen in the Buffalo dance. The Deer Mothers take very short dance steps, moving forward steadily but very slowly. They hold their arms forward, rather high, but flexed as usual at the elbow. Now and again they shake the gourd rattle held in the right hand; in the left hand are held two eagle tail feathers and some spruce. At the back of their head are some erect parrot feathers and an eagle wing feather, and below hangs a wild duck skin (covering the hair and the butts of the feathers which were described as held together in a hollow corn cob). On the top of the head is a bunch of small parrot feathers, on the cheeks are shiny black spots (micaceous hematite), and around jaws and chin a black streak. The dress is like that of the Konñi dancers, belted and with pendent ribbons, but the material is of white cotton, to look like the ceremonial Hopi blanket dress which was once worn. Had they wrapped moccasins they would wear them, but as it is they wear their buckskin boots.

After the weaving in and out figures, at a signal from the Deer Mothers made with their gourd rattles, all the animals crouch down on their heels and the Deer Mothers dance down the middle of the oval and back, very slowly, very impressively; in fact all the movements of the Deer Mothers are impressive, conveying a sense of drama.

Meanwhile the Black Eyes are performing their hunting burlesque. All carry roughly made bows and arrows about a foot and a half long. As soon as one of the boy wildcats or mountain lions puts his hand on a deer — the wildcats and lions stand outside the dance lines to act as hunters — the nearest

Black Eye shoots an arrow into the head or pelt of the "deer," then seizes and flings him, quite unresisting, over his shoulder. If the "deer" is big the Black Eye merely runs down to one end of the dance oval with him and drops him; but a little "deer" he will try and run away with across the river and into Feather kiva. All the bystanders, even women, will come to the rescue, and if any one gets any sort of a hold on the captive the Black Eye has to drop him. There is no struggle. A lot of chasing and fun — for all except the little "deer." They do not look as if they enjoyed it. As many as twenty must have been successfully carried away. They say there is no ransoming or any ritual after they have been carried into the kiva." (But why were they carried into Feather kiva and why were the Black Eyes using Feather kiva at all? That was something I was not to be told, since it involved the Emergence myth.)

Their *pas seul* concluded, the Deer Mothers signal to the animals to get up; then the Mothers withdraw, their two male attendants wrapping black shawls around them and escorting them away from the crowd and behind the houses to the next dance place (B). The animal dancers straggle back to the northeast gap, where they re-form to come in again as at the beginning, and to be joined by the choir and the Deer Mothers at dance place B where the dance repeats.

Meanwhile the Konñi dancers have repeated their dance at dance place A, before the wall of the churchyard. After it, again they form a circle or rather a half circle around the Deer dancers, the choir sitting at the west end to sing and clap to their drum. I recognize Porfirio Mirabal in the choir. The Governor has been doing some police service, keeping back the crowding Mexicans and Whites. Otherwise there is no policing; the war captains are probably all in the dance. In fact one of them I recognized as one of the watchmen or herders. Later that evening I happened to pay a call with some friends on the head war captain; but when I asked him why he and his officers had not held the onlookers in check, I got no answer. Had he seen fit he might have told me that this day the Black Eyes are in command.

At the close of the second and last performance the Black Eyes go about among the Konñi dancers giving them bits of raw deer meat.¹¹² Or was it the elk meat that I saw

109. A man told me that several years ago after a hunt he gave his nephew the antlers and hide of a deer for the Deer dance, also some tender tips of spruce such as the deer eat, and he told him to put these in the mouth of the deer. They have gone on doing this ever since. — Perhaps, but the Deer dancers of San Felipe wear collars of spruce, ritual spruce, bits of which are taken by society chiefs and by onlookers who help in the capture at the close of the dance (White 2: 58, 59).

110. With the choir should be the Big-earring man.

111. At the close of the San Felipe Buffalo-Deer dance the "animals" run away and are pursued by the hunters and onlookers. The hunter carries the "animal" home where he sprinkles him with prayer-meal and gives him a basket of food, taking from him a twig of spruce (White 2: 59).

112. As at San Felipe the San Juan "animals" run away at the close of the dance. The women pursue and a captor is given meat by the household of the captive (Parsons 7: 195).

bundled up in one house earlier in the day? At any rate, for this meat for the dancers, the Black Eyes must have needed the knives they were said to hold indispensable this day of all others.

As the Deer dancers pass inside the wall over the eastern bridge and are to be seen putting on their blankets outside their kivas the Black Eyes continue to play. They make snow houses and get into them like bears.

Early in the evening there was to be in kiva a brief ritual of feeding the deer, i.e., the deer heads, giving them pollen and feathers and rubbing meal on the head, before each man took home his own deer head.

The Governor "looks for" one woman to be Deer Mother; the head war captain looks for another. But the Deer Mothers may hold their positions for several years. They may teach the dance to their daughters. Both Deer women this year were taught by their mothers who had once been Deer Mothers. One is the daughter of Juan Mirabal, the other of Andrea Rena and Geronimo Sandoval.¹¹³ Their handpiece or "feather flowers" and their headdress are arranged for them by the Big-hail men who have also to supply their face paints. The black pigment around the lower part of their face (hiu funena, stone black) is a ritual paint. They are arrayed and painted in Day kiva. Two Big-hail men escort them during the dance, "watching them," i.e., guarding them, so that nobody touches them. They are evidently sacred personages.¹¹⁴ In fact it was stated that these two impersonations were in the dance "so Paekana, Deer Mother, would have many children."

The Deer Mothers make use of Day kiva and as this is the kiva of the Deer Hunt chief there is probably some ceremonial significance in its use. (Practice for the Deer dance [and for the Buffalo dance] is held in Big-earring kiva. In 1931 the Deer dance practice began the evening of December 18. The names of those who are to dance and of those who are to form the choir are called out from the housetop.) Knife kiva and Big-earring kiva serve merely as loan kivas, for convenience. We may recall however that the Big-earring man is head of the Konfi dance and that the choirs of both Konfi and Deer dancers are from Big-earring kiva. Why have the Black Eyes foregone their own Knife kiva to use Feather kiva? Not until a version of the Emergence myth came under my eyes did I get a clue. At the Emergence the Black Eyes taught the Feather people to eat the deer they had hitherto merely domesticated (!) In the dance the

Black Eyes give meat to people and carry the little "deer" to the Feather people as a dramatization of the myth¹¹⁵— at least that is my guess.

Sparks were issuing from Feather kiva late in the evening of the dance and I go on guessing that Black Eyes and Feather people eat their supper together, probably some of the food the Black Eyes have collected during the day, to conclude fittingly the dramatization of the Emergence myth. To be sure I have been told that the food the Black Eyes collect is only for themselves and their kindred.

Ahataana¹¹⁶ or Turtle Dance
January 1, 1932

The dancers come out "early in the morning," at sunrise, about seven, from Water kiva, enter by the southeast gap, cross the middle bridge and proceed to dance at A, in front of the wall of the churchyard. They dance alongside the houses, at dance places B and C, and finally, recrossing the river by the eastern bridge, at dance place D, along the house walls opposite Feather kiva. During the day they made six appearances: three in the morning, before dinner, three in the afternoon. Only in the first appearance did they dance near the church. Between appearances they remained in their kiva. The dancers do not eat until they have been out twice.

Before the first appearance the church bells ring and people carry candles to the church; a great many people, I was told by a White man who had spent the night at the house of an Indian friend within the walls.

The second appearance is at 10.30. The little boys on the roof and the middle-aged townsman at my side count the dancers as they cross the bridge — twenty-six, not including the drummer who comes first, his great drum on his back, and the leader of the dancers. The leader is completely wrapped in his blanket, showing only the lower part of his fringed buckskin leggings and his hands, in which he holds twigs of spruce. Do I see the tip of a feather in the spruce? At any rate the blanket is worn with the care observed when something is carried underneath. A woven red hair belt is worn as a banda, the ends pendent on the right side, an odd arrangement. From the back of this banda, an erect eagle feather. A band of white pigment on the jaws and chin, from ear to ear. The band is about an inch wide and broken, the paint scraped off. All the dancers have this face mark.

The dancers wear kilts made of white

113. Her uncle being the Governor.

114. Compare the rôle of the Mother of Game in the Tesuque and San Felipe Buffalo dance (Parsons 7: 203; White 2: 56ff).

115. See p. 113.

116. Aha dance, so called from the dance song syllables. There are no Tanoan words in the songs.

cotton or of a silk fringed shawl, black or colored: one is of Hopi woolen cloth, white with the scarlet and dark blue border. Belts vary: there are the red and green belts of the women; there is even an American leather belt with a steel buckle. A few twigs of spruce are stuck erect into the belt, and colored ribbons and silk kerchiefs hang from the belt at the back, instead of foxskin pendent; low moccasins, beaded or buckskin, stained saffron with anklets of brown fur (no skunk fur): bells below each knee (no turtle shell rattle) with colored yarn pendants; necklaces of colored glass beads (no silver or turquoise); I note one necklace of several strands of jet. The hair is parted and done up behind the head, the queue covered by a broad band of cloth or ribbon or by a duck skin, at the top of which are a bunch of brown and white hawk (?) feathers and a twig of spruce, and erect from these, two eagle (?) feathers with a parrot or imitation parrot feather or a peacock feather. Nine dancers have a little bunch of small stiff parrot feathers tied to the top of the head and hanging over the forehead. Spruce is carried in both hands, a gourd rattle in the right; the hands are held close together in front of the body, the elbows bent.

The middle or thirteenth man in the line is the dance director, starting the step which begins quite softly, but is soon succeeded by a quicker, more pounding stepping. The right foot beats the measure; the left is less lifted, if lifted at all. After the second song to which goes the more vigorous step, the line makes a half turn, anti-sunwise, and faces the house walls and the drummer who is between the dancers and the wall. In making this turn the right arm is swept high, over the head of the dancer next. Another song, a short song, in this position and with the same sweeping gesture the line completes its circuit and returns to its first position. The three songs and the right-about-face are repeated thrice in each dance place. The dance director initiates the variations with a movement of his gourd rattle and now and again he individually motions with the rattle in the directions, in sunwise circuit. The other dancers move their hands up and down in front of the body, rattling a little.

During the dancing the dance leader or chitapolo¹¹⁷ moves very slowly, inch by inch, in dance measure but barely lifting his feet

from the ground, down the line facing or rather shouldering it, his right shoulder towards it. He moves down and then up. He makes two such progresses during the total performance at each dance place.

At the afternoon appearances the dancer costume varied. Every dancer in the line wore a silk shawl as kilt, and body pigment was used: yellow over shoulder and chest to a ring of white spots around the body over the stomach and from there to the belt greyish white; yellow to the elbows, white to above the wrists or to a wristguard when one was worn; the upper leg white to a ring of white spots above the knee, the knee yellow to another ring of white spots below, the rest of the leg white, the same greyish-white.

The swearing in of the new officers (see p. 92 n.123) overlapped the final afternoon appearance of the dancers.

There have been slight changes in the dance within the memory of a middle-aged man. In his overhead gesture the dancer used to shake his rattle. Turtle shell leg rattles were formerly worn. I heard of two rattles that had been sold. In our photograph of the dance taken in 1916 the white spot design on the body is placed as would be a bandoleer (pl. 13B).

The Turtle dance belongs to the Water People. "Long ago¹¹⁸ they got it from a southern pueblo; but perhaps they did not get all of it," i.e., the ritual.¹¹⁹ How long ago did Taos get the Turtle dance from San Juan? I asked a townsman. "We did not get it from San Juan; we have always had it," he answered characteristically¹²⁰ and later he remarked that his grandmother had not liked the Turtle dance because it reminded her of the massacre by the American soldiers (in 1847); they were dancing Turtle dance at that time. Camouflage, perhaps; for another man said definitely that the Turtle dance was "given to Taos when the Laguna people went to Isleta," which was some time after 1847; in fact in 1880. The manner of dating is exceedingly interesting, for the Laguna immigrants introduced the kachina cult into Isleta, or at least a new form of the cult.¹²¹ The reference indicates that the Turtle dance came through Isleta rather than through San Juan. Indeed it may have come through the Isletan who married into Taos about that time.¹²²

117. Chi might refer in Tanoan to eye; but the rest of the word can not be etymologized and the term can not be translated. It is a borrowed term, opined my informant, who suggested it might refer to the side-line position.

118. The man I am quoting, a middleaged man, said he remembered the dance being performed when he was a little boy.

119. There is a preliminary dance practice of four nights in Water kiva but no retreat by the dancers nor any taboos upon them.... At San Juan the Kossa clown society supply the dance leader and the Kossa come out to play. At Taos there is no relation between the Black Eyes and the dance.

120. He asserts that the Matachina dance is not Mexican, but Indian. See pp. 94-95.

121. See Parsons 8: 354.

122. See House 176.

Installation of Officers
January 1, 1928

The officers are installed in the house of the Cacique — Pedro Cuncha (House 155), early in the afternoon.¹²³ We reached the house about 2 P.M. to find the two County officials, Mexicans, verifying the "certificate of election" of each incoming officer. Juan Archuleita (Gen. IV, 116; House 20), the pockmarked sacristan and bocal, is acting as interpreter. From forty to fifty townsmen are present, the Council. The Cacique stands behind one of the County officials who slaps him jocosely on the back, saying that he is his friend, he has seen a lot of him for a long time. The Cacique, a man over sixty, has a weak face, with a fatuous expression, in marked contrast to the faces of some of those present, alert, keen, somewhat amused. The retiring officers are holding the canes, in three lots, gubernatorial, war captain, and fiscal, all much beribboned; the ribbons of the war captain canes, red and orange. The canes of the fiscals are crosses, of a dark red wood. The oath of office is administered by group to the three groups of officers by the County official, the familiar promises, in English translated into Indian, to support the Constitution of the United States, and the laws, federal and state, and to perform the duties of office. As usual the right hand is raised. First stood in line the Governor, Manuel Cordova, next to him his lieutenant, Antonio Mirabal, and three others, a group of five. Followed the fiscals: three of them, two being absent, officially also a group of five. Next the group of war captains, capitanes de guerra: seven present, five absent, a group of twelve. They are younger men, not very young, and some are middle-aged. The new Governor made a short speech in Indian which was translated into Spanish, and the County officials rejoined. "That is all," one or two firmly remarked to the Mexicans who thereupon shook hands all round and withdrew. A younger man brought me a chair, with "Take a seat!" But I had no sooner sat down with the agreeable sense of not being excluded together with the Mex-

icans from the significant part now to be performed, when somebody — the retiring head war captain, I think — raised an objection to my presence, and my introducer and I had to leave the room. The Cacique had just taken his place with the gubernatorial canes in his hand to present them to the new officers. The retiring war captain was of the faction inimical to my introducer and the opportunity to snub him by excluding his White friend was probably an opportunity not to be resisted. If the war captain had been my introducer, the move to exclude would probably have come from the other side.¹²⁴

The presentation of the canes by the Cacique was a matter of about twenty minutes. We stood outside the closed door, watched from a nearby housetop by some women. When the men came out, some shook hands with me — the new Governor, the new Lieutenant-governor, also Juan Archuleita and Juan Mirabal, without referring, of course, to the act of exclusion. I admit I got a little more than scientific satisfaction in learning later what had been happening inside.

When the Cacique presents the canes to the Governor, the Lieutenant-governor, the war captain and the lieutenant war captain each in turn kneels and to each in turn the Cacique says:

Unema wamöya amhaweena huikuhua
This Dios his arm will you take
this?

Each responds, Ha, yes.
The Cacique continues:

T'ainema imulea'ye ipiamena
People to execute if you are afraid¹²⁵
(against)

wamöya gx'öayaa
Dios will punish you.

To the other officers collectively, as they stand, the Cacique says the same words.

That is all, God's arms, the canes, are

123. In 1932 a room of the son of the Cacique, Justo Cuncha, is used, in the same house cluster. The installation is late in the afternoon, because of the Turtle dance, which was not held in 1928.

124. In 1932 the same tactics were followed, even more pointedly, for this time I was with the wife of one of the Councillors, a White woman, and we had been attending Council meetings. After the Mexican left, somebody said, "Now is the time for all visitors to leave."

125. The implication is that you are not to show favoritism to your kin. In illustration I heard the following:

"When I was officer, next to the Lieutenant-governor, two boys, Pedro Concha and Justo Concha (since Cacique) who like their father, the Cacique, used to drink whiskey, made a boy drunk and then beat him up. He brought the case to the Governor, Domingo Gonzalez. Justo Concha is son-in-law to Gonzalez. The Governor called together his officers, and wanted them to favor Justo and Pedro, but I said we could not do so. He called another meeting without calling me, and later went to see the Cacique. I listened at the window and heard him mention my name as being against Pedro and Justo. What I heard I wrote down on paper. Then I brought it up in the council. The presiding man, the Big-earring man, said, 'My son, what have you to say?' I told them about it and said if anyone could read Indian to read my paper. Big-earring man said, 'My son, what do you propose?' I said for them to appoint six men as jury. They did not know what a jury was. I said the men were to work together on my charges against the Governor and decide if he was a fit man to be Governor. So six men were chosen and they talked together and decided that these two boys were guilty. They fined them each \$150." "What did they do about the Governor?" — "Nothing."

not breathed from as at Zuffi,¹²⁶ nor are they taken to the church, as elsewhere, to be asperged. Very secret, muy cerrado, indeed are they of Taos to exclude a visitor from this almost secular function and one which they know quite well is Spanish!

Buffalo Dance (K'ant'aana)
January 6, 1926

About 2 P.M. from all six kivas the dancers came forth, as "all the boys" were expected to dance this year. (Usually the number of dancers is much smaller.) In the Deer dance the dancers have to go to Water and Old-axe kivas; but in the Buffalo dance a man may go to any kiva. From the three north side kivas there were seventy-two buffalo dancers and one deer dancer, and from the south side kivas one deer dancer and sixty-nine buffalo dancers. There were four watchmen or "hunters" who from time to time would emit a shrill call or bark, the call of the buffalo hunter, and a choir of about twenty-five,¹²⁷ of whom ten or more beat small pottery drums.¹²⁸ The first dance position after assembling was in front of the church, south and north. (I did not see the assembling or whether the Big-earring man "to whom the dance belongs" led out the dancers as I was told he would.) At the south end stood a choir in double row; then the two deer impersonations¹²⁹ who throughout merely stood facing the dancers, not themselves dancing; then the herd, in rows of four or five. The very little boys danced alongside the older men, probably father or uncle. The dancer remained on the same spot but turned around whenever he wished. The dance song was repeated four times, with a change of song or movement between, during which the "buffalos" did not dance, but retained their bent over position and swayed from side to side, giving admirably the impression of a milling herd.

Imitation buffalo heads were worn, made up of bear hair and cow horns. Real heads and hides were once worn, but there is none left in town.¹³⁰ To the tips of the horns downy feathers were fastened and down was

stuck over the rest of the headdress. At the back an eagle tail feather and the hairs from a buffalo beard were fastened. Hairs to resemble the buffalo beard hung by tendon from the neck in front. Armlets of tendon and of two eagle tail feathers. Anklets of hide, some with hair. Low mocassins, some beaded. Kilt of buckskin or undecorated cotton cloth. Arms, trunk, and legs painted with dark red¹³¹ and splotted with white paint. On the face, streaks of blue-black paint, pöanenemo, micaceous hematite. An arrow in the right hand, nothing in the left which was held to the waist.

The deer impersonators had the head with its large antlers resting on their head, the hide falling down their back. They leaned over a stick in each hand. Their forearms and hands were painted white.

The hunters were arrayed in buckskin shirt, mantle, and fringed trousers, a quiver of hide across the back. They stood outside the rows of dancers and with each stood one of the newly elected secular officers, carrying his cane. The members of the choir, who were notably the older men, were dressed in their ordinary clothes and blanket. Across the top of the head was a streak of white paint.

After the four repetitions of dance in the same place and of intervals of milling about, the dance movement changed and four lines were formed; the inner lines dancing southward, the outer, northward, in a quadrillelike figure. Then all proceeded with dance step to the second dance position, parallel with the front line of the north side houses (map, B). Here everything was repeated, as again in the third dance position (C), a little further to the east, and in the fourth position, still a little further eastward.¹³² At the conclusion of the fourth performance the north and south side groups separated, the north side group dancing parallel to the town wall near the north side kivas; the south side group crossing the river and forming parallel to the south side houses near the town wall,

126. Parsons 1:272-73.

127. I am wondering if this choir is drawn from the Day People or the Old-axe People.

A ritual song for drawing buffalo occurs in a folk tale, but it was considered too esoteric to be recorded or even sung. In the same tale the old woman has kept the buffalo away by "spreading her medicine," east, north, west, and south. Cp. p. 103, n. 187.

128. Said to be of black clay. The water wets the drum which is of buckskin.

129. There might be more than two "Deer." No particular significance attaches to these impersonations.

130. A certain malcontent gave the head he had to his hosts at Santo Domingo, where they sprinkled it with meal, and gave him "lots of presents." He had been thinking of giving the head to the Day People or the Old-axe People. Another townsman was taking apart an old buffalo coat given him by a White man, to appropriate the pelt to ceremonial use. He said he was giving it to be worn by the little boy initiates; but I surmise that it was either to be worn in the Buffalo dance or to go to the Day People or Old-axe People. For that matter the same pelt might serve in many ways, loaned around.

Before long (1932) buffalo heads will be available in Taos, for five living buffalo have been presented to the town by a White man.

131. The pigment is a clay which is fetched in August from a cave called paiw'ita (red, take out) near Questa. This place was stained red by the blood of the giant (taifanna), p. 111.

132. In front of House 68 where lives Manuel Pacheko, Chief of the Water-dripping People and of the Black Eyes. Pacheko was once referred to as "owning" the dance.

with a final position in rather cramped irregular quarters (D) near Feather People kiva. This south group may have danced three times — I looked on only from a distance as I stood near the north side group who danced twice only in their final position before scattering into the kivas. The deer impersonator of the north side withdrew in advance, before the dancing in the final dance position began, withdrawing into Big-earring People's kiva. During the performance, which lasted less than an hour and a half, the clouds came up and within a half hour of the close it was snowing — greatly to the satisfaction of one of the townsmen who remarked that in the morning, clear though it was, he knew it was going to snow later and had therefore put on a certain pair of heavy boots. I was left with little doubt that the Buffalo dance, in Taos opinion, is associated with snowfall.

But not with cold, I was to learn later. Buffalo is a medicine animal for moderate weather.¹³³ Deer is associated with cold. However, neither Deer dance nor Buffalo dance appear to be performed for weather control. The winter of 1931-32 was unusually severe. Deer dance was performed on December 25 and Buffalo dance on January 6. This would point to indifference to weather, in connection with dancing. Yet to have both animal dances the same year is unusual. It is possible that Buffalo dance was given to allay the continuing cold or to preclude high wind from drying up the unusual fall of snow.

The Buffalo dance belongs to the Day kiva and the Old-axe kiva. The War captain decides on holding it as well as on holding the Deer dance. Permission is asked from the Big-earring man. Dance practice begins four nights previous. It is not always held in the same kiva, and all do not practice every night.

Dancing in the
Newly Elected Officers' Houses
January 6, 1926

Small groups of boys of all ages with a few girls visit the houses of the new officers (perhaps others) the evening of Kings' Day: from two or three to six dancers, with a choir of older youths. One of them carries a sack to receive the bread given them by the woman of the house. They may be given other things also — neckties, money.

The dancers I saw went rather uncertainly by various tribal names — Navaho, Chey-

enne, Ute, Arapaho, Sioux, Pawnee, Comanche (pls. 12E, 13C, D). The costuming was more or less the same, of ribbons, miscellaneous feathers, bells, silk kerchiefs, etc., with now and then something distinctive, like a feather or horse tail bustle or war bonnet or feather roach down the middle of the head, or full skirt, or silver necklace with kerchief tied pendent at the back, or felt hat. These last were the costumes of two little boys dancing opposite two little girls, forward and back, forward and back — it was the Ute Bear dance. The Navaho dancers consisted of four boys with a silk patch over the left eye. In the "Cheyenne peace dance" was a boy dressed as a woman in black skirt and mantilla drawn almost entirely over the face, with feathers used as a fan to hide the part left uncovered by the shawl. The five horse tail bustle dancers were nude with blotches of white paint and numerals painted on their back in white, among others "1926." Some one said this was Pawnee. This dance is called W'qeta'ana, Tail dance.

The audience consisted only of the people of the house, I inferred from the small numbers present. Others, more particularly the men,¹³⁴ were attending the night ceremony associated with the Buffalo dance that had been performed early in the afternoon.

Matachina

As Matachina is described at Taos, it closely resembles the Matachina performance at San Juan or the performance by the Mexicans of Alcalde.¹³⁵ There are the monarca who is referred to as Montezuma, the ten retainers, the little girl Malinche, the impersonation of the bull referred to here as a buffalo, and the abuelos or grandfathers, who act as clowns. The buffalo or bull is impersonated by an adult, a Mexican; the abuelo and abuela are also Mexicans. These three Mexicans make their own masks (tsóamuna, face bag) of sheepskin "painted Indian," with protruding nose. Once they bought masks from the store, but they were not allowed to use them. The dancers wear Mexican clothes, ribbons and a shawl, with a beaded headdress in the form of a bishop's cap. A black bead fringe falls over the face and a kerchief is brought up to the mouth. The monarca wears a corona of tin and artificial flowers. The characteristic Matachina three pronged stick is carried by the dancers. On top of one stick which I saw was a small metal cross, and below on the stick a cross was painted. The painting and carving of this stick and one other that a man had

133. The Buffalo heads of Tesuque have to be kept in a room without fire, and from this the inference is that Buffalo is a snow bringer. At Tesuque during the Buffalo ceremony the Hunt chief may be asked to bring a head to the house of an invalid, place it on the head of the invalid and apply it to his palms and soles (Parsons 7: 204). Hopi Buffalo dancers will visit an invalid and they carry sickness from town. We may recall that Buffalo is a medicine animal for curing among the Kaiowa (Parsons 6: 116-17).

134. Women do not attend the night ceremony following the Buffalo (or Deer) dance.

135. See Parsons 7: 217ff.

hanging on the wall above his bed were very crude.

When Matachina is given at Christmas, the Matachina are the dancers before the Saints in their procession, after visperas;¹³⁶ and the dancing is continued on December 26. The dance practice is in the old sacristy and jail which is also called the community house, Köyntöna (Köynöma, all people, töna, house). The dance is proposed by anyone who has made a promesa, i.e., taken a vow, where there has been sickness in his family, in accordance with widespread Mexican custom. The vower pays for the Mass. I take it that nobody had made a promesa in 1931 when Matachina was not performed either at Christmas or on the following Kings' day.

The dancers are appointed by the Governor. The music of violin and guitar is supplied by Mexicans who come to practice for three or four nights. They are paid in money. A young townsman has recently learned to play the violin and he expects to play for the Matachina.

"You would know Matachina was an Indian dance if you knew the story," i.e., of Montezuma who went away. "We don't know what became of him." This from a townsman several years ago when I suggested to him that Matachina was a Mexican dance. Since then my friend has travelled extensively in Mexico and seen Matachina in several places. He now says that Montezuma was a great traveler; he came to Taos, and here and wherever he went he established his dance. Where he went, too, it became green, a spring of water came out. As for the cross on the Matachina dance stick, was not Montezuma a Catholic?

But no other townsman I heard referring to Matachina opined that it was an Indian dance. Juan Concha, who like many others was entertaining his Mexican acquaintances on Christmas day, said to one of them, "I do not like Matachina as much as other dances." — "Why not?" — "Because it is a Mexican dance, and I am indio." Anton Mirabal went further, "I would like to abandon that dance."

Navaho Dance (Yunataana)
and Series of Kiva Night Dances

As stated on p. 84 Navaho is danced out-

side during February-March, for about a month. There are, I infer, six of these afternoon dances which follow night kiva practice; the first dance practice being for four nights, the subsequent practices, each for three nights. All the women are supposed to take their turns.¹³⁷ The Governor notifies women on the north side, the head war captain the women on the south side. At each of these practice dances, all of which are held in the kiva of the Feather People who supply the choir for the Navaho dance, although men from the other kivas will also help, the other kiva groups will each in turn¹³⁸ present a dance, dancing both in Feather People's kiva and in their own kiva. Some of the kiva groups are associated with particular dances. Old-axe People will regularly dance a Sioux dance (with roached hair); Big-earring People will dance Mialtana or Keresan dance;¹³⁹ Knife People will dance¹⁴⁰ Kau'tana, Horse dance, a Ute dance with horse tail bustle.¹⁴¹ Sun dance (Tulta) is another dance which is danced in this series. It is danced by men in a line.¹⁴² Although the dances of this night series are without mask, and seem, all of them, to be borrowed, they are kept secret from Whites and children, i.e., uninitiated boys and girls not yet mature are not taken to them. Once María did take an eight year old girl to the kiva practice dance and the day following the little girl was seen to imitate the dance. María said at the time, "Now I know why the old men do not want the children to come, they will dance outside." Uninitiated adult males, i.e., men who belong to no kiva, are also excluded. Quiver of House 20, a man without a kiva, was mentioned as having gone into the Feather People's kiva to see the dance only to be "chased out" by the Governor.

The visiting men dancers bring "presents" to the "old men" of the Feather People, and the women Navaho dancers give presents to the visiting men dancers.

Irrigation Ditch Ritual for the Zatsina

When they have finished cleaning out the irrigation ditch, as at Santo Domingo and elsewhere, offerings are made; in the afternoon the men file by any one of the kiva or society heads (t'unena) who happens to be present and he gives each a handful of meal and pollen and turkey feathers to drop in at the dam, for the Zatsina.

136. See p. 87.

137. Sometimes a woman will dance outside without having gone to practice.

138. There is no fixed rotation. Whoever is ready first is first to begin the series.

139. The Big-earring People are regularly referred to as Keres, Miale'nemo. In their kiva, dances borrowed from the Keresan pueblos will be presented. Somebody goes, let us say, to Santo Domingo, sees a dance there and, on his return, copies it.

140. Their kiva is small, the smallest of the kivas, and very dusty for dancing. So here half the dancers go to Feather People's kiva to dance, while half dance in their own kiva. But see pp. 89 and 90 for other connections between Knife and Feather Peoples.

141. But see p. 101.

142. But see p. 101.

One Day Spring Time Ceremony¹⁴³

The Knife (Flint) People, the Old-axe People, and other kiva societies perform a spring time ceremony. They go up in the mountains in the evening and sleep there all night. In the morning all bathe in the creek and wash their hair. Medicine is mixed. Pulverized herbs are mixed in water in a gourd. Everyone drinks. The remainder of the medicine is tied up in corn leaves (? husk). The young men take out these leaf-medicine-bundles and bury them in the ground.

The men rebraid their hair¹⁴⁴ and lie around or fish until late in the afternoon, when they go home.

In another connection White's informant referred to the use of the Corn Mother, the ear fetish, at the springtime meetings of the societies which are held in the brush. One man holds up the Corn Mother and moves it while the group sings.

The Corn Mother society (Kuyukana) whose members, we recall, are not "trained" and are without a Corn Mother fetish, perform a different ritual at their springtime meeting in the brush. The chief appoints someone to design on the ground what elsewhere would be called a ground altar or even a sand painting. Members sing while the design (fig. 5) is being made. The design is completed about nine or ten in the morning; at noon the members go home. The design is not destroyed, but covered over with dry leaves. The design is always made in the same place.

This design of a corn plant growing from the lake (P'awheana) is called iyap'awhikilene (iya, corn; p'awhi, draw; kilene, laying in horizontal position).¹⁴⁵ — It is Blue Lake, presumably, the lake of the crop-bringing *tsatsina*, that is represented.

The same design is made by the Fall People and by the Corn Tassel People.¹⁴⁶ It is the only "work" done by the Corn Tassel People who go up in the hills in the evening and sleep. Next morning they gather soapweed, let down their hair, bathe and wash their hair in the stream. They eat only In-

dian food. Then they make the design. After they have covered it up, they sit around it and the chief strikes a stone (about eight or ten inches long, suspended by a buckskin thong tied around the middle) with a small stone. "It makes a noise like a thick tin can." Then they are finished.

The Big-hail People also make a ground design with pollen, pulverized blossom, and sand (see p. 104), and my guess is that they make it in this same series of spring time ceremonies. I was told that all the kivas had a springtime ceremony of prayer to Earth Mother, the ceremony being held in the morning, outside or inside kiva.

Races

The race-track (kwiawipana), which is about a half mile long or less, extends parallel with the river from east to west on the east side of town continuing through the gap in the wall to where the houses begin. The Picuris race-track, which also extends east and west, was pointed out by a Taos man likewise the place¹⁴⁷ where in ancient days had been the race-track of the ruined pueblo near Ranchos, pointed out in a way that indicated that a race-track was thought of as part of every town. And in the ceremonial life it must be important, since the races are run for Sun and Moon,¹⁴⁸ to give power to them to travel.¹⁴⁹ The runners also ask for long life for themselves from the Sun and Moon. The winners are referred to as pan, panena,¹⁵⁰ which title is held for the half year until the next race, on September 30 or May 3.

The races are run by kiva, the north side kivas against the south side kivas. The practice which has been held in the pasture has also been by kiva moiety. The practice is in the nature of trial races to determine who are to run first.

The night before the race on the north side the Knife people sing in kiva and on the south side in Water kiva sings the War chief. Before the race, presumably very early in the morning, the runners go one at a time into the seventh or "disused" kiva to pray to P'achale, Blue Water, with corn meal, pollen, and turkey feathers. The image of

143. Contributed by Dr. White.

144. Inferably it has been worn flowing or, as Dr. White was told, in a knot on the back of the head. It is not worn braided.

145. I am tempted to translate "corn lake maiden." There is a charming tale about Yellow corn girl descending into the Great House of the lake from jealousy of Blue corn girl. After Yellow corn girl disappeared an ear of corn came up in the middle of the lake and floated in to Blue corn girl and the baby boy. The baby sucks the ear; it is his mother nourishing him.

146. I can not identify these groups.

147. Now occupied by a church.

148. The orientation of the track east and west may be significant of the course of Sun and Moon.

149. White people are told that the races are run in honor of the Saints, or even to elect the Governor, a successful piece of camouflage.

150. I have never been able to get this term translated. It is denied that the reference is to pan, moon. The Sioux are called Panena. Gopher is pa'na. The Red Eyes moiety of Isleta is referred to as gopher. In Jicarilla Apache race myth Gopher is a winner (Opler).