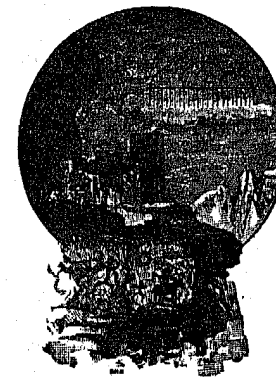


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ORIGIN MYTH OF ACOMA AND OTHER RECORDS

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ORIGIN MYTH

In the beginning¹ two female human beings were born. These two children were born underground at a place called Shipapu. As they grew up, they began to be aware of each other. There was no light and they could only feel each other. Being in the dark they grew slowly.

After they had grown considerably, a Spirit whom they afterward called Tsichtinako² spoke to them, and they found that it would give them nourishment. After they had grown large enough to think for themselves, they spoke to the Spirit when it had come to them one day and asked it to make itself known to them and to say whether it was male or female, but it replied only that it was not allowed to meet with them. They then asked why they were living in the dark without knowing each other by name, but the Spirit answered that they were nuk'timi³ (under the earth); but they were to be patient in waiting until everything was ready for them to go up into the light. So they waited a long time, and as they grew they learned their language from Tsichtinako.

When all was ready, they found a present from Tsichtinako, two baskets of seeds and little images of all the different animals (there were to be) in the world. The Spirit said they were sent by their father. They asked who was meant by their father, and Tsichtinako replied that his name was Üch'tsiti⁴ and that he wished them to take their baskets out into the light, when the time came. Tsichtinako instructed them, "You will find the seeds of four kinds of pine trees, lä'khok, gēi'etsu (dyai'its), wanūka, and lä'nye, in your baskets. You are to plant these seeds and will use the trees to get up into the light." They could not see the things in their baskets but feeling

¹ All Keresan pueblo origin myths that have been collected so far begin in the same general way and follow essentially the same pattern: In the beginning the people were in the interior of the earth; there were two women, sisters; the people emerge from an opening in the north, migrate southward, etc.

² Boas (1928, pt. 1, pp. 221, 222, 228; pt. 2, pp. 10, 11) reports a spirit at Laguna known as Ts'its'tc'i'-na-k'o, "Thought-Woman." Gunn (1917, p. 89) speaks of Sitchchenako, who is "creator of all." At Sia we find Sūs'sistinnako, who is also a creator, and is said to be a spider (Stevenson, 1894, pp. 26-27). A spirit named Ts'i'tyosti-nako is reported from Santa Ana (White, ms.).

³ Diacritical marks will be noted only in the first use of a term or in terms quoted from published sources.

⁴ From kut'tsiti, crammed full (in the basket); the implication being "nothing lacking".

each object in turn they asked, "Is this it?" until the seeds were found. They then planted the seeds as Tsichtinako instructed. All of the four seeds sprouted, but in the darkness the trees grew very slowly and the two sisters became very anxious to reach the light as they waited this long time. They slept for many years as they had no use for eyes. Each time they awoke they would feel the trees to see how they were growing. The tree *lanye* grew faster than the others and after a very long time pushed a hole through the earth for them and let in a very little light. The others stopped growing, at various heights, when this happened.

The hole that the tree *lanye* made was not large enough for them to pass through, so Tsichtinako advised them to look again in their baskets where they would find the image of an animal called *dyu'p'* (badger) and tell it to become alive. They told it to live, and it did so as they spoke, exclaiming, "A'uh! Why have you given me life?" They told it not to be afraid nor to worry about coming to life. "We have brought you to life because you are to be useful." Tsichtinako spoke to them again, instructing them to tell Badger to climb the pine tree, to bore a hole large enough for them to crawl up, cautioning him not to go out into the light, but to return, when the hole was finished. Badger climbed the tree and after he had dug a hole large enough, returned saying that he had done his work. They thanked him and said, "As a reward you will come up with us to the light and thereafter you will live happily. You will always know how to dig and your home will be in the ground where you will be neither too hot nor too cold."

Tsichtinako now spoke again, telling them to look in the basket for *Tāwāi'nū* (locust), giving it life and asking it to smooth the hole by plastering. It, too was to be cautioned to return. This they did and Locust smoothed the hole but, having finished, went out into the light. When it returned reporting that it had done its work, they asked if it had gone out. Locust said no, and every time he was asked he replied no, until the fourth time when he admitted that he had gone out. They asked Locust what it was like outside. Locust replied that it was just *tsi'iti* (laid out flat). They said, "From now on you will be known as *Tsi'k'k'*.⁵ You will also come up with us, but you will be punished for disobedience by being allowed out only a short time. Your home will be in the ground and you will have to return when the weather is bad. You will soon die but you will be reborn each season."

The hole now let light into the place where the two sisters were, and Tsichtinako spoke to them, "Now is the time you are to go out. You are able to take your baskets with you. In them you will find

⁵ At Santa Ana the cicada is called *tsi'k'k'*. In the Santa Ana origin myth the badger and the cicada assist in preparing for the emergence as they do here (White, ms.).

pollen and sacred corn meal. When you reach the top, you will wait for the sun to come up and that direction will be called *ha'nam*i (east). With the pollen and the sacred corn meal you will pray to the Sun. You will thank the Sun for bringing you to light, ask for a long life and happiness, and for success in the purpose for which you were created." Tsichtinako then taught them the prayers and the creation song, which they were to sing. This took a long while, but finally the sisters followed by Badger and Locust, went out into the light, climbing the pine tree. Badger was very strong and skillful and helped them. On reaching the earth, they set down their baskets and saw for the first time what they had. The earth was soft and spongy under their feet as they walked, and they said, "This is not ripe." They stood waiting for the sun, not knowing where it would appear. Gradually it grew lighter and finally the sun came up. Before they began to pray, Tsichtinako told them they were facing east and that their right side, the side their best aim was on, would be known as *kū'ā'mē* (south) and the left *ti dyami* (north) while behind at their backs was the direction *pūna'mē* (west) where the sun would go down. They had already learned while underground the direction *nūk'ūm'* (down) and later, when they asked where their father was, they were told *tyunami* (four skies above.)

And as they waited to pray to the Sun, the girl on the right moved her best hand and was named *Iatiku* which meant "bringing to life." Tsichtinako then told her to name her sister, but it took a long time. Finally Tsichtinako noticed that the other had more in her basket, so Tsichtinako told *Iatiku* to name her thus, and *Iatiku* called her *Nautsiti* which meant "more of everything in the basket."⁶

They now prayed to the Sun as they had been taught by Tsichtinako, and sang the creation song. Their eyes hurt for they were not accustomed to the strong light. For the first time they asked Tsichtinako why they were on earth and why they were created. Tsichtinako replied, "I did not make you. Your father, *Uchtsiti* made you, and it is he who has made the world, the sun which you have seen, the sky, and many other things which you will see. But *Uchtsiti* says the world is not yet completed, not yet satisfactory, as he wants it. This is the reason he has made you. You will rule and bring to life the rest of the things he has given you in the baskets." The sisters then asked how they themselves had come into being. Tsichtinako answered saying, "*Uchtsiti* first made the world. He threw a clot of his own blood into space and by his power it grew and grew until it became the earth. Then *Uchtsiti* planted you in this and by

⁶ This is the only instance of translations of these names thus far reported. In many Keresan origin myths *ī'te'ts'it'ī* and *Nau'ts'it'ī* are sisters. At Laguna, according to Boas (1928, pt. 1, p. 221), *ī'te'ts'it'ī* has been transformed into a man, "the father of the Whites." He attributes this change to Catholic influence.

it you were nourished as you developed. Now that you have emerged from within the earth, you will have to provide nourishment for yourselves. I will instruct you in this." They then asked where their father lived and Tsichtinako replied, "You will never see your father, he lives four skies above,⁷ and has made you to live in this world. He has made you in the image of himself." So they asked why Tsichtinako did not become visible to them, but Tsichtinako replied, "I don't know how to live like a human being. I have been asked by Uchtsiti to look after you and to teach you. I will always guide you." And they asked again how they were to live, whether they could go down once more under the ground, for they were afraid of the winds and rains and their eyes were hurt by the light. Tsichtinako replied that Uchtsiti would take care of that and would furnish them means to keep warm and change the atmosphere so that they would get used to it.

At the end of the first day, when it became dark they were much frightened, for they had not understood that the sun would set and thought that Tsichtinako had betrayed them. "Tsichtinako! Tsichtinako! You told us we were to come into the light," they cried, "why, then, is it dark?" So Tsichtinako explained, "This is the way it will always be. The sun will go down and the next day come up anew in the east. When it is dark you are to rest and sleep as you slept when all was dark." So they were satisfied and slept. They rose to meet the sun, praying to it as they had been told, and were happy when it came up again, for they were warm and their faith in Tsichtinako was restored.

Tsichtinako next said to them, "Now that you have your names, you will pray with your names and your clan names so that the Sun will know you and recognize you." Tsichtinako asked Nautsiti which clan she wished to belong to. Nautsiti answered, "I wish to see the sun, that is the clan I will be."⁸ The spirit told Nautsiti to ask Iatiku what clan she wanted. Iatiku thought for a long time but finally she noticed that she had the seed from which sacred meal was made in her basket and no other kind of seeds. She thought, "With this name I shall be very proud, for it has been chosen for nourishment and it is sacred." So she said, "I will be Corn clan." They then waited for the sun to come up. When it appeared, Tsichtinako once more advised them to sing the first song and to pray, not forgetting their name and their clan name in starting their prayer. After the prayer they were to sing the second song.

When the sun appeared it was too bright for Iatiku and it hurt her eyes. She wondered if Nautsiti's eyes hurt her, too, so she put her head down and sideways, letting her hair fall, and looked at Nautsiti.

⁷ This may be another instance of adaptation of a Catholic idea to Indian form. Iatiku, the great mother-deity of the Keres, lives in the interior of the earth, "four worlds down."

⁸ The narrator belonged to the Sun clan.

By doing this the light did not strike her squarely in the face and her hair cast a shade. Tsichtinako said, "Iatiku, the sun has not appeared for you. Look at Nautsiti, see how strongly the light is striking her. Notice how white she looks." And although Iatiku turned to the sun, it did not make her as white as Nautsiti, and Iatiku's mind was slowed up while Nautsiti's mind was made fast. But both of them remembered everything and did everything as they were taught.

When they had completed their prayers to the sun, Tsichtinako said, "You have done everything well and now you are both to take up your baskets and you must look to the north, west, south, and east, for you are now to pray to the Earth to accept the things in the basket and to give them life. First you must pray to the north, at the same time lift up your baskets in that direction. You will then do the same to the west, then to the south and east." They did as they were told and did it well. And Tsichtinako said to them, "From now on you will rule in every direction, north, west, south, and east."

They now questioned Tsichtinako again so that they would understand more clearly why they were given the baskets and their contents, and Tsichtinako replied, "Everything in the baskets is to be created by your word, for you are made in the image of Uchtsiti and your word will be as powerful as his word. He has created you to help him complete the world. You are to plant the seeds of the different plants to be used when anything is needed. I shall always be ready to point out to you the various plants and animals."

The sisters did not realize that they were not taking food and did not understand when Tsichtinako told them they were to plant seeds to give them nourishment. But they were always ready to do as Tsichtinako asked, and she told them to plant first that which would maintain life, grains of corn. "When this plant grows," said Tsichtinako, "it will produce a part which I will point out to you. This will be taken as food." Everything in the basket was in pairs and the sisters planted two of each kind of corn.

The corn grew very slowly so Tsichtinako told them to plant *isthé* (the earliest plant to come up in the spring; gray with a small white flower; dies quickly) and to transmit its power of early ripening to the corn.

They were very interested in the corn and watched it every day as it grew. Tsichtinako showed them where the pollen came out. "That you will call *kū'āch'timu*," she said, "there the pollen will appear. When the pollen is plentiful, you will gather it, and with it and corn meal you will pray to the rising sun each morning." This they did always, but Nautsiti was sometimes a little lazy.

After some time the corn ripened. Tsichtinako told them to look at it and to gather some. They saw that the corn was hard and they picked four ears. Iatiku took two ears carefully without hurting the

plant, but Nautsiti jerked hers off roughly. Iatiku noticed this and cautioned her sister not to ruin the plants. They took the ears of corn to Tsichtinako saying, "We have brought the corn, it is ripe." Tsichtinako agreed and explained that the corn ears when cooked would be their food. They did not understand this and asked what they would cook with. Tsichtinako then told them that Uchtsiti would give them fire. That night as they sat around they saw a red light drop from the sky. After they had seen it, Tsichtinako told them it was fire, and that they were to go over and get some of it. They asked with what, and she told them to get it with a flat rock because it was very hot and they could not take it in their hands. After getting it with a rock, they asked what they were to do with it, and were told they were to make a fire, to go to the pine tree they had planted, to break off some of the branches and put them in the fire. They went to the tree and broke some of the twigs from it. When they got back to the fire, they were told to throw the twigs down. They did so and a large pile of wood appeared there. Tsichtinako told them this wood would last many years till there was time for trees to grow, and showed them how to build a fire. She told them that with the flames from the fire they would keep warm and would cook their food.

Tsichtinako next taught them how to roast the corn. "When it is cooked," she explained, "you are to eat it. This will be the first time you have eaten, for you have been fasting for a long time and Uchtsiti has been nourishing you. You will find salt in your baskets; with this you will season the corn." They began to look for this and Tsichtinako pointed it out to them. As soon as they were told this, Nautsiti grabbed some corn and salt. She was the first to taste them and exclaimed that they were very good, but Iatiku was slower. After Nautsiti had eaten part, she gave it to Iatiku to taste. When both had eaten, Tsichtinako told them that this was the way they were going to live and be nourished. They were very thankful, saying, "You have treated us well." They asked if this would be their only food. Tsichtinako said, "No, you have many other things in your baskets; many seeds and images of animals, all in pairs. Some will be eaten and taken for nourishment by you." After they had used the salt, they were asked by Tsichtinako to give life to this salt by praying to the Earth, first in the North direction, then in the West, then in the South, and then in the East. And when they did so, salt appeared in each of these directions. Tsichtinako then instructed them to take always the husks from the corn carefully and to dry them. They were then instructed to plant hā'mi (tobacco). When the plant matured, they were taught how to roll the leaves in corn husks and to smoke it. (Even now in ceremonies the corn husks must be torn with the fingers and tied in the center with a little strip of corn husk. It may not be cut by artificial means. You smoke in order to make your prayers

merge into the minds of the gods to whom prayer is addressed. This will also compel obedience. If a man smokes when a request is made of him, he must obey that request.) They were then told to place the tobacco with the pollen and the corn meal and to remember that these three were always to be together, and to be used in making prayers.

Now they were told that they were to give life to an animal whose flesh they were going to use for food. Tsichtinako named this animal as Ba'shya (kangaroo mouse) and also taught them the first song to be sung to animals. She told them to sing this song in order to make the images alive, and pointed out the images to them in the basket. They did everything as they were taught. They sang the song to the image and with the word, "Come to life, Bashya," it came to life. As it did so it asked, "Why have I come to life?" Tsichtinako told it not to ask any questions because, "It is you that is going to give life to other life." After this was done, Nautsiti and Iatiku told this animal that it was going to live on the ground and said to it, "Go now and increase." After the animal increased, Tsichtinako told the sisters to kill one of the animals. "Now eat the two together, the corn and the field mouse, and also the salt to see how it tastes." She had already told them never to let out the fire which had been given to them. They acted according to Tsichtinako's instructions. They roasted their corn and roasted the flesh of the field mouse with some salt on it. After it was cooked, Tsichtinako told them to pray with the food, not with all of it, but with little pieces from each—corn, flesh, and salt. Each sister did this and prayed to Uchtsiti, the creator of the world, who lives up in the fourth sky. Tsichtinako told them they were to do this always before eating. After this they ate the food. There was not very much of the meat, but it was good. They did not know that there were to be bones but these were not hard and they broke them with their teeth. They liked the flesh so well that they asked Tsichtinako if they might have something larger that would yield more flesh. Tsichtinako answered that they would find other things in their baskets. They went back to them, and Tsichtinako said they would find Tsū'na⁹ (rat) and another animal Katsa¹⁰ (mole) and also Nit¹¹ (prairie dog). "Go, make these images alive," said Tsichtinako, pointing them out according to their names. They were to do this in the same way as with Bashya. Tsichtinako also told them that these animals were to be used as food and that they must tell each of these animals to live in the ground because as yet there was no shade on earth to live in. "But before you give life to them," said Tsichtinako, "it is necessary that you plant seeds of grass which will be the food for

⁹ Mouse (*Mus musculus*) and rat (*Rattus norvegicus*) are called si'ya'na at Santa Ana (White, ms.); the latter is so called at Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 203).

¹⁰ See k'a'tsa, kangaroo rat (*Dipodomys spectabilis*), in Boas (1928, pt. 2, p. 92, ll. 2, 5, 7).—L. A. W.

¹¹ Nit¹², prairie dog (*Cynomys ludovicianus*), Santa Ana (White, ms.); Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 203); Laguna (Boas, 1928, pt. 2, p. 247, l. 5).

them." Tsichtinako pointed out the seeds they were to plant, and they took the seeds of the grasses and scattered them first to the North, next to the West, then some to the South, and then to the East. And immediately grass covered the ground. They then took the images and prayed to the cardinal points, and, according to the instructions of Tsichtinako, gave life to all of these animals, giving them names as they came to life. Each one as it came to life asked why it had come to life but Tsichtinako told them not to ask questions, that they would give life to other life. As before, the sisters told the animals to increase. After all of this was done, they proceeded to eat the new animals after praying with them, doing just as they did before. The two sisters were now very happy, they had plenty and some to spare. "It is not yet time for the larger animals to be given life," said Tsichtinako, "first the world must have sufficient plants and small animals to feed them."

After a long time, Tsichtinako spoke to them, "What we are going to do now concerns the earth. We are going to make the mountains." She told them to remember the words she was going to say. They were to say, "Kaweshtima köt¹² (North Mountain), appear in the north, and we will always know you to be in that direction." Tsichtinako also pointed out an article in the basket that she named ya'ōni¹³ (stone) and instructed them to throw the stone to the North direction as they spoke the words. When they did so, a big mountain appeared in the North. After they had done this, Tsichtinako instructed them to do the same thing in the West, but to name this mountain Tsipīna kot¹, and in the South, naming it Da'ōtyuma kot¹, and in the East, naming it G'ūchana kot¹.

After all this was done, Tsichtinako spoke again and told them, "Now that you have all the mountains around you with plains, mesas, and canyons, you must make the growing things of these places." Tsichtinako told them to go back to the trees which they had planted underground, lakhok, geietsu, wanuka, and lanye. She told them to take the seeds from these trees, and they did so. Following her instructions they spread some to each of the four directions, naming the mountains in each direction, and saying, "Grow in North Mountain, grow in West Mountain, etc." Tsichtinako said to them, "These are going to be tall trees; from them you will get logs. Later you will build houses and will use these." They asked if that was all that was going to grow on the mountains, and Tsichtinako said, "No, there are many other seeds left in your baskets. You have seeds of trees which are going to yield food. You will find dyai'its¹⁴ (piñon

¹² For mountains at the cardinal points: k'awe'etvama, tsp'na, tau'tvuma and k'te'a'na (Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 283).

¹³ ya'won'i, Laguna (Boas, 1928, pt. 2, p. 2, l. 1).

¹⁴ tvaits, *Pinus edulis*, Laguna (Boas, 1928, pt. 2, p. 244, l. 7); gyal'tsi, Santa Ana (White, ms.).

tree), sē'isha (kind of cedar), hapani (oak, acorn) and maka'yawi (walnut)." She again instructed them what to do and taught them the prayer to use, which was: "From now on, grow in this mountain and yield fruit which will be used as food. Your places are to be in the mountains. You will grow and be useful." When everything had been done well, Tsichtinako told (them) that there were many smaller seeds left in the baskets and she gave a name to each, telling them to fill the rest of the land. These seeds were planted on every one of the four mountains and in the rest of the world. Tsichtinako spoke to the sisters again and told them, "You still have seeds in your baskets which you will know as scuts'ō'bewi (wild fruits). These trees you will grow around you and care for." But they mistook the instructions and instead of instructing them to grow nearby, they named the mountains, and that is where they grew. But there were also some that grew close around. It is not known how long they had to wait for these things to happen, but it was a very long time. They noticed that the wild plants grew very fast and produced much fruit, but Tsichtinako had not told them whether or not to eat these, so they left them alone.

They saw that there were still seeds and images in their baskets and asked Tsichtinako how many more kinds there were. Tsichtinako said there were yet many other seeds which would also be important food. They would grow quickly and easily and she named them squash and beans. They were instructed to act with them as with the other seeds, and these also grew into plants. After a time, when they were ripe, Tsichtinako pointed out the parts of the plants which they were to use as food.

Iatiku later asked Tsichtinako, "What remains in my basket?" and she was answered, "You have still many animals; these will be multiplied to populate the mountains." And as the two grew larger, they required more food. Tsichtinako saw this and told them that they were now to bring to life larger animals. She said they would find in their baskets cottontails, jack rabbits, antelope, and water deer. They were told to give life to these animals and to send them into the open plains. Everything was done as before, and when they killed the animals for food they were always careful to pray to their father as before. As they again asked Tsichtinako what remained in their baskets, Tsichtinako said, "You have images of the still bigger game. You will find deer, elk, mountain sheep, and bison." Iatiku asked where these animals were to be told to live and Tsichtinako told them that the elk and deer were to live in the lower mountains and the mountain sheep higher and in the rougher places. The bison, however, were to live on the plains. They followed the instructions and gave life to these animals and told them to go to these

places to live and multiply. They again tried all these different animals for food. Their flesh was very good and always they prayed to Uchtsiti before tasting them.

In Nautsiti's basket there were many more things left than in Iatiku's. Nautsiti was selfish and hoarded her images, but Iatiku was ready to let her seeds and images be used. She was more interested in seeing things grow. They again asked what remained, and Tsichtinako replied, "You will find lion, wolf, wildcat and bear. These are strong beasts; they are going to use as food the same game that you also use. There is now game enough for them." When all these had been selected they were brought to life in the same manner as before.

The sisters again asked what was in their baskets, and they were told, "You will find birds which will fly in the air. These birds will also use small game for their food. You will find in the basket the eagles and the hawks (shpi'ya,¹⁵ ga'wa,¹⁶ i'tsa)." ¹⁷ Tsichtinako pointed these out to them and they brought them to life. The birds flew up into the high mountains and over the plains. The sisters told the birds to use small game for food, and again Iatiku asked what was in the basket. Tsichtinako pointed out smaller birds which would populate the country, each living in a different kind of region. They were then given life, as the animals before them. The birds were of many and bright colors, some were blue. The wild turkey was among them and they were instructed to tell it not to fly easily like the others. They were told to tell these birds that their food was to be the different seeds on the mountains and the plains. And all these animals were sampled for food after they had been given life. Again Iatiku asked what remained in the baskets, because she found things there that were thorny. Tsichtinako told them their names. They were the various cacti and were said to be very good for food. But Tsichtinako explained that most were intended for animals to eat. All these were planted as before and tried for food, and they found that some tasted good, sti'āne, icht, ya'tāp, iteō'on. After they asked again what was left, Tsichtinako pointed out to them that there were still fish, water snakes, and turtles, of which there were many kinds of each. They gave life to them as before and told them all to live in the water as instructed. Tsichtinako pointed out several that were to be used for food. They tried them all for food, and they found that some were good, and others poor, but offered prayers to all and gave thanks to Uchtsiti. So it happened that many animals came alive in the world and they all increased.

¹⁵ Identified as western redtail hawk (*Buteo borealis calurus*, Cassin) at Acoma (White, 1942), as Swainson and Ferruginous roughleg at Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 204), and as sharpshinned hawk (*Accipiter velox*, Wilson) at Santa Ana (White, ms.).

¹⁶ Identified at Acoma as western goshawk (*Astur atricapillus striatulus*).

¹⁷ Identified at Acoma as sharpshinned hawk (White, 1942).

ORIGIN OF THE EVIL SPIRIT

When Tsichtinako was instructing Iatiku and Nautsiti, Tsichtinako cautioned them to be always very careful in handling their baskets. They were very careful for a while but they soon became too anxious to give life to what was still in their baskets and they became careless. When Iatiku and Nautsiti were giving life to the snakes and fishes, in their eagerness they dropped an image from a basket to the ground. They did not know this had happened, nor did Tsichtinako. The image came to life itself, and with power of its own. It came to life in the form of a serpent, like the rest of the snakes. The two sisters noticed a strange snake among the ones to which they had given life, but they only stopped long enough to ask each other, "Did we give life to that snake?" and paid no more attention to it, as it looked like the others. This was the snake that was to tempt Nautsiti.

Now Nautsiti spoke to Iatiku, who had used more of the seeds and images from her basket, and said she wanted a chance to give life to more of her images. Iatiku replied, "I am the older, you are younger than I," but Nautsiti said, "We should both give equally because we were created equally. Is it true that you are the older? Let us try each other! Tomorrow, when the sun rises, let us see who is going to have the sun rise for her first." But Iatiku was afraid that her sister was going to get the better of her in some way. She knew a white bird that was named shō'ēka ¹⁸ (magpie). She went to it and asked it to go on ahead into the east, where the sun was to rise, without resting or eating. There it was to shade the sun with its wings from Nautsiti. The bird went as instructed, for it was very strong and skillful. But, while on its way, it got hungry and it passed a place where a puma had killed a deer. Here, although it had been instructed not to stop, it stopped and found a hole in the side of the deer where the intestines were exposed. The bird put its head into the gash to eat, and as it did so it got blood on its back and wings and tail, and it flew on not noticing that it was stained from the blood. Finally, after a long time, the bird reached the east where the sun was ready to rise and it spread its wings on the left of the sun, making a shade in the direction of Nautsiti. So the sun struck Iatiku first and she straightway claimed to be the older. And Nautsiti was very angry for she had hoped to win. Iatiku, who did not want her sister to know anything about the trick she had used, whispered to the bird when it returned from the east, telling it not to say anything, and she also punished the bird for disobeying her. She had told it not to stop to eat on the way to the rising sun, but she knew that the bird had stopped for it was all dirty with blood. So she said to it, "For stopping and eating you will not know from now on

¹⁸ Cro'k'alya, Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 205); cro'wakalya, Santa Ana (White, ms.).

how to kill your own meat. You will not be a hunter, you will eat what others have killed and left, and most of the time you will eat what is spoiled. Your color also will be spotted from now on, you will not be white as you were at first."

The two sisters were now thinking selfish thoughts.* Nautsiti schemed to get the better of her sister. She often wandered off, making plans to outdo Iatiku, but Iatiku watched her and noticed everything. She saw that Nautsiti was falling away from her and was not happy as she used to be. Iatiku also noticed that Nautsiti was becoming solitary and that she would wander off alone. Iatiku tried to comfort her and asked her why she had changed.

A long time before this Tsichtinako had told them that Uchtsiti forbade them to think of having children. In due time other humans made in their likeness would be borne to them. But one day Pishuni, the snake that had come to life of itself, met Nautsiti and said to her, "Why are you lonely and unhappy? If you want what will make you happy, I can tell you what to do. You are the only one on earth that is lonely. You and your sister do not like each other. If you bore someone like yourself, you would no longer be lonely. Tsichtinako wants to hold back this happiness from you. Unless you do as I tell you, you will have to wait a long time." Nautsiti asked Pishuni how she could do this, and the serpent replied, "Go to the rainbow. He will meet you and show you what to do." Nautsiti thought it would be well to do what Pishuni said. Soon after she was sitting alone on a rock when it rained. It was very hot and the rain steamed on the hot ground. Nautsiti lay on her back to receive the rain, and the dripping water entered her. This was the work of rainbow, and she conceived without knowing what had happened. Some time after, Iatiku noticed that Nautsiti was pregnant. After a time she bore twin sons. Iatiku helped her sister to take care of them. Tsichtinako came back to them and asked, "Why have you done this without my instructing you? Uchtsiti had forbidden you this." Tsichtinako left them angrily, saying, "From now on, you will do as you see fit. I will not help you any more because you disobeyed your father." But instead of being sorry, the two sisters felt happier. It happened that Nautsiti disliked one of the children. So Iatiku took this one and cared for it.

Because they had committed a sin, their father called Tsichtinako away from them. But they lived happily, and the children grew up. After a long time Nautsiti said to Iatiku, "We are not happy together. Let us share what we have in our baskets and separate. I still have many things. These animals in my basket, these sheep and cattle I will share with you, but it is understood that these animals will demand much care." Iatiku answered that it would be too hard a task to care for them and that she did not want her children to have

them. Nautsiti also pointed out some seeds and told Iatiku to take some of them. They were seeds of wheat and vegetables. Nautsiti knew also that these were going to be hard to raise, but she wanted to share them with Iatiku. But Iatiku again did not want them for her children. In Nautsiti's basket, too, there were many metals. She offered to share these, but Iatiku did not take any. When Nautsiti had looked this far into her basket she found something written (ti'thyätra'nī). Nautsiti also offered this, but Iatiku did not want it. Nautsiti said, "There are still many things that are very good for foods in my basket but I know that all of these things will require much care. Why is it, sister, that you are not thankful, why do you not take some of the things I have offered? I am going to leave you. We both understand that we are to increase our kind, and in a long time to come we shall meet again and then you will be wearing clothes. We shall still be sisters, for we have the same father, but I shall have the better of you again. I am going away into the East." Iatiku did not say where she would go. She thought she would stay where she was. So Nautsiti left her, taking the child she loved with her and leaving the other for Iatiku.

So Nautsiti disappeared into the East, while Iatiku stayed on and became very sad. She said to the boy child who stayed with her, "We shall live here with everything that our father has given us." They lived together for a long time and when he grew up, he became her husband and she named him Tia'muni. Iatiku bore many children and she named the first for the clan of her sister—the Sun clan. Now Iatiku had her own power. She did everything in the way she had been instructed; she took the child the fourth day after birth to pray to the sun, as she herself had been taught when she came into the light, and she put some pollen and some sacred corn meal into the child's hands. She taught this to every child that she bore after this. And the brothers and the sisters all lived together and they all began to increase. Iatiku was the mother and ruled.

Whenever a girl was born to Iatiku, she gave it a clan name. The first clan mothers in order of birth were as follows:

Sun clan, oshaach hano; named thus because Iatiku was still grieving over

Nautsiti who had named herself of the Sun clan.

Sky clan, hoak'ā hano.

Water clan, ts'its hano.

Badger clan, dyup' hano.

Fire clan, hakanyi hano.

After naming these, she thought she would name the rest after things she had brought to life; so the next in order were named:

Antelope clan, ku'uts hano.

Deer clan, diēhni' hano.¹⁹

Bear clan, kohaiya²⁰ hano.

¹⁹ ti'thyätra'nī (Boas, 1928, pt. 2, p. 286).

²⁰ k'wa'ya (Boas, 1928, pt. 2, p. 202).

She did not give her own clan name, Yaka hano, Corn clan, as she wanted to be kept apart, so she divided it as follows:

- Red corn, kūgānīsh yaka hano.
- Yellow corn, kūūchīnīsh yaka hano.
- Blue corn, kūīskkūsh yaka hano.
- White corn, kūshāīsh²¹ yaka hano.

The next clans in order were:

- Oak clan, hapani hano.
- Squash clan, tānyī' hano.
- Roadrunner clan, shaaskā hano.
- Eagle clan, dyami hano.
- Turkey clan, tsina hano.
- isthe (?) clan, isthe²² hano.

(These are the only clan names mentioned in the myth, though many other clans later came into existence, as for example the Parrot, Snake, Buffalo, and Ant. These were not descended from daughters of Iatiku.)

Now that Tsichtinako had left her, Iatiku wished for other rulers, so she made the Spirits of the seasons. There was still some earth in her basket. She took this and gave it life in the same way as before. First she made Sha-k'ak',²³ the spirit of Winter (ko-k'o) (pl. 3, fig. 2). To him she said, "You will give life to everything in the winter time. You are to be ugly and ferocious. You will not live with us, go to a distance. You will live in North Mountain, and I shall give you your costume."

Next she gave life to Morityema, the spirit of Spring (ti'cha) (pl. 1, upper left). To him also she gave a costume which was ugly, and she sent him to West Mountain.²⁴ She next made Maiyochina, the spirit of Summer (kashai't'), and sent him to South Mountain (pl. 1, upper right). And finally she gave life to Shruī'sthia,²⁵ the spirit of Fall (haiya'tsi),²⁶ and sent him to East Mountain (pl. 4, fig. 1). All these creatures were ugly²⁷ and not in the likeness of the children she had borne. She thought, "Now that I have placed strong rulers in each direction, each will order the earth in turn," and she instructed each one where to work and how. The spirit of Winter she told to bring snow; the spirit of Spring was to warm up the world; the spirit of Summer was to heat the world, giving life to vegetation. The spirit of Fall was not to like the smell of plants and fruits, so he was to

²¹ Archaic term for white now used at Acoma only ceremonially, chāmūts being the word commonly used. At Santa Ana, kūshāīsh is commonly used.—L. A. W.

²² It has been called Mustard or Tansy Mustard.

²³ Ca-k'ak' who lives on North Mountain (Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 283) and sends snow.

²⁴ At Laguna Mo-rivam' lives on the mountain of the nadir (Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 283).

²⁵ Laguna, cuī'siyai (Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 283); Santo Domingo, cruī'simana'wi (White, 1935, p. 32).

²⁶ These names for the seasons correspond with the Santa Ana terms, except for Fall; the Santa Ana term is sto'na (White, ms.).

²⁷ Informant's note: The rulers of the Mountains look fierce, different from the katsina. Shakak looks like a boss. Shruī'sthia is not a very good fellow. He brings soot and rubs it on the faces of people.

work to get rid of the smell by ridding the world of plants. And Iatiku told her children that they were to depend on these spirits and were to pray to them in their various directions, for moisture, warmth, ripening, and frost. She taught them how to pray to the spirits, explaining that each would require certain prayers and prayer sticks before they would answer.

Now when this was done, Iatiku gave life to the other spirits she was going to believe in. With dirt from her basket she gave life to the katsina. The first she named Ts'its'anits²⁸ (pl. 1, lower left) (no female was made for this first one); the others as she created them, male and female, she named Kuashtoch²⁹ (sticking up), so called from feathers on one side of the head (pl. 1, center right); Kuapi-chani,³⁰ "Divided," so called because one side of his face is yellow and the other red (pl. 5, fig. 1); Wai'osh³¹ (duck), He'mīsh,³² Na'wīsh³³ (pl. 6, fig. 1), Kohaiya³⁴ (bear), Kakuipē,³⁵ Gomaīowish³⁶ (messenger), Mo'ots,³⁷ Ahote, and, finally, Cha'koya³⁸ (pl. 7, fig. 1), who is a great hunter. She called Tsitsanits to her, saying, "I am going to give you your costume. You are very handsome; but you will have a mask which will make you appear different from humans." Iatiku made this mask (shpi'ts'o) out of buffalo skin. (All masks are of buffalo skin.) She made it to fit the god and then colored it with colors from different earths. She also put different feathers on it. On the head of the god she put this mask and around his neck a wildcat skin. She then painted the god's body and gave him a skirt, belt, and moccasins. She put cords on each wrist and dyed buffalo skins on his arms. On his calves with cords she bound spruce branches. When she had

²⁸ "Big teeth," or "The whipper." He whips the children when they are initiated into the kachina cult. This kachina is reported from Laguna but not from any other Keresan pueblo. (See White, 1932, pp. 72-74, 79, pl. 10, b; 1942; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 279; Parsons, 1920, p. 100, fig. 10; Gunn, 1917, pp. 127-137.)

²⁹ Reported from Acoma and Laguna but from no other Keresan pueblo. A full company appears in dances. (See White, 1932, p. 75, pl. 4, d; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 279; Parsons, 1920, p. 100.)

³⁰ A full company of Koani'taenyi appears in dances (see White, 1932, p. 75, pl. 4, b.) Unreported from any other Keresan pueblo.

³¹ A full company of Wai'oca appears in dances at Acoma (White, 1932, p. 75, pl. 4, f.). Duck katsina are found in most, if not all Keresan pueblos.

³² Jemez katsina (see White, 1932, p. 75, pl. 5, d.).

³³ Informant's note: Before going to work in their fields, Acoma people call upon Nawish to help them. Nawish guard the fields. At Wenimats Nawish are themselves farmers.

³⁴ A full company of Na'wīsh appears at Acoma (White 1932, p. 76, pl. 2, e.). This katsina is found in most Keresan pueblos.

³⁵ This is the first time Bear katsina has been reported from Acoma. He is found at Santo Domingo (White, 1935, pp. 107, 111) and at Cochiti (Goldfrank, 1923, p. 112).

³⁶ He appears at Acoma today in the "Fight with the katsina." He lives on the south side of the Acoma mesa (White, 1932, pp. 79-80, pl. 2, f.). Unreported from other Keresan pueblos.

³⁷ Gomaīowish are to be equated with the Koyemshi of Zuñi (Parsons, 1918, pp. 182-183; 1920, pp. 101, 103). (See White, 1932, pp. 79-80, 130, 144, 148, pl. 10, b; 1942; Parsons, 1920, fig. 15; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 272.) They have been reported from Sia and Santa Ana (White, mss.), but not from Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Cochiti.

³⁸ Moki or Hopi katsina. A full company appears at Acoma (White, 1932, p. 75, pl. 10, f.). Reported at Laguna (Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 279), but not from other Keresan pueblos.

³⁹ They are the best moccasin makers; men call for them when making moccasins (Informant's note).

⁴⁰ A full company of To'akwiya (White, 1932, p. 75, pl. 8, a) come out at solstice ceremonies. To be identified with Chakwena of other pueblos.—E. C. P.

completed this costume Iatiku said to Tsitsanits, "You see that I have created many other gods. I have appointed you to be their ruler. You will initiate the other gods." And she gave him blades of yucca plant with which to perform this initiation.

Then Iatiku took more dirt from the basket and gave life to Kopishtai'ya and his wife.³⁹ Iatiku said, "You look ferocious so you will have to live in a different place."

Then Iatiku turned to Tsitsanits and told him, "You are going to be chief of the katsina and will rule over them. Take them with you to Wenimats,⁴⁰ west and south of here. [This place was described as a place where there was a lake with weeds growing in it and under this lake is Wenimats.] There is where you are going to live. Bring happiness to my people. Whenever my people want you they will send you hachamoni⁴¹ (prayer sticks)." So Iatiku made one so Tsitsanits would know it, and made one for each kind of katsina so each would know his own prayer stick. When they [the prayer sticks] were sent they [the katsina] would have to answer.

After giving all the prayer sticks, Iatiku told Tsitsanits to make a song of their own which must be very pretty so as to give happiness to her people. So this is the way Iatiku sent them to Wenimats and told them to wait for their prayer sticks from her people and to be always prepared to come. "Your people and my people will be combined," she said. "You will give us food from your world and we will give you food from our world. Your people are to represent clouds; you are to bring rain, you are to rule the summer clouds." Iatiku told them to take along animals as they would also be permitted to be hunters. Iatiku then took up the basket of corn meal, pollen, tobacco, and prayer sticks, and made the road open for them four lengths (long distance) to Wenimats and return by which they could come back when needed. Then she gave Tsitsanits the basket.

Kopishtaiya remained, and Iatiku turned to him saying, "You are to be separate from the others." He was given the same sort of instructions and prayer sticks and told to go east to Hakuoi'küchahä,⁴² to the place where the sun rises. "You are going to represent and rule the winter clouds. My people will pray to you to obtain bravery and long, healthy life. In the winter time my people will send you prayer sticks." Thus she spoke.

³⁹ At Acoma this term (K'o'nictal'ya) refers to (1) a health and strength-giving supernatural and to (2) masked impersonations of these supernaturals who appear at Acoma in the winter time. In no other Keresan pueblo are these spirits impersonated so far as is known. In Keresan pueblos other than Acoma K'o'nictal'ya seems to be a generic term for benevolent spirits. (See White 1932, pp. 79, 80-88, pls. 8, 9, 10, a; 1942.)

⁴⁰ In Keresan mythology Wenimats¹ is the home of the katsina and it is located "out in the west." (See White 1932, pp. 69, 142; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 277; White, 1932 a, p. 24; 1935, pp. 173, 175; Dumarest, 1919, pp. 172-173.)

⁴¹ See White 1932, pp. 125-129.

⁴² Cf. koal'k'te', Boas (1928, pt. 1, pp. 284-285).

After Iatiku had instructed Kopishtaiya she gave him the basket with pollen, corn meal, tobacco, and prayer sticks. She made the road four lengths to the east and return, and told them to make their home at Hakuoi'küchaha. So this is the way Iatiku placed the rulers of the clouds to whom her people were to pray.

After this was done Iatiku was thinking of leaving, so she told her people, "Now you are going to make homes here." So when she spoke the words, "nan° üs'thē i'chñ,"⁴³ there grew up all of a sudden a house. Iatiku told her people, "This is the kind of a house you are going to build to live in." So her people started to build one of their own, using this as a model. Iatiku gathered some rocks and dirt for them and sticks. All of them grew and multiplied till ready for use. So they made a town. Iatiku laid out the plans for the town and laid out the plaza. After this was done, she started to instruct her people. She called the first man who was born in the Antelope clan and said to him, "You are to be Tiamuni⁴⁴ and the father of the katsina.⁴⁵ You are the one to welcome them when they come." So Iatiku made him a ya'paishñi⁴⁶ (altar), the first one to be made. So Iatiku said, "Let us try and see if everything works all right. We will call the katsina." So she taught the people how to make prayer sticks and taught them the prayers. It took 4 days to make these up. They were instructed to bring all their prayer sticks to the altar of the Antelope clan (pl. 3, fig. 1) and place them in a basket. They had four baskets full. So all of the Antelope clan took these baskets and offered them to the katsina and asked them to come. They took them to the west and buried them. In praying they make four motions so as to cover the four lengths of the road. After this was done, the prayer sticks all went to the katsina. Then Tsitsanits took them and told each one of the katsina they were called to visit the people at Shipapu (where they still were). So the katsina prayed to the clouds with these same prayer sticks, and they smoked the cigarettes that were in the baskets so that clouds would come into them. Tsitsanits told Gomaïowish to go back to Iatiku's people and tell them that they [the katsina] were coming on the fourth day. "We are going to bring them provisions and corn," he said. So the Gomaïowish went.

When he got to Shipapu, the Antelope chief met him and he received the message.⁴⁷ Gomaïowish left and Antelope chief told all the people

⁴³ Meaning of nano unknown. üs'thē suggests the Acoma pronunciation of Dios, yo'etñi (White, 1932, p. 128). al'tein means "house" at Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 9), also the wooden slat altar. Compare pl. 16.

⁴⁴ See White, 1942.

⁴⁵ The cacique at Acoma today is the head of the Antelope clan and the "father of the katsina" (White 1932, p. 41).

⁴⁶ At Acoma and Laguna the wooden slat altars of the curing societies are called yabaicini (White, 1932, p. 109, fn. 1) or ya'palcññi (Boas, 1928, pt. 2, p. 61, l. 10). Among eastern Keres the meal-and-pigment paintings are so called; the wooden slat altars, al'tein (White, 1942; 1935; ms., pp. 11, 161).

⁴⁷ See White, 1941 a, for the ritual of delivering and receiving a message from the Gomaïowish.

the message that he had received and said that everyone was to expect the katsina on the fourth day. So Iatiku told her people, "Let us also prepare to welcome them with our food." So she called for a tribal hunt. Everyone who killed anything prepared it in his own home the day they expected the katsina to come. So it really happened that they came that day. They came in a cloud and everything (food, etc.) was brought. Gomaïowish was in the lead and told of their approach.

When they arrived they were met by the Antelope clan chief.⁴⁸ So the chief pointed out to them the different places they were to dance on the plaza: First on the north side, then west, then south, then east side. After the katsina finished the four dances they were brought inside where the altar was to rest. At this time there were no kivas; they were just trying out. The people were much interested in the katsina and were very happy over the visit. The katsina had their own songs. So the people were instructed to take food to the house where they were but they were not allowed to enter the room, only members of the Antelope clan, who served them were allowed to enter. This was at noon. In the afternoon, after each dance, the katsina gave the people presents of the food they had brought. Among the presents given out were throwing-sticks (bow and arrows had not been made yet), clothing of the katsina (not masks). Before the katsina left, Gomaïowish announced that the katsina did not wish to leave them entirely and told them to take their presents and use them for any dance that they wanted to put on, in the town (for happiness). So before they left they stripped, all except their masks, and gave the people their clothing as presents. (The Acoma still do this when they finish dancing; as a rule they distribute their costumes to their near relatives.)

So the Antelope chief bade the katsina goodbye and they left. Iatiku said, "So far all is well but there are some things needed yet. We have no sacred place, we have no kaach⁴⁹ (kiva)." Iatiku said, "this is the way I emerged, so I guess we will make a house in the ground, which we will call kaach. This will be the sacred place for the katsina when they come." (The kivas were round at first, now they are square. At the foot of the mesa where the old town was all washed away the kiva was round.)

When they began to build the first kiva, Iatiku told Oak man that it must be done in a certain way. Then she told him just how it was to be done. The whole kiva was to represent Shipapu, the place of emergence, though in ceremonial language it is called mauharo kai⁵⁰

⁴⁸ They are met today in all Keresan pueblos (except Laguna) by the cacique (see White, 1935, p. 95; Dumarest, 1919, p. 177).

⁴⁹ The head kiva. (Cf. White, 1932, pp. 30-31; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 293.) Among eastern Keres the k'a'ato' is called to'i'kya (White, 1935, p. 11; 1932a, p. 15).

⁵⁰ Informant is explaining that mauharo is the ceremonial word for kiva, k'a'ato' the ordinary word; kai means house.

(the dark underworld where the Sisters were found; Shipapu is the upper part of the place of emergence where there was some light).⁵¹

When they built the kiva, they first put up beams of four different trees. These were the trees that were planted in the underworld for the people to climb up on. In the north, under the foundation they placed yellow turquoise; in the west, blue turquoise; in the south, red, and in the east, white turquoise. Prayer sticks are placed at each place so the foundation will be strong and will never give way. The walls represent the sky, the beams of the roof (made of wood of the first four trees) represent the Milky Way, wakaiyanistiaw'tsa (way-above-earth beam). The sky looks like a circle, hence the round shape of the kiva.

The medicine man was instructed to make a fireplace inside the kiva. This fireplace is right under the ladder and is called kohaiya (bear)

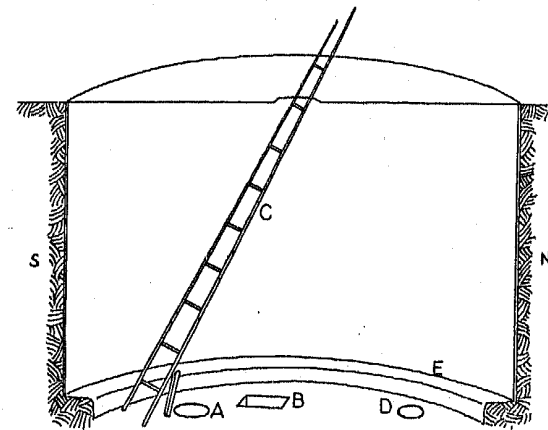


FIGURE 2.—Diagram of kiva, showing fog seats.

(fig. 2, A). In front of the fireplace is tsiwaimitiima (another-altar-placed-under). It is a hollow place in the floor in which an altar like the one Iatiku first made is kept. It is covered with a board (fig. 2, B). The chianyi are the only ones who are allowed to dance on it. It gives out a hollow sound.⁵² Iatiku said that whenever a medicine man wanted to get more superhuman power for himself he was to dance and roll over this altar.

The ladder (fig. 2, C) represents the rainbow (kastiatzi).

On the north is a hollow dug-out place that represents the door of North Mountain, East Mountain, West Mountain, Sun and Moon

⁵¹ The opening into the upper world through which the people passed when they "came out" is usually referred to as Shipapu (cip'ap'u, Laguna, Boas, 1928, pt. 2, p. 1, l. 1). But, strictly speaking, Shipapu is the place in the fourth world below, inside the earth, where the people were at "the beginning." The actual place of emergence is called Gauwatsaicoma (White, 1942). See also pl. 10, fig. 1.

⁵² See White (1932, pp. 31, 49, 73 and fig. 2, p. 73) for the tsiwa'imityim, "foot drum," and its uses. Something quite like this is reported for Zuni (Parsons, 1924, p. 21), among Hopi (Stephen, 1926, pp. 10, 17, 514, 704), and at the Village of the Great Kivas near Nutria (Roberts, 1932, pp. 58-60; cf. Lowie).

(fig. 2, D). Whenever they pray to these powers (kūa'watsaiishu'mā, "powers that rule") they pray into this doorway.

Around the entire base of the kiva are he'āshitā'nāmā (fog seats) (fig. 2, E), imaginary seats of fog covered with bear skins or lion skins. (All this is described in prayer.) Spirits are invited in prayer to come and sit on these seats. Actually, only fetishes are in the kiva; the real spirits are out in the mountains of the cardinal points. They are invited to come and to be present during ceremonies, and they are supposed to be seated there.

Iatiku ordered that people should always enter the kiva facing the ladder as soon as a foot is placed on it. When entering or leaving the kiva, one should never turn back after starting. This is because when Nautsiti and Iatiku came up from the lower world they went on up without turning back or without stopping. If anyone turns back, it will shorten his life; he will leave his soul in the kiva. If someone should do this, his relatives will have to buy back his life by bringing food to the kiva. When they go to the top of the ladder with the food, they call down inside, "Chima!" (Below!)

The ladder must be made of wood of the four first trees of the underworld. Nautsiti and Iatiku did not know where the pine trees touched, and they do not know where the rainbow touches, so they call the ladder "Rainbow."

When you get down to the foot of the ladder in the kiva, you must always go to the right and take a seat; never to the left. When you leave, you must circle round to the right. Never take fire from the front of the fireplace, nor step into it. Never whistle in the kiva. All these were the rules that Iatiku laid down for the conduct of the kiva.

Iatiku said, "I think someone ought to be the father of the game animals—shaiya'ik⁵³ will be his name. His work will be the power of his songs. When he sings and prays to the animals they (hunters) will be partners to the prey animals." She picked the oldest man born in the Eagle clan because the eagle is a bird of prey. His work was to sing the songs with the people when they go out to hunt because he was the only one to know the prayers belonging to the prey animals. So Iatiku taught him songs and prayers and gave him an altar (pl. 8, fig. 1) with which to secure the power of the animals that kill, to come and be in his people. So Iatiku said, "Let us try it out and see if it will work out right." So this chosen man set up his altar and Iatiku taught him to make prayer sticks to give to the man who was going on a hunt and taught him to make fetishes representing the beasts of prey. So Eagle Man called a meeting at his house where the altar was, so they could sing the songs that had been taught him. They sang these songs all night. Early in the morning, Eagle Man gave

prayer sticks to each man who had been singing and told him to go out and pray in the wilds. They were called shaiyai'kā (hunter's society). They prayed so that they would have the power of the prey animals. So the chief of the hunters' society (the Eagle Man) started out early the fourth morning to a place he had selected. On his way whenever he saw tracks of animals, even small ones, he would take some dirt out of the track, and dung, and place it in a cedar bark container like a dish. When he came to the designated place he tied both ends of the cedar bark with yucca blades. He was going to scorch the feet of the game animals.⁵⁴ Then he made a fire and scorched the dirt and dung so as to scorch the feet of the animals so they could not run fast. (This fire is made in a natural way with a fire drill.)

After this to give the signal for the people to come he threw green branches on the fire to make a smoke. Eagle Man had already told the men that when they went out to meet at the camp they were to bring along sacred corn meal and pollen and also to pick up any dung or dirt from animals' tracks they passed; so when they came to the fire they were to throw it in, to help scorch their feet. When they threw it on the fire they were to name any animal they wished to help them on the hunt, birds for small game like rabbits; lion, wolf, wildcat, for deer and large game. So everyone upon coming to the camp did this. Usually a high spot was picked as meeting place, so they could watch and not start the hunt if someone was still on his way to the meeting place. When all were in camp, the Eagle Man told the people, "Now we are going north, west, south or east on a drive, stirring up the game in the brush." He advised the men that when they go on a hunt, that when they stop they should pray with corn meal to Mother Earth, so they would not be injured, or blamed for killing the animals. Then he selected two men from his clan who were to lead two lines of men in a wide circle. These lines were to meet at a place designated by Eagle Man. They were instructed to carry some fire with them (torches of cedar bark), so that they could signal when the two lines met.

They were also instructed to observe several rules: When you throw a stick and hit a game animal, if it does not get up, it's yours. If two sticks hit about the same time and kill it, the one who says, "shi" (mine) first gets it. If you hit a rabbit and knock it down, but it gets up and is killed by another, the one who stops it gets it.—This was to avoid any argument on the hunt for small game.

⁵³ Compare the Santa Ana tale about a man who got power from a witch to kill a deer. The hunter put the shell given him by the witch in the deer's tracks and performed a ritual. When he caught the deer "its legs were scorched up to his knees and when they ate the meat it tasted like it had been smoked. The Calyauk' found out about the way this man had killed his deer, and made him quit it. They took his shell away from him and destroyed it. They say the Navahos and Comanches used to kill deer like this." Compare First Mesa hunt fire (Stephen, 1936, pp. 1006, 1024, fig. 501).

⁵⁴ See White, 1932, pp. 101-102; 1942; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, pp. 28-33, 290-293.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

(These plates have been reproduced from water color paintings by an Acoma Indian. The colors of the originals are described in the explanations.)

PLATE 1

Acoma katsinas

UPPER LEFT: Morityema, ruler of West Mountain. Eagle-feather prayer stick and topknot of parrot feathers; circle represents a blossom with colors of the four directions; snout of wood with rabbit fur; collar of crow feathers. Greenish blue (turquoise) color of West Mountain and of Spring.

UPPER RIGHT: Maiyochina, ruler of South Mountain. Red is the color of South Mountain; green represents summer crops. (Impersonator looks through the mouth, not the eyes.) Rabbit fur around snout; parrot-feather topknot; turkey-feather rosette with fan of eagle feathers; owl-feather collar; blue yarn over forehead.

CENTER LEFT: Oshach Paiyatiuma, Sun Youth. Parrot feathers; three squash blossoms; median line is the trail over which Sun goes; blue for sky; striped quarters for the rainbow around Sun; eagle-feather earrings; buckskin thongs are to fasten a spruce-twigg collar.

CENTER RIGHT: Kuashtoch katsina. Green, the color of mountains; terra cotta forehead and back; two eagle feathers, one parrot feather; squash blossom of gourd or yarn; blue yarn on forehead with abalone shell pendant; spruce collar.

LOWER LEFT: Tsitsanits, Katsina chief. Green for sky; yellow for earth; black for night; topknot of breast feathers of parrot (every katsina has this); at back, eagle feathers spread out like an eagle's tail; horns of wood to represent buffalo horns; red yarn; eyes are balls of stuffed buckskin painted white; slits under the eyes for the impersonator to look through; teeth of corn husks; beard of human hair; fox-fur collar.

LOWER RIGHT: Shuracha, Corn clan katsina. Black because he is a fire maker and is smoked up; spots are the direction colors; turquoise earrings; cotton sash (paniu) around neck; designs suggest katsina heads. (Since the katsina are secret, they do not picture them entirely. Here only the shape of the head is indicated; in pls. 11, figs. 2, a, and 6; fig. 2 only the eyes.)

PLATE 2

Acoma, viewed from the roof of the Convento

PLATE 3

FIGURE 1. Antelope clan altar. Oak crooks (brown) with eagle feathers (white with black tips); turkey feathers (white with black tips) on end of hook; masks, left to right—(1st) Shuma'ashkă (face green, rest brown); (2nd) Ahote (black, ears blue); (3d) Gomaïowish (brown on green base); (4th) Kuashtoch (face blue, features and cap black, base green); (5th) Gaupakta (brown with green cap); medicine bowl (outside brown with black edge, inside white with brown lines); stone points (gray).

FIGURE 2. Shakak, ruler of North Mountain. Crest of eagle feathers (white with black tips); blue for sky (right side of mask); yellow for earth (left side of mask); collar (light brown) and rosette (black and white) of owl feathers. Mouth outlined in green.

PLATE 4

FIGURE 1. Shruisthia, ruler of East Mountain. Eagle-feather prayer stick (black and white); parrot-feather topknot (red and green); blue yarn over forehead ending on either side in brown earrings, with tassels of turkey feathers, blue tipped; mask, black (for night); and white (for the East); lower edge brown.

FIGURE 2. Tsiukiri, father of the Kopishtaiya. Turkey feathers (gray with white and black tips) as earrings and back of mask; parrot-feather topknot (green and red); slanting line (red) represents the direction of the southeast that Tsiukiri followed when sent away by Iatiku; the short line joining it (red) is the straight East-West direction; the spots (green, red, blue, orange, and white) are direction colors; the background is black because the Kopishtaiya are night spirits; turkey tracks (white) in the snow make it easier to track the turkeys, so are lucky; fox-fur collar (gray); eyes and mouth outlined in red.

PLATE 5

FIGURE 1. Kuapichani katsina. Wearing full katsina costume; eagle feathers (white with black tips), stick (black) with humming bird (red); parrot-feather topknot (red and green); ears (brown) painted as usual the color of the forehead (brown); spruce collar (green); turquoise earrings; abalone-shell pendant; coral necklaces (red); black torso and white lower body represent night and day; arm bands of buckskin with spruce (green); green buckskin belt; kashpa (black and white), ceremonial sash with tassels; hotisini (white with black border), cotton kilt; in right hand gourd rattle (quartered in orange, red, green, blue); in left hand flute (striped red and white with zigzag design in green, black, and white) with gourd (center, orange with cross; edge, white with green design) on the end; garters (blue) with turtle-shell rattle (brown); moccasins of buckskin (white with red toes).

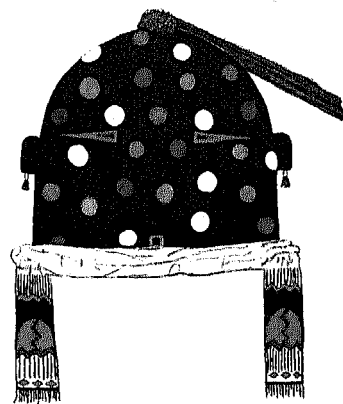
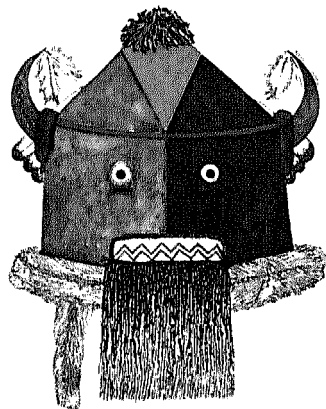
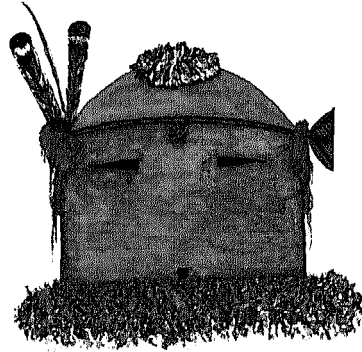
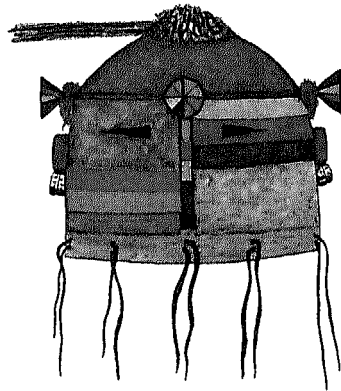
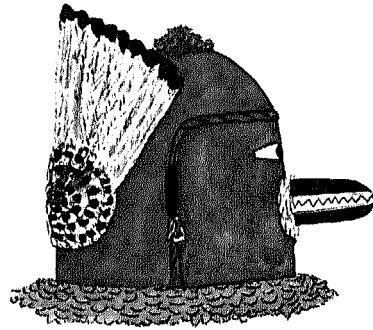
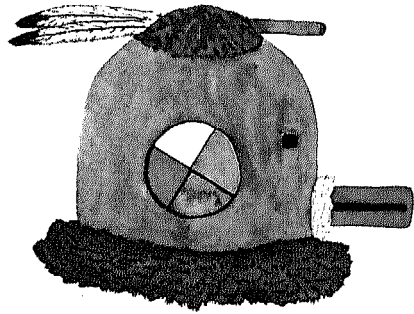
FIGURE 2. Hachamoni kaiok (broken prayer stick). The face (yellow, hair black with white feather on top) represents Iatiku; the feathers are eagle down, and under them is cotton; body brown; first necklace, shells; second, coral; third, coral beads with three abalone-shell pendants.

FIGURE 3. Koshari. Hair (black) tied with corn husks (yellow); earrings (black) of lizards; necklaces of dried apples (brown) and of rabbit skin (white and black); shoulder straps, bracelets, and anklets of spruce (green); girdle of buffalo-hoof rattles (black); turtle-shell rattles (white with black markings) on knees (ordinarily they are worn behind the leg but Koshari wears them wrong in front); feet painted (in black) to represent moccasins.

PLATE 6

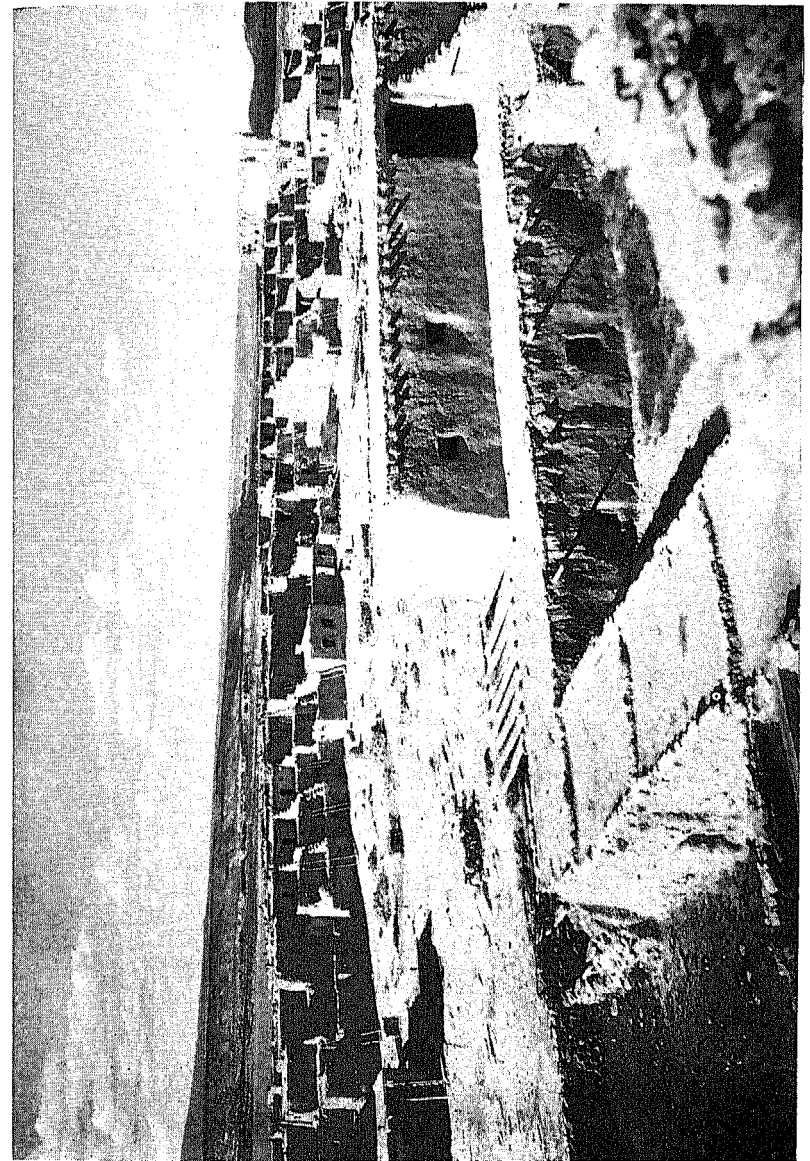
FIGURE 1. Nawish katsina. Eagle feathers (white with black tips); parrot-feather topknot (green and red); forehead brown edged with blue yarn; face painted with colors of the directions: orange (background of face), the earth; yellow (stripe at upper right), the Sun; green (center stripe at right), water; blue (lower stripe at right), the sky. The terraced design (white edged with red) represents a field; red yarn around mouth; lower edge of mask with thongs for fastening, brown. A spruce collar will be worn.

FIGURE 2. Kopishtaiya. No special name; referred to merely as "the one who carries clouds on his head." Hennati, cumulus clouds (white with triangular black marks and edged with red with dependent black lines); black horizontal



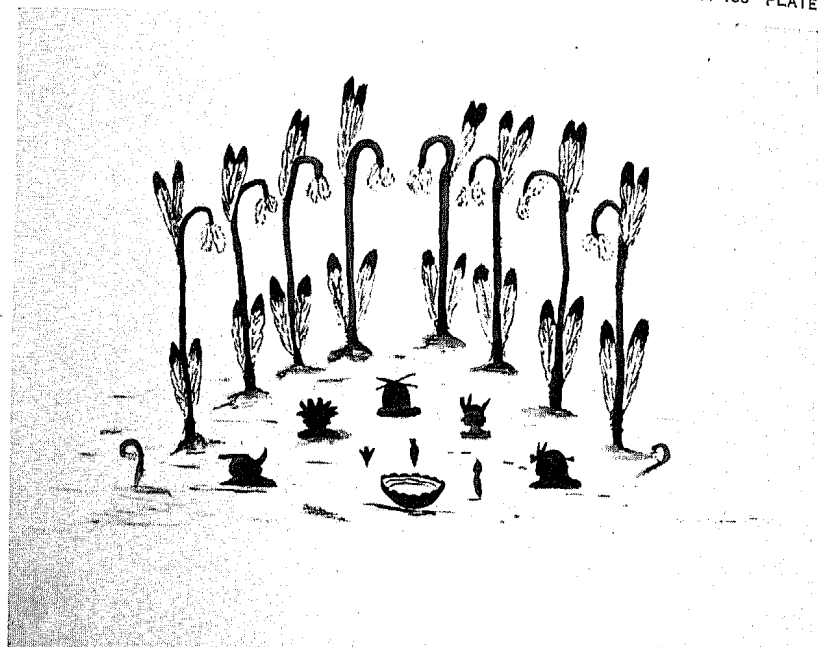
KATSINA MASKS.

FOR DESCRIPTION SEE EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

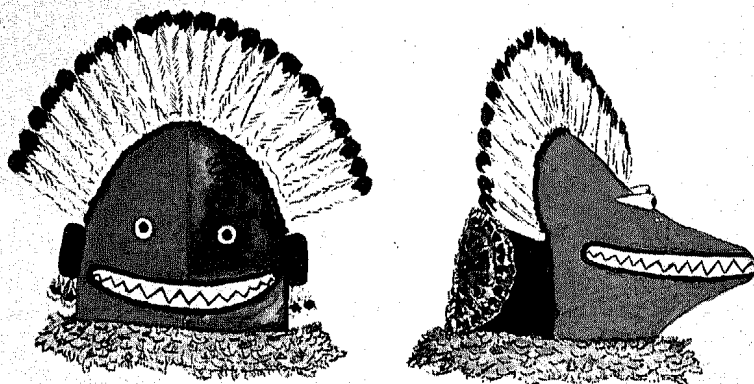


ACOMA, VIEWED FROM THE ROOF OF THE CONVENTO.

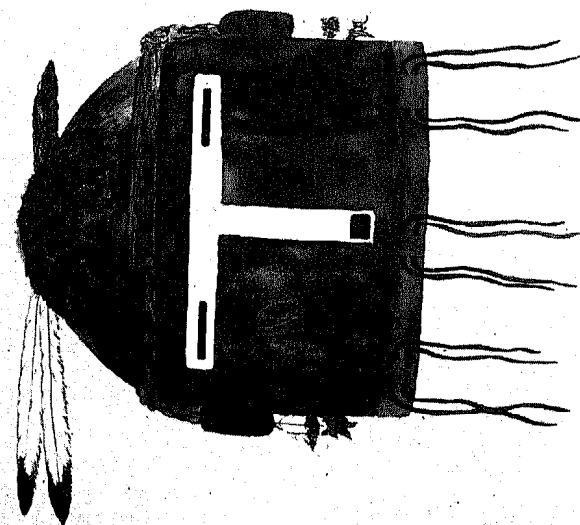
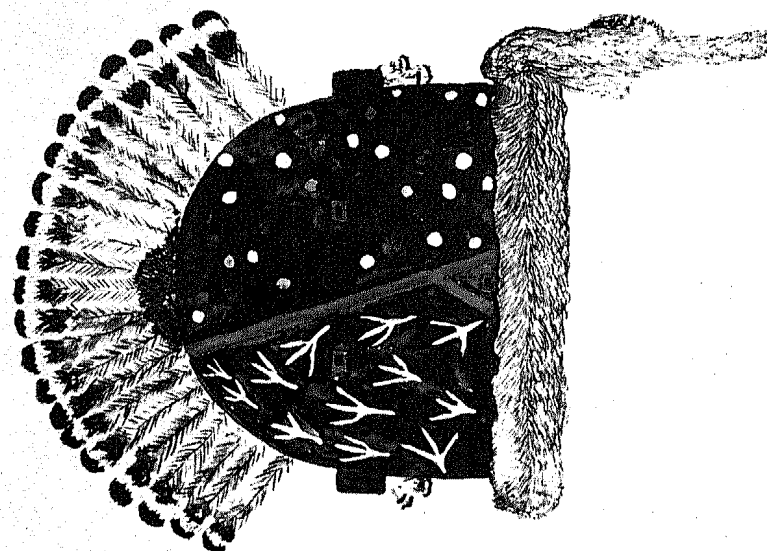
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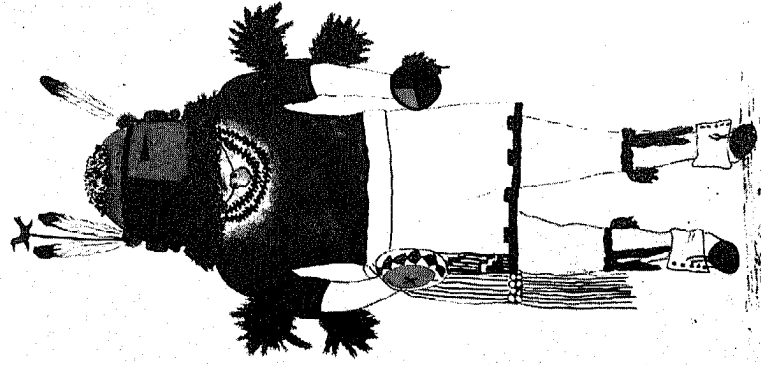


1. ANTELOPE CLAN ALTAR. 2. SHAKAK, RULER OF NORTH MOUNTAIN.
(For explanation, see page 118.)

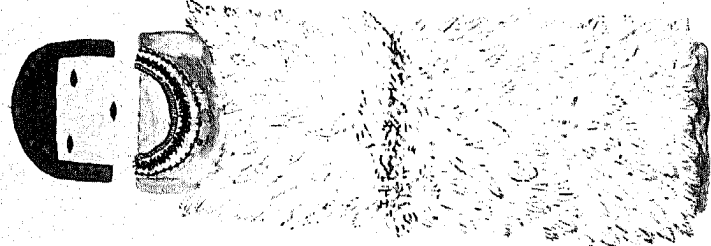


1. SHRUISTHIA, RULER OF EAST MOUNTAIN.

2. TSIUKIRI, FATHER OF THE KOPISHTAIYA.
(For explanation, see page 119.)

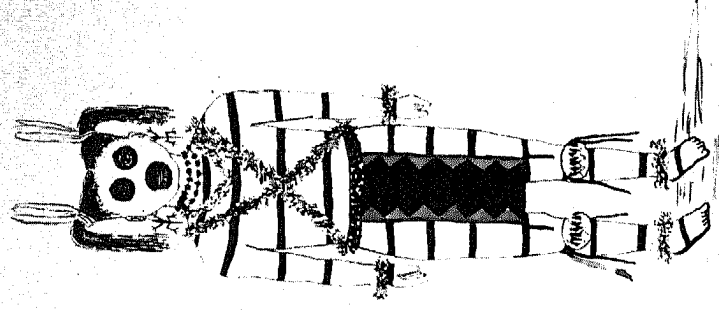


1. KUAPICHANI KATSINA.



2. HACHAMONI KAIOIK (BROKEN PRAYER STICK).

(For explanation, see page 116.)



3. KOSHARI.

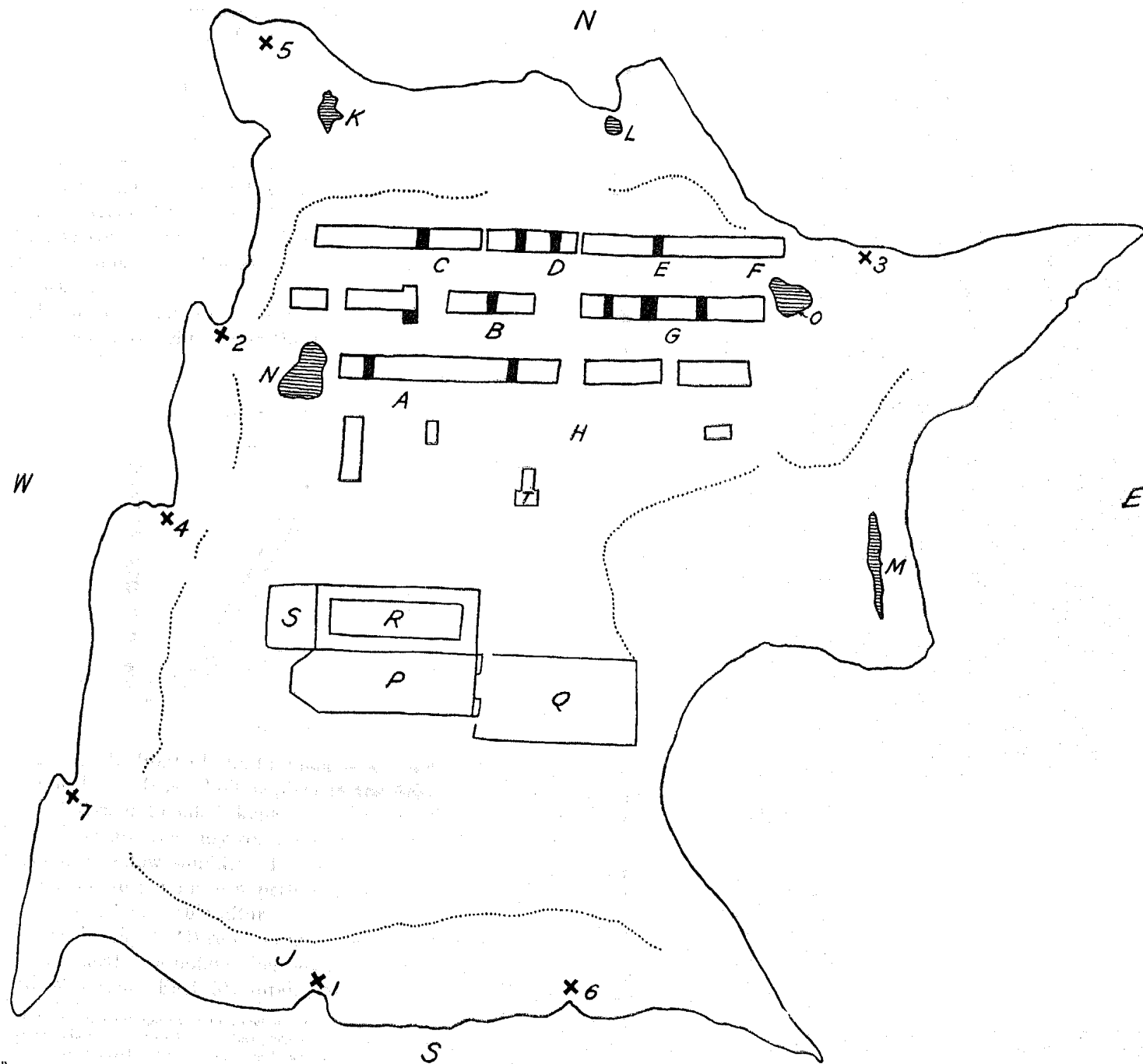


FIGURE 1.—Plan of Acoma. 1, Rainbow (Kastlatzi) trail, by which the people first entered Acoma. 2, Ladder trail. 3, Cliff trail (very steep). 4, Sand trail. 5, Crack trail (not used always). 6, Ladder crack trail. 7, Burro trail. Black line, high cliff; dotted line, edge of mesa, second cliff (low). A-H, Places where katsina dance. J, Place where dancers dress. K, L, M, Cisterns for drinking water. N, O, Cisterns for washing, plastering, etc. Houses have rock foundation and the first floor is of rock. From there up, adobe. P, Church. Q, Cemetery. R, Convento. S, Corral where burros were kept. T, Komaxira meeting house built by Spaniards.