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New Material From Acoma

By LESLIE A. WHITE

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## NEW MATERIAL FROM ACOMA

BY LESLIE A. WHITE

### SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON ACOMA

The following data were obtained after the publication of *The Acoma Indians* in 1932. I am greatly obliged to the late Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons, who read the entire manuscript and made many helpful suggestions; a number of the footnotes are hers. The new material here presented is arranged topically. Diacritical marks are noted only in the first use of a term or in terms quoted from published sources.

#### PRIESTS AND OFFICERS

The cacique, in addition to being called *ha'a'ctitcani* (*ha'a'cti* means pueblo), may be called *ti'amun'i*<sup>1</sup> because "he is supposed to know all about what was done at Shipapu." The cacique "has power [authority] over the *tcaianyi* (medicine men) and the kiva chiefs. He is the head of the *katsina*. But he has nothing to do with the *Kacalu* (Koshare) or the *Opi* (Warriors' society)."

*Tcrai'k'ats'*<sup>2</sup>.—"A long time ago there used to be four *tcaikatsi* at Acoma, but they did not keep it up. Finally there were only two. The last one died about 50 years ago; then they let it drop." Apparently one of the *tcaikatsi* was the head of the group. They served for life. "The *tcaikatsi* had more power than the cacique."

<sup>1</sup> In Sia mythology Utset designated a man to be *ti'amoni*; he was to take her place on the southward migration (Stevenson, 1894, p. 40). The cacique at Sia and at Santo Domingo is called *ti'amoni* (Stevenson, 1894, p. 16; White, ms., *The Pueblo of Sia*; White, 1935, p. 35). At Laguna the cacique is called *T'i'amun'i* because he led the people from the place of emergence (Boas, 1923, pt. 1, p. 288).

<sup>2</sup> At Santo Domingo (1934) the cacique's helper is called *uicte'k'a* (bow) or *tcaikatsi* (White, 1935, p. 37). At Sia the cacique has three helpers called *tcaikatsi* (White, ms., *The Pueblo of Sia*). At Santa Ana the cacique himself is called *tcaikatsi* (White, ms., *The Pueblo of Santa Ana*). At Laguna "the hunt is in charge of *Caiyai'k'a*, *tcai'k'ats'e*, and *trai'k'ats'e*. They are not shamans but representatives of beings of the same name in the lower world who are the protectors of game. . . . The *tcai'k'ats'e* helped the cacique in his preparation for the ceremonial rabbit hunt" (Boas, 1928, pt. 1, pp. 296, 297). At Cochiti, "the officers of the *Cikame* society [identical in membership with the Hunting society] are called by the same name as the supernaturals in charge of the hunt (*caiak*, *djaikatse*, *dreikatse*)" (Goldfrank, 1927, p. 46). Compare Dumarest, 1919, p. 197. At Acoma, the ten "little chiefs" are sometimes called *tcaikats'* (White, 1932, p. 51). Bandler states that the Keresan cacique has two assistants, one called *Uisht-Yakka*, the other *Shay-katze* (Bandler, 1890, p. 278).

This means, I assume, that the tcaikatsi had (or was able to wield) more supernatural power than the cacique. "He was the head of the war chiefs, too."

"Long ago at Acoma the tcaikatsi had four underground chambers underneath the cacique's house. He [i. e., the head of the tcaikatsi] had an altar in one of these rooms. No one was allowed to go in these rooms, not even the cacique, except the tcaikatsi."

The tcaikatsi "worked" [supernaturally] for the good of the whole pueblo. Their chief function seems to have been increasing the food supply. The informant spoke, for the most part, of their "working" for wild plants and for game, but he said that they worked for crops, too. "It was very hard work."

Each year the tcaikatsi would select a few wild plant foods and game animals upon which they would concentrate their efforts to bring forth an abundance. They would alter the list of plants and animals somewhat from year to year. Before a hunt the tcaikatsi would "take a bowl of deer, rabbits, and quail—all made of corn husk, like paper dolls—out of the pueblo, early in the morning. They would scatter these husks. That would make lots of game for the hunters."

Inasmuch as the office of tcaikatsi became extinct at Acoma only 50 years or so ago,<sup>3</sup> the following account of how one came to be tcaikatsi might be expected to be more satisfactory. It was secured from a man over 70 years old.

"When someone was to be made tcaikatsi, the head would ask the people who they wanted. He would ask the cacique first, then he would ask the war chief, then the medicine men, and then the kiva chiefs. After they had all expressed themselves [and, it seems, they merely said "yes" or "no" with respect to the individual who had been named originally by the head tcaikatsi]<sup>4</sup> the head tcaikatsi would call a meeting of all the people in Mauharots (the "head estufa," or kiva). He would tell them that so-and-so had been chosen to be tcaikatsi, and ask them if they were willing to accept him. The people would say that it was all right. Anyone who was selected for tcaikatsi *had to take it.*"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It is of great interest to students of mythology that no reference to this important office is made in the Origin Myth of Acoma. With the lapse of the office, the tradition authenticating it also lapsed.

<sup>4</sup> At Sia, after the ti'āmoni has decided, in consultation with the war priest, upon the men for offices in the yearly "elections," he asks the "theurgists of the secret cult societies" for their concurrence. "This is always given, the consultation with the theurgists being but a matter of courtesy" (Stevenson, 1894, p. 18).

Recent data from Santa Ana also indicate that this is the customary method of appointing (or "electing") officers among the Keres (White, 1942 a, pp. 109-114).

<sup>5</sup> The informant seemed to feel sure of the *way* in which a candidate was presented for acceptance. But he was vague and indecisive about *how* this candidate was selected. At one time he said that when the head tcaikatsi died, the helper who had been tcaikatsi longest took his place. At another time he said that a tcaikatsi might be succeeded by his sister's son.

*Kiva chiefs*.<sup>6</sup>—There are four officers, called *sicti G'ai'ya*, in each *kiva*. They are appointed by the *cacique* and serve for life. They are officers in the *katsina* organization; they paint and refurbish the masks (White, 1932, p. 71).

#### KACALU (KACALE OR KOSHARE)

By one informant I was told that there are no more *real* *Kacale*; men merely "act like *Kacale*" on occasion. Another informant said that there were "only a very few" *real* *Kacale* left. At any rate, it is necessary to have men act like *Kacale* on such occasions as a *katsina* dance or the scalp dance. *Kacale pro tem* are secured for this purpose in this way: The war chief takes tobacco to the head of *Hictianyi* (*Flint*) *tcaianyi* with the request to recruit men for *Kacale*. *Hictianyi nawai*, in turn, gives the tobacco to a *Shiwana tcaianyi* with the same request. The latter goes through the *pueblo*, selecting men to whom he offers a smoke. If the man accepts the smoke, *Shiwana tcaianyi*<sup>7</sup> tells him to report to the house of *Hictianyi tcaianyi* at a specified time to practice. The man is obliged to act like *Kacale* in the forthcoming ceremony.<sup>8</sup>

#### QUIRAINA

Among eastern *Keres* there are two complementary secret societies, the *Koshare* and the *Quiraina*. At *Acoma*, the *Koshare* were present, but the *Quiraina*, *as a society*, were absent (see White, 1932, p. 71, especially *ftn.* 57; also p. 75). Instead, all persons who had been initiated into the *katsina* organization were called *G'uiraina tcaianyi*.<sup>9</sup> Thus, one feature, which appears to be an integral part of *Keresan* culture at *Santo Domingo*, *San Felipe*, etc., seems to have been lacking at *Acoma*. The fact that at *Acoma* the term "*Quiraina*" was applied to the *katsina* organization instead of to a small secret society seems to indicate an incomplete participation of *Acoma* with what one might call typically *Keresan* culture. Their use of the term "*Quiraina*" might seem to suggest that the word came to them from the East, and that they attached it to an already existing organization instead of forming one that would be homologous to the *Quiraina* societies of the eastern *Keres*.

Subsequent information, however, seems to indicate that *Acoma* is not quite so anomalous and divergent as had been previously supposed. Although no formal and permanent society of *Quiraina* was

<sup>6</sup> These correspond to the *sicti nawai* (head) of *San Felipe* (White, 1932 a, pp. 15-16), and *Santo Domingo* (White, 1935, pp. 48-49).

<sup>7</sup> The term, if not the group, is of comparatively recent use or development in *Laguna* and *Acoma*.—E. C. P.

<sup>8</sup> Same practice at *Santo Domingo* (White, 1935, p. 53).

<sup>9</sup> At *Sia*, the *Quiraina* society had charge of initiations into the *katsina* organization and of the masked dances (Stevenson, 1894, p. 116).

ever organized at Acoma according to informants, there were occasions when a group of men dressed and acted like the Quiraina of the eastern Keres. To outward appearances, then, Acoma had the Quiraina society. But it was only appearance;<sup>10</sup> the actors merely "acted like" Quiraina; they had no "power." Any one who had taken part in the Kopicetaiya ritual (White, 1932, pp. 86-88) was eligible to act like Quiraina.<sup>11</sup> They were recruited for this service in a manner similar to that of recruiting Koshare pro tem (see above). These Quiraina never attended the shiwana when they came to dance at Acoma (i. e., they took no part in the masked dances).

#### OPI AND THE SCALPS

In the old days, the Opi (Warriors' society) took care of the scalps. They used to feed them matsi'n'yi (wafer bread) dipped in stew of rabbit or deer meat, and give them water to drink. The last of the Opi took the scalps "out somewhere" and buried them.<sup>12</sup> If they had not done this "the scalps would have become hungry and thirsty" since there would have been no one to tend them. As a consequence, sickness would visit the pueblo and plagues of grasshoppers would devour the crops.

"They used to always want to have a scalp dance in the old days because it was an occasion of rejoicing."<sup>13</sup>

#### CAIYAI'K<sup>A</sup> (HUNTERS' SOCIETY)

Members of this society, like the curing societies, received their power from supernatural animals: the curing societies received their power from the animal doctors, bear, badger, wolf, etc.; the Caiyaik, from birds and beasts of prey (White, 1932, p. 101). The chief supernatural patron of the Caiyaik was the mountain lion (mo'k'aite<sup>ra</sup>; *Felis concolor*). Others were wolf (k'ak'ana; *Canis nubilus*), bobcat (dya't<sup>yu</sup>; *Lynx rufus*), cro'hona ("an animal larger than the bobcat, but looks like one") (see Stirling, 1942, p. 23), eagle (dya'mi; *Aquila chrysaetos*), black-footed ferret (mai'dyup<sup>i</sup>; *Mustela nigripes*, an important animal Caiyaik), western redtail hawk (cpi'yai; *Buteo borealis calurus*), sharpshinned hawk (i'tsa; *Accipiter velox*), and Cooper hawk (cti'ti; *Accipiter cooperi*).

<sup>10</sup> However, we should consider the fact that in the hair of the deceased townsman was placed a sparrow-hawk feather, which is the characteristic Quiraina feather. Compare Stirling, 1942, p. 55, fn. 30.—E. C. P.

<sup>11</sup> The Kopicetaiya come in winter, we recall, and the Keres generally consider the Quiraina to be winter people.—E. C. P.

<sup>12</sup> Scalps are still kept in Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 60), and in San Felipe (White, 1932 a, p. 13). They are attended not by Opi, since they have become extinct, but by Flint medicine men (who have numerous functions associated with war; see White, 1935, p. 61; Stevenson, 1894, pp. 121-123).

<sup>13</sup> For accounts of the scalp dance (ck'atse-ta), see White, 1932, pp. 96-101; White, 1932 a, pp. 53-54; Parsons, 1918, p. 165 ff.

K'ABI'Nα TC'AlA'N'YI<sup>14</sup>

When Kapina tcaianyī came out from Shipap, Iatik<sup>u</sup> gave him two corn ear fetishes, exactly alike. The first one to be made by Iatiku was called Tsama.ya; the other was called Tsamahī'ya (see Stirling, 1942, p. 37). Each fetish consisted of a completely kernalled ear of corn (k'oto'nα), wrapped with cotton and beads and decked at the tip with feathers. The butt end was wrapped with buckskin.<sup>15</sup> Kapina tcaianyī were the only ones to have this kind of fetish. They did not cure sickness. They used to give power to men who were going to war.<sup>16</sup> During the World War, Kapina tcaianyī held a 4-day ceremony every month to give power to the American troops who had gone to France; other medicine societies joined Kapina in these ceremonies.

## "TRAPPING"

When a medicine society is initiating new members, the tcaianyī go out at night, for four consecutive nights, to visit "places" (shrines?) north, west, south, and east of Acoma. If anyone meets a medicine man on one of these nocturnal tours and steps aside from the trail to let him pass, the medicine man will take hold of him, stroke his hair with his hand, and call him "my son." This person will now be obliged to become a member of the medicine man's society. Since no one wishes to be trapped and compelled to join, one has to be very careful: "You've got to stand your ground there until the tcaianyī goes by, even if it takes hours."<sup>17</sup>

Medicine men sometimes dye owl feathers red, blue, or green (why, I was not able to learn), and wear them on their heads. If anyone else dyes owl feathers, medicine men can compel them to join a medicine society. Anyone who paints a snake on a rattle may be compelled to join a medicine society.

## KATSINA

Co-nata (White, 1932, p. 79) is the katsina nawai of the Corn clan. Parsons equates Conata (and Shoradja) with Shulawitsi of Zuñi (Parsons, 1920, p. 101, ftn. 1; 1920 a, p. 69). My informant admits that some Acoma masks have been "copied from Zuñi," but declares

<sup>14</sup> The Acoma informant said he thought K'ab'Ina means, or connotes, "good strong heart." A Santo Domingo informant said that it meant "eat too much" (White, 1935, p. 67; see also Stirling, 1942, p. 37).

<sup>15</sup> From the description of these fetishes, I can see no difference between them and the i'ariko corn-ear fetish of the other curing societies.

<sup>16</sup> It was Kapina tcaianyī who whipped the war chiefs at their installation (White, 1932, pp. 48-49). It was my former understanding (White, 1932, p. 107), however, that Kapina undertook cures, although it was said by one Acoma informant (White, 1932, p. 117, ftn. 15) that Kapina joined the Flint society in its curing ceremonies.

<sup>17</sup> Compare a like practice by the Hopi Snake society. If anyone encounters Snake society men on their 4-day hunt, he must be initiated into the Snake society.—E. C. P.

that Conata was not among them: "they've always had Conata at Acoma."

The katsina name Ma'tsitsai'yackati'ta means: matsi, "blood"; tsaiya, "giving"; ckatita, "doing it"—"he gives blood to children when he comes" (White, 1932, p. 80).

The katsina name ḡ'auwatcḡ'aiya (White, 1932, p. 79) means: "tongue hanging out" (wa-tcḡnḡ, "tongue"; ḡ'aiya, "hanging down, or out").

ḡ'auayackḡtkḡtsita katsina (White, 1932, p. 77) is so called because he carries a bunch of feathers (ḡ'auayackḡtkḡtsits). When, in the songs, he raises his voice, he raises the bunch of feathers above his head, whereupon they "open out like an umbrella."

The katsina name I-panikaodaockonaiya (White, 1932, p. 78) means: i-pani, "cactus"; kaodaockonaiya, "hanging on end of a stick."

A'aik'ani (White, 1932, p. 78) katsina was so named because he cries "Ai! Ai!" (k'ani, "acting that way").

Mictcaikoros (White, 1932, p. 78) katsina means: mictcai, "ashes"; koros, "dusting with."

The names of the two heads of the Kopictaiya, Dziu'kḡrḡ and Ko'kḡrḡ (White, 1932, pp. 79, 86), allude to their performance of miracles: "just like Jesus with the loaves and fishes."

On the west side of the Acoma mesa there is a column of rock rising to the level of the top of the mesa. This column is joined to the mesa by a narrow stone bridge (a natural formation). This "bridge" is called Gotitca'nc; nc means "people". The katsina name, Gotitca'nicame, therefore, means "people of Gotitca'nc" (White, 1932, p. 76).

Tcai'nok'ana-tca katsina (White, 1932, p. 76) are also called Storo-ka,<sup>18</sup> a name which alludes to their cry or call which is "like a flute." Although dressed in female attire, Tcainokanatca is a male katsina "because he wears a papana Dyutsats," (papana, "white and sewed up"; dyutsats, "manta").

Tsḡtk'atsame (White, 1932, pp. 77, 168) means "person of the deep pool of water." (On top of a big rock, a short distance west of Acoma, there is a deep pool of water; tsḡt, "full of water"; katsi, "deep;" me, people or person).

Ts'i'ts'inits<sup>1</sup> (White, 1932, pp. 72-74, 79) katsina was so called "because his teeth are showing."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Laguna, Parsons, 1920, p. 98; Gunn, 1917, pp. 172-175. The Kyanakwe of Zuñi who have been equated with the Storo-ka are referred to as the White katsina.—E. C. P.

<sup>19</sup> In a Laguna tale he takes a girl to his home as his wife; she leaves him when she discovers that his bread is mixed with human blood (Gunn, 1917, pp. 127-133). He whips the children at the katsina initiation.

Sa'rombia and Cura'tca (White, 1932, p. 79) were "copied from Zuni."<sup>20</sup>

He'mac katsina (White, 1932, p. 75, pl. 5, *d*) was so called because he "came from Jemez."

*The dead become katsina.*—"First they go to Shipap; then they go on to Wenima (place in the west; the home of most of the katsina), and become katsina" (White, 1935, pp. 198-199).

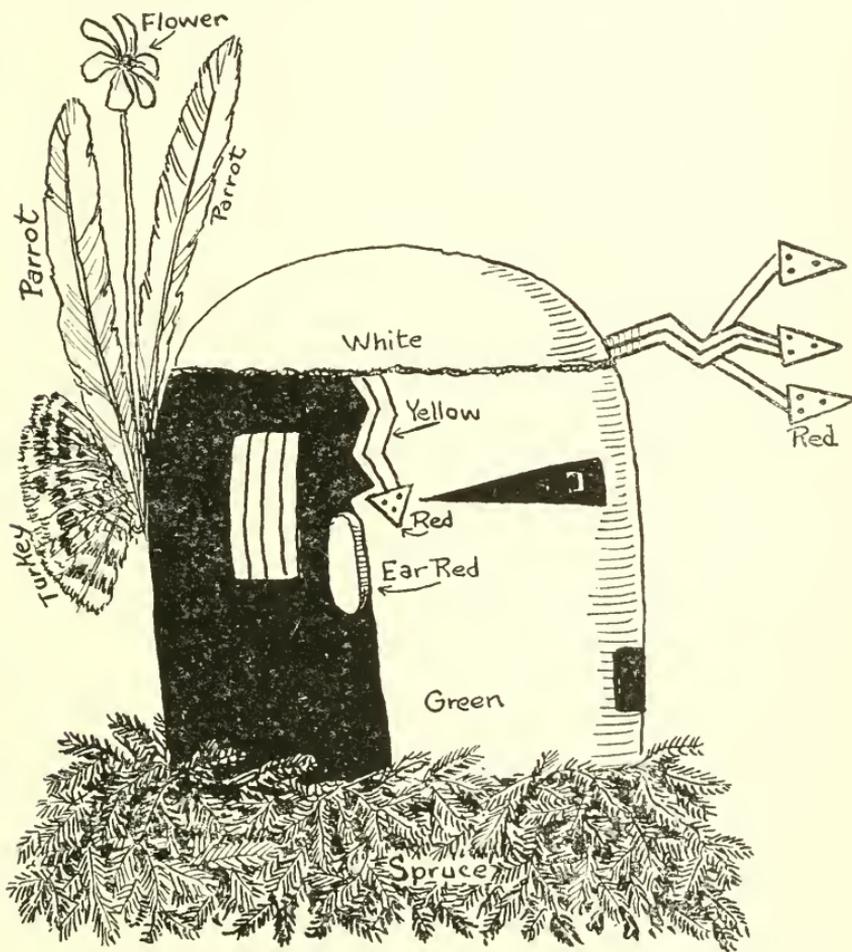


FIGURE 5.—He'mac katsina.

#### SYMBOLISM IN MASKS

Signs and symbols, usually of meteorological phenomena, are frequently found in masks of the katsina. The white dome of He'mac katsina (fig. 5) represents clouds "piled up"; the black portion of the back of the mask is a storm cloud, which contains rain—the vertical lines inside the white rectangle. The spruce collar represents a wak'ai'-

<sup>20</sup> Sa'rombia is evidently the Zuni Sallimopia.

*nae*: "When it's raining a long way off you can see a straight [horizontal] line on the bottom of the rain clouds, with the rain coming down from that line. That (line) is a *wak'ai'nae*." Lightning, shown with eyes and mouth, protrudes from the front and side of the head.<sup>21</sup>

#### MASKED DANCES

In addition to the summer katsina ceremony, *Natyati* (White, 1932, pp. 82-84), a masked dance is held in *Mauharots* (the head kiva), at night, at the summer and winter solstices (White, 1932, pp. 84-85). Also, a masked (katsina) dance is held "8 days after the *Laguna* feast" on September 19.

#### THE G'O'MAIYAWACI<sup>22</sup>

This word is translated "scout," as a rule, by informants, but "messenger" seems to be more appropriate. One informant told me that one could call a telegram messenger boy *Gomaiyawaci* "if he came on foot."

The *Gomaiyawaci* live at *Wenimats*, the home of the katsina, and like the katsina they are impersonated in masks. On the fourth day preceding the date set for an appearance in the pueblo of the katsina or of the *Kopictaiya*, four *Gomaiyawaci* bring the news to *Acoma*. About 5 days before the ceremony, the cacique gives *Masewi* (the war chief) a handful of corn meal, wrapped in a corn husk, and tells him to take it to one of the kiva chiefs, whom he names, and to tell him to bring the message of the forthcoming ceremony to the pueblo. *Masewi* delivers the message. The kiva chief who receives the meal gets the other three chiefs of his kiva to help him. The four dress themselves as *Gomaiyawaci* and go to the plaza on the evening of the fourth day preceding the ceremony. Two *Gomaiyawaci* remain in the plaza; the other two go to *Mauharots*, where they are admitted by the cacique and *Masewi*. The cacique asks them to sit down and gives them a smoke. Then the cacique and the war chief each puts a *Gomaiyawaci* on his back<sup>23</sup> and carries him out of the kiva to the plaza where they join the other two messengers. One of the *Gomaiyawaci* gives the war chief a string with four knots in it:<sup>24</sup> this means that the katsina (or *Kopictaiya*, as the case may be) will come to visit *Acoma* 4 days hence. The war chief makes

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Parsons, 1920, p. 99, fig. 7. These lightning sticks at *Laguna* had to be made by the *Shiwana* *tcayani*.

<sup>22</sup> See White, 1932, p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> *Koyemshi*, *Zuñi* counterpart of *Gomaiyawaci*, is carried on the back of a katsina in a *Zuñi* ceremony (Parsons, 1939, p. 979).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the *Zuñi* calendar strings of *Shalako*, one of which is kept by *Father Koyemshi* (Parsons, 1939, p. 979).

this announcement to the people (who will have gathered in the plaza for the message of the Gomaiyawaci), and tells them to make prayer sticks.

After further "sign talk," the Gomaiyawaci say goodbye. Two of them give the long deerskins which they wear to the cacique; the other two give theirs to the war chief. They leave the pueblo by the south trail and "go back to Wenimats," their home in the West. After dark, the sicti gaiya (kiva chiefs) reenter the pueblo, put their costumes away, and go home.

#### SANTIAGO AND TCAPIYÓ

A man representing Santiago "rides" a little black wooden horse on San Estevan's day "every once in a while."<sup>25</sup> Santiago is accompanied by a drummer (who beats a snarelike drum with two sticks, i. e., a Spanish type of drum), and preceded by Tcapiyó. Tcapiyó is a bogey mask said to have come from El Paso, and is used to frighten children for disciplinary reasons. He is found in many pueblos (see Parsons and Beals, 1934, p. 498).

Santiago is impersonated because of a vow.<sup>26</sup> That is why he does not appear every year. It takes the impersonator months to get everything ready. He has to visit a number of pueblos and in each collect seeds of various cultivated plants, bits of horse and sheep manure, etc. These he keeps in a bag and eventually distributes among his own people (presumably during the ceremony) "to make them rich in crops and stock." The impersonator must provide himself with a complete outfit of new clothing for his appearance: shoes, hat, suit, shirt, silk kerchief (which is worn over the face, just below the eyes), etc. All these things at the conclusion of the ceremony the impersonator must distribute. One informant said that the impersonator might give them away in the pueblo, to his friends or relatives, presumably. Another informant said that he must "take them out somewhere and give them to Santiago," i. e., deposit them at a shrine, for the saint.

During the day on which Santiago appears, a Flint society man or a Fire society man must remain in his society's house all day.

#### CLAN CEREMONIES

There were four clans (only) at Acoma which were custodians of ceremonies, or possessed ceremonial prerogatives: The Corn clan

<sup>25</sup> Actually, of course, the "rider" carries the horse (through which the rider's body passes), suspending him with a strap across the rider's shoulders. (See White, 1935, pp. 150-151, fig. 42; 1942; 1942 a, pp. 256-257.)

<sup>26</sup> Cf. White, 1942 a, p. 258. Santiago with hobby horse is a common impersonation in Mexican saint's day dances. One dance is called "Los Santiagos." Participation in any saint's day dance in Mexico is often because of a vow, *por promesa*.—E. C. P.

had the Curatca ceremony (White, 1932, p. 94), the Pumpkin and Parrot clans jointly shared the salt-gathering ritual (White, 1932, p. 139), and the Antelope clan provided the cacique and was "the head of the katsina" (White, 1932, p. 41). Only these clans had "clan houses" in which they met for ceremonial purposes, and in which they kept whatever ceremonial paraphernalia they might possess. The other clans "had nothing to meet about."

One can speak of clan "heads" at Acoma only in a general way. The eldest male of a clan may be called *nawai* (head or elder), but, except for the clans which possess ceremonies, this "headship" is virtually meaningless, since the head has no functions. The head of the Corn clan is the man in charge of the Curatca ceremony. The heads of the Pumpkin and Parrot clans were in charge of salt gathering (but it was the cacique and the war chief who made the prayer sticks which they took with them to the lake). The cacique is the head both of the Antelope clan and of the katsina ceremonies. These heads of the four ceremony-possessing clans are assisted by two or three men (how chosen I was unable to learn), one of whom succeeds to the office.

*Origin of the Corn clan ceremony.*—Curatca lived in the north, somewhere. He built fires on the mountains all around. Conata, Komitina, and Co-ma'acka (all katsina) joined Curatca. Kaupat joined him, too, as he was a great fire builder. (It was Kaupat who built the fire that produced the lava beds near Grants; White, 1932, pp. 165-168; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, pp. 76-82.) When Curatca and the other katsina got close to Acoma, they met the *nawai* of the Corn clan. "What are you doing and why?" the *nawai* asked Curatca. "This is my work," said Curatca, "I do this every 5 or 10 years. I am not doing this to burn (i. e., to destroy) the world, but to heat Mother Earth to make her more fertile (*diwa'coititanu sinaiya ha-atsi*)." Then the head of the Corn clan said to Curatca, "I am glad to receive you and welcome you. I want you to belong to the Corn clan. I want you to be our *nawai*."<sup>27</sup> So the katsina stayed with the Corn clan at Acoma. But after a time they went to Wenima, and the Corn clan made masks to represent them. That is why the Corn clan has the Curatca ceremony today (White, 1932, pp. 94-96).

*The Antelope clan.*—This clan "wanted the katsina" when the people were living at White House. That is why they are the head of the katsina today. (Cf. White, 1932, pp. 154-156; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, pp. 35-38; Gatschet, 1891; Parsons, 1917.)

<sup>27</sup> This is out-and-out Hopi pattern.—E. C. P.

LAND TENURE:<sup>28</sup> THE COMMUNAL FARM

All the land at Acoma "belongs to the cacique." Land for farming is allotted by the cacique to men who ask for it; the cacique goes to the land and marks off its boundaries. In the old days, when a man asked the cacique for land, it was the custom to give him a present of a blanket or buckskin, or some flour. Nowadays, the cacique "asks for the present—just like the (Catholic) priest at baptism."

When land has been allotted to a man it "belongs" to him and his family. At his death his widow and daughters inherit it. Land was transmitted, as a rule, from mother to daughter, but if there were no daughters, a son could inherit the land. Although in theory the "title" to all land remained permanently in the cacique's hands, custom would not permit him to deprive a family of farming land that they were using; it was theirs as long as they continued to use it. But, should a family discontinue the use of a field or garden, the cacique could reassign it to someone else. When the cacique allotted land to a family he received no rent for its use (but see below).

Grazing, timber, and hunting lands were open to all; anyone (i. e., any Acoma Indian) was free to use or exploit them. There were no "clan lands."

Near the Acoma mesa, on the west side, is a tract of 10 or 15 acres of farming land which is, in effect, a communal farm; it is worked by all the people of Acoma and the crops are devoted to communal purposes.<sup>29</sup> The war chief has charge of this farm; under his direction the people plant and till the fields and harvest the crops. Only corn is grown in these fields. The crop is stored in the war chief's house.

When a communal ceremony (such as a masked dance) approaches, the "little chiefs" (i. e., helpers of the war chief) (White, 1932, p. 51) at the direction of the war chief, call unmarried girls and boys to the war chief's house to shell corn from the communal store. After the shelling, the little chiefs take the corn to various houses in the pueblo to be ground. When they go to a house the woman there brings out a basket which the little chiefs fill with shelled corn. (Thus, by the size of her basket a woman regulates the amount of work she is willing to do.) When the women have ground the corn they take the meal to the war chief's house, where the cocineros (cooks) (White, 1932, p. 51) receive it and pile it on a wagon sheet

<sup>28</sup> See White, 1932, pp. 34, 42; Parsons, 1917, p. 173.

<sup>29</sup> This farm is, no doubt, the equivalent of the "cacique's fields" in other Keresan towns. (See Stirling, 1942, p. 105.)

on the floor. When the cooks return a basket to its owner, they give her a small quantity of meal to "pay" her for her work.

Now the little chiefs take the meal around the pueblo to the houses of skillful wafer-bread makers to have the meal made up into wafer bread. The women make the bread in the morning. At noon the little chiefs go to each woman who has made bread and give her a little rabbit stew to pay her for her work. The women take the bread to the war chief's house and deliver it to the cooks (the cocineros). The bread will be used to feed the katsina or the Kopicitaiya in the forthcoming ceremony.

If a family has had a very poor harvest and needs help, they may apply to the war chief, who will give them some corn from the communal store.

The war chief works in his fields in addition to supervising the communal fields. The cacique works in his own fields,<sup>30</sup> but occasionally he draws upon the communal stores for corn.

#### RITUAL CORN GRINDING

There used to be three corn-grinding groups among the women of Acoma. One group used Zuñi songs; another used Ga'cputi (meaning obscure, apparently connected with the Koshare) songs and ritual (these were introduced by a Laguna woman who married into Acoma); and the third group used kaca'ri songs, which "have always been at Acoma."

The women who used the Laguna songs were organized into a group which had a head called naiya (mother). Any woman could join this group, but, once a member, she could not withdraw. When the women wanted to grind, the "mother" set a date 4 days in advance. All members of the group were obliged to attend. They would meet at the house of one of their number shortly after midnight. Six of the women would grind at the six bins [one for each of the six directions?]. As is not uncommon in grinding, each woman would smear some flour on each cheek.<sup>31</sup> The women who were not grinding would sit out in front and sing grinding songs.

One of the grinding groups would "hire" men to sing for them while grinding. Two or three men would play flutes (o'kaiyatan), the others would beat time with a stick upon pieces of buffalo hide. (Cf. Laguna, Parsons, 1923, p. 216; general, Parsons, 1939, pp. 380-381.) The men got their breakfast and dinner as their "pay." The women would bring their best meat and bread along to eat. They

<sup>30</sup> This contradicts previous data (White, 1932, p. 42). To be sure it has been reported that the people only harvested for the cacique (Parsons, 1918, p. 173).

<sup>31</sup> I have frequently seen women, grinding alone or with another woman, with their cheeks smeared with flour, but I never learned why they do it. Cf. Parsons, 1939, p. 294, fn.

were obliged to grind all of the grain that they had brought before they quit. Sometimes they had to work until 9 or 10 o'clock at night to finish.

#### KICK-STICK RACE

Kick-sticks are made in four different sizes. The smallest size is called *icto'a* (arrow) *hame g'a'aca* (of that size) *atcawai'y<sub>i</sub>* (kick-stick); it is the size of an arrow shaft. The next size (larger) is called *wacg'a'aca* (next, or second size) *atcawaiy<sub>i</sub>*; the third size is *g'a'atca* (large size) *atcawaiy<sub>i</sub>*; the largest size is called *da'wa-k'a* (over all) *atcawaiy<sub>i</sub>*. The first and second sizes are the ones used most. The largest size, the *dawak*, is not used very much: "it makes the boys run too fast."

The races are run by two teams, each chosen from a kiva group. (There are no clan races.) The number of men constituting a team might vary, and also, apparently, one team might have more members than the other. If they were going to run a great distance they would have four men (or boys) on a team; if the distance to be run were not very great, the teams might be composed of only two or three runners each. Long ago, when the men and boys used to spend a great deal of time in the kivas during the wintertime, these races used to be much more frequent than they are now.

While the runners were getting ready, the members of their respective kivas would be arranging wagers. The betting was voluntary and conducted individually. A man who wished to place a bet would bring whatever he wished to wager—arrows, buckskin, belts, leggings, mantas, bows, etc.—to a meeting place in the plaza. There he would seek a man in the other kiva group who wished to bet. When they had come to terms on the value of their respective wagers, the articles were tied together and placed in a pile on the ground; these articles were watched by a man who belonged to neither kiva represented in the race. The runners themselves did no betting; they remained in their respective kivas until all wagers were arranged. (Cf. Culin, 1907, pp. 668-669; Parsons, 1923, p. 219, and 1939, p. 821 ff.)

The runners come out of their kivas. They wear only a breechclout. The war chief gives one kick-stick to each team. The sticks have been made by the war chief who takes pains to have them of equal size. Each team paints its kick-stick. First they are whitened with *ha-ck'a-ny<sub>i</sub>* (isinglass; this material was formerly used for window-panes, and even today there are some houses with panes of isinglass): they rub the isinglass in a groove on a flat rock, spit on the powder thus formed, making a paste which is smeared thinly over the entire surface of the sticks. When the coat of white has dried on the sticks, one team paints both ends of its stick black; the stick is then called *g'a'ci*, white. The other team paints a black stripe around the middle of its

stick; it is then known as tso'yo. Two of the four tubes in the game of hidden ball (White, 1932, p. 138; Culin, 1907, p. 351) are named a'a'ci and tso'yo. The informant said he did not know the meaning of these names, but a Sia informant told me that tso'yo means "tied around the middle."

The teams, together with a great crowd of men and boys now go down to the foot of the mesa to a sand pile on the west side, where the race is to begin. The war chief starts them. One runner in each team kicks the stick as far as he can. Another runner, called ga'oyokai (watcher), runs up to where the kick-stick has come to rest and points it out to his team mates with a stick which he carries, crying, "Do'sinu," (right here!). Then he runs on ahead to locate the stick after it has been kicked again. Each team kicks only its own stick, of course.

They start below the Acoma mesa on the west side. They run toward the west, then south, east, north, and west again, returning to their starting point. All of the men and boys in the pueblo who are able to do so, usually run along after the teams (except, of course, the cacique, war chiefs, medicine men, etc.). There is great enthusiasm during these races. The course varies in length from 2 or 3 to 8 or 10 miles. The war chief remains at the starting point; it is he who judges the winner. When the teams have returned, the war chief takes both the kick-sticks and "goes out to pray with them."

The purpose of the race is, like so many pueblo ceremonies, "to bring rain."<sup>32</sup> "The katsina use kick-sticks when they come bringing the rain. If you watch the water coming down off of a mesa during a rain, you will see that it does not flow evenly; it comes in spurts. That is because the katsina are running along, kicking their atca-waiyi." It is said, also, that these races serve to "make the boys good runners."

The pile of articles, laid as wagers, are distributed to their respective winners at the end of the race.

#### BIRTH

At birth, the sister of the new-born baby's father comes, bathes the baby, and cares for him for 4 days. On the morning of the fourth day, before sunrise, a medicine man and his wife take the baby out to present him to the sun and to give him a name (White, 1932, pp. 132-135). The medicine man paints "lines, or bird or animal tracks" underneath the eyes of baby boys, on their cheek bones; the faces of girls are smeared with corn pollen and corn meal.

<sup>32</sup> A kick-stick is deposited, as a prayer stick, for rain (White, 1932, p. 127, pl. 15, r; Stirling, 1942, p. 45.)

## TWINS

They are called tso-k'o (pair). "Maybe they are caused by the deer or antelope" (because these animals bring forth their young in pairs). (Cf. Zuñi, Parsons, 1939, p. 90; see, too, Parsons, 1918, p. 176.) No special power is attributed to twins, as at Laguna or among Hopi. (See Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 298; Parsons, 1939, p. 1055.)

## NAMING

Names are of common gender; the same name might be given to a girl or a boy. As among Hopi, the name of the child frequently alludes to the name of his father's clan. For example, a child whose father belongs to the Eagle clan might be named cpai'ak<sup>a</sup>, a short, fluffy eagle feather, frequently worn at the crown of the head (White, 1932, p. 153). One whose father was a member of the Corn clan might be named ya'pac (cornsilk). If the father was of the Oak clan, the child might be called masa-n<sup>ri</sup> (leaves).

## CEREMONIAL ADOPTION

When a child is to be initiated into the katsina organization, his father selects a man to "take care of him" during the initiation. This man belongs to the same clan as the father, as a rule, but he may be selected from another clan. This sponsor selects another man, usually a close relative, to assist in the initiation ritual by tying a feather in the hair of the novice and giving him a new name (White, 1932, pp. 71-75). After the initiation, the head of the novice is washed by the wife of the sponsor and her sisters. If the sponsor and the-one-who-ties-on-the-feather belong to a clan other than that of the novice's father, the novice will thereafter address them as naicdia, father, and their wives as mother. (If these two men belonged to the same clan as the father, the child would call them father because of this fact, apart from the initiation.) But the novice would not extend the use of relationship terms to clansmen of those he addresses as "father."

## ADOPTION BY CURING

If one is sick and wishes to join a curing society, he selects one of the doctors to be his "father." This man teaches the novice, provides him with clothing and paraphernalia upon being initiated, and gives him his new name. Thereafter they address each other as father and son. (There is doubt in this instance whether or not the new member would address all men in his "doctor father's" clan as father and their respective wives as mother.)

BEHAVIOR OF RELATIVES <sup>33</sup>

A mother might "whip" her child; a father "should not."<sup>34</sup> A boy is usually taught such things as hunting, moccasin making, names of birds, animals, etc., by his father, although his mother's brother may instruct him in these matters, too. One informant said that it was his mother's father who used to tell him "the stories about long ago." Sacred lore concerning Shipap, the katsina, and so on, are told to the boy by the cacique at the time of initiation into the katsina organization (White, 1932, pp. 74-75). A young man might be advised regarding his contemplated marriage by his father and mother and by their brothers and sisters; a girl might be similarly advised. It is the father's sister who comes at childbirth, bathes the baby, and cares for him until after he has been named on the fourth day. The father's sister is accorded the same treatment as the mother's sister; "you are supposed to be good to her." Both father's sister and mother's brother may call upon a boy to work for them; if both ask simultaneously, preference would be given to the father's sister "because she is a woman and needs it more." The mother's brother advises boys, telling them what is right, wrong, etc.; but he does not whip his sister's children. A man is called *ctanawai'ic* (our head) by his sister and her children: "he is the head of that family." All cousins, whether on the mother's side or on the father's, are treated alike. Grandfathers frequently take care of small grandchildren while their mother is working. Older sisters have to take care of their younger brothers and sisters. "A man works for his wife and her family."

One is buried by his close relatives; no relative has any special duty in this matter, so far as I could discover. An old man or woman, who had no brothers or sisters, children or grandchildren, would be buried by the clansmen of his or her father.

*Joking relationship.*—This exists between grandfathers and grandsons and between grandmothers and granddaughters (reciprocal relationship terms are employed by these relatives). A boy might ridicule his grandfather (either paternal or maternal), for example, saying: "I can chop wood better than that," upon seeing him chopping. A girl might say to her grandmother, "I could grind corn better than that," or "I could make better tortillas than that." "The

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<sup>33</sup> The following notes are statements made by informants. There was little opportunity to study correlation between them and actual practice.

<sup>34</sup> But actual whipping seems to have been very rare. The usual disciplinary device is to frighten the child with the threat that a bogey (usually *Tcapiyó*) will get him. A man told me that once one of his sons, in play, put a slipnoose around the neck of his younger brother and drew it tight. "He nearly choked him to death. I ran out and took the rope off and called to his mother. She ran out and got the little boy. Then she whipped the big one."

boy helps out his grandmother against her husband; the girl helps out her grandfather against his wife." This custom is said to encourage children to "do their best, to do more and better work, so they will be better than their elders." But, "they don't joke as much at Acoma as they do at Laguna." One never jokes with his parents nor with their brothers and sisters, nor with the relatives of a spouse.

#### RECEPTION OF A FOREIGN SPOUSE

When a man, bringing his foreign bride home, nears the Acoma mesa the war chief (who would have been advised of their approach, of course) comes down to the foot of the trail on the south side to meet them. He leads them up the trail, making hi'amón'i (a "road" of corn meal) for them. When they near the top of the mesa, the war chief calls out to the cacique, who has come out to greet them, telling him that a girl of the ——— clan from ——— (naming clan and pueblo) is coming to Acoma to live. "Hima'na! (Welcome!)" the cacique cries, "Dy'vpi'iana (Let her come up!)" The war chief asks for permission to admit the stranger, asking four times,<sup>35</sup> and as many times the cacique bids her enter and be welcome. Then the party goes up on top of the mesa. The cacique embraces the newcomer saying, "You are my daughter. You are now under my arm (or, on the top of my head)."<sup>36</sup> Then the war chief takes the couple to the house of the groom where his father and mother greet them. The groom's mother washes the heads of both bride and groom. If the clan of the adopted girl is represented at Acoma, all of the women of that clan come and wash her head: each woman puts a bit of suds on the girl's head, then the "mother" (naiya, i. e., the oldest woman of the clan) finishes the washing. The girl keeps her own name; she is not given a new one. Should her clan be lacking in Acoma, given descendants she would become the founder of a new clan there. If she had been a medicine woman at her former home, she would have to join one of the Acoma medicine societies, the one most like her own.

A foreign bridegroom would be received at Acoma in the same manner as a foreign bride. Any Indian spouse would be given this

<sup>35</sup> This is the customary procedure, faithfully reported in myths and tales. At this point I asked the informant, "Why do they always ask questions like this four times?" "Because they think that makes it more complete."

<sup>36</sup> "Under my arm" is a metaphor similar to "under my wing." (See Stirling, 1942, p. 91). The houses of Acoma pueblo rest upon the top of rocks called ya-k'a (corn) k'oto'na (the perfect, completely kernalled ear of corn). G'ana'atruetca (? on the top of), i. e., the houses rest on the top of a perfect ear of corn, standing erect on the butt end. The cacique is the earthly representative of the mother, Iatiku, who is represented by a perfect ear of corn. Thus the ear of corn may stand for the cacique. Hence, these rocks are as the cacique, and the pueblo is on the top of his head.

reception, but no white, Negro, or Mexican spouse would be so received.

#### DEATH AND BURIAL

Before burial a medicine man paints on the faces of boys or men the designs that were painted on their faces when they were presented to the sun on the fourth morning after birth; and, consistently, the faces of deceased girls or women are smeared with pollen. To the crown of a woman's head her husband (or the *nawai*, head, of her clan, if she has no husband) ties a *cpai'ak'*<sup>a</sup> (short, fluffy eagle feather).

The hair of the deceased is cut before burial.<sup>37</sup> A man's hair is cut in front so that it reaches the eyebrows, and on the side it is cut on a level with the chin. "This is the way *Iatik* (the mother of the Indians) wears her hair" (it is also the way the men at Santo Domingo, but not at *Acoma*, wear their hair). The hair of deceased women is cut in front and on each side on a level with the mouth, parted in the middle, and tucked behind the ears.

After the body has been taken out for interment, a stick that has been used to poke and stir the fire (*baiyakani*) is laid in the place where the dead one lay. This poker represents the body of the deceased. A flint arrowhead, representing the heart of the deceased, is placed by the poker. These are kept there for 4 days. A bowl of water is placed by them to supply them with drinking water, and they are "fed" at each meal (i. e., a bit of food is placed on the floor beside them).

On the fourth day after burial, a medicine man takes the poker, flint, bowl, food (that has been "fed" to the stick and the flint), and a prayer stick out to the north side of the pueblo, where he buries everything except the flint "heart"; this he returns to the relatives of the deceased.

#### ALL SOULS' DAY <sup>38</sup>

On the evening of November 1, the souls of the dead return from Shipap to visit their relatives; they spend one night and then return to Shipap. On the afternoon of the first, the governor, or the *bickale*, has someone ring the church bell about 3 o'clock; it is rung continuously until midnight. About dusk, women of the various households take food to the church; they put it down on the platform in front of the church (the dead are buried in the churchyard in front of the church). First they pray, then they put down some wafer bread, then they put the stewed meat on top of the bread; this food is

<sup>37</sup> This may be one explanation for the extreme opposition in early days to cutting the hair of schoolboys.—E. C. P.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Dumarest, 1919, pp. 170-172; White, 1935, pp. 148-149.

for the dead. They light a candle and leave it by the food. One of the bickale is there to get the candles; he extinguishes them and keeps them for the Catholic priest. Later on in the evening, "some boys and old folks" come and get the food; they either eat it there or take it home to eat.

In the evening, after dark, groups of people who know how to pray in Spanish go from house to house singing Catholic hymns. When they come to someone's house they call out "Sare'mo, sare'mo!"<sup>39</sup> The women of the house have to give them bread. The medicine men make prayer sticks for the dead.<sup>40</sup>

At Acomita (a colony of Acoma some 12 miles away), the procedure is the same. "Before they had the church at Acomita, they used to take the food out toward the north." Many Mexicans come to Acomita on this night to get bread. "They come in wagons. You've got to give it to them."

#### PRAYER STICKS

Any male at Acoma may make prayer sticks (h'a'tcamīnyi) (White, 1932, pp. 125-129, pls. 13, 14, 15) after he has passed through the katsina initiation; females make wabanyi (feather bunches) instead of prayer sticks.

#### VARIOUS NAMES AND TERMS

G'au'watsaicoma; a pit in the floor on the north side of a kiva, or a pit in the wall where people put prayer feather bunches, prayer sticks, or prayer meal. The war chief gathers these and takes them out to one of the four Gauwatsaicoma of the cardinal points, near Acoma. When men go out hunting, they deposit their prayer sticks in these Gauwatsaicoma. The hole in the earth at Shipapu, through which the Indians emerged into this world, is called Gauwatsaicoma (it is the *real* Gauwatsaicoma).

<sup>39</sup> We had surmised that this term was from *salvemos*, "(?) let us taste" (Parsons, 1939, p. 856), but it is probably from *oremus*, "let us pray." Mexican children going from house to house sing:

Oremos! Oremos! Angelitos  
Somos del cielo venimos  
A pedir limosna, y si no nos  
Dan, puestas y ventanas  
Quebraremos!  
Oremos! Oremos!

"Hear us! [?] Hear us! Little angels are we  
Who from Heaven have come  
To ask for alms,  
And if we are denied,  
Doors and windows we will break!  
Hear us! Hear us!"

(Otero, 1936, p. 71-72).—E. C. P.

<sup>40</sup> The curing societies at Santo Domingo and at Cochiti hold meetings at this time.

G'o'wawaima is a place at the foot of the Acoma mesa on the west side; it is the home of hi'ctianyi k'o'asvt, "flint-wing creature."<sup>41</sup>

Tsi'mait: "Earth"; a design made on the floor with colored sands and corn meal; represents naiya ha'atsi (mother earth). Tsimait are made at communal cures and at childbirth (White, 1932, p. 133, pl. 16), but are not made at initiation into the katsina organization.

Tsica'ata Dyaoma'wa: supernatural power.

Maia'nyi: These are spirits, or supernatural powers, such as the sun, the moon, stars, the kopictaiya, the rain makers of the cardinal points, tsa-ts<sup>i</sup> (soul or breath), the katsina, airplanes, clouds, Masewi and Oyoyewi, Nautst. "Maianyi<sup>42</sup> are anything that we don't know."

Sicti: "any common person;" one who has been initiated into the katsina organization is sicti tciaianyi. But one is not sicti while wearing a katsina mask. Medicine men, Koshare, and officers (while in office only) are not sicti (cf. White, 1935, pp. 167-168).

#### COLOR-DIRECTIONS

<i>Direction</i>	<i>Color</i>
North (tibya'mi)-----	k'otcni (yellow).
West (bvnami)-----	k'o'ick <sup>a</sup> (blue).
South (k'o'wami)-----	kvk'an (red).
East (h'a'nami)-----	stcamits (white).
Zenith (eyi'nami)-----	mctits ("black"?).
Nadir (nik'ami)-----	tsl'ck' <sup>a</sup> (gray?).

#### MEN-WOMEN

In 1851, Wm. A. Hammond, a medical officer in the United States Army (who later became Surgeon General in the Army, professor of diseases of the mind and nervous system in the New York Post-Graduate Medical School, and president of the American Neurological Association) examined a man-woman at Acoma, and described him as follows:

There was no remarkable development of the mammary glands; the pubis was devoid of hair; the penis was greatly shrunken, not being over an inch in length when flaccid, and of about the circumference of the little finger. The testicles apparently consisted of nothing but connective tissue, as no pain was experienced on strong pressure being applied to the soft flat masses, about the size of a kidney bean, which lay at the bottom of the scrotum.

<sup>41</sup> See White, 1932, p. 172-178; Boas, 1928, pt. 1, pp. 111-118. At Santo Domingo, Gowawaima is a "place in the south" where certain "shiwana" (who may be seen by white people) come from (White, 1935, p. 114). Go'hawaima is mentioned in a Cochiti version of the emergence as a place in the south toward which the migration proceeded (Benedict, 1931, p. 250).

<sup>42</sup> Boas renders maianyi "vapor" in speaking of the return of the spirits of the dead: "they eat only the maianyi of the food set out for them" (Boas, 1928, pt. 1, p. 299).

There was no genital deformity of any kind whatever. The limbs and the whole body were full and rounded, and there was not a sign of hair anywhere except on the scalp. The voice was shrill and weak. As he stood naked before me, the whole appearance was more that of a woman than of a man. When he put on his woman's dress, it was impossible to discover any mark of difference between him and the women among whom he lived.<sup>43</sup>

On several occasions I endeavored to secure information about men-women at Acoma. "They dress, talk, and live like women because they want to, and in their body they are men," sums up the information I have received. Most informants were reluctant to talk about them; one old man positively refused, saying that it was "a shame."

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<sup>43</sup>Sexual Impotence in the Male, p. 164 ff. I am indebted to Mr. E. D. Cumming, of Scarsdale, N. Y., for this reference.

## AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN ACOMA INDIAN

### INTRODUCTION

Autobiographies of North American Indians are not numerous. It is especially difficult to secure them from Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. This is due to the peculiar mentality of these people. They are not individualists; they are not given to reflective introspection and analysis. They do not conceive of human experience as something dependent upon an intimate and personal encounter and compact with a supernatural being, a guardian spirit (as do the Plains Indians, or the Winnebago). Rather they conceive of the world (cosmos) as a vast, intricate, yet well-ordered machine, which, properly tended, will run smoothly and forever. It is not exactly a machine, in the mechanical sense, but rather an organization and integration of beings and powers whose behavior conforms to a fairly uniform pattern, and upon whose regularity one can depend.

Life to a Pueblo Indian is analogous to a great ocean liner at sea. The Pueblo Indian fits into the pueblo as a member of the crew fits into the ship's company. The crew must run the ship, they must know how to control it, to articulate it with the forces of the sea and the heavens. They must know how to manipulate such paraphernalia as sextants and barometers, and must know formulas of triangulation and barometric pressure. As there are navigators, stokers, helmsmen, and deckhands, so there are sun watchers, priests, and ordinary folk (the *sicti*) among the Pueblos. And as the personal and subjective experience of the individual is irrelevant to the conduct of the ship, so is the personal and subjective experience of the Pueblo Indian irrelevant to the conduct of pueblo life.

The nature of the Pueblo Indian's world is known to him from mythology. He knows that to live with his people and his gods he must behave according to a pattern that is laid out for him. Whether he be a priest or an ordinary common person, it is all the same: he must know what to do and how to do it. This means that almost all of life is formalized, ritualized. One cannot even pray except upon specified occasions and with set formulas. One's individuality is the individuality of a unit in a textile pattern, repeated over and over again.

I have tried numerous times to secure autobiographies, but without much success. The Indian tells of his initiation into the organization which impersonates gods with the same impersonality and detachment

that he tell of his birth. The autobiography of a Pueblo Indian is about as personal as the life story of an automobile tire.

The following autobiographic sketch is presented with full realization of all this, and with an appreciation of its many shortcomings. Still it is the best that could be obtained. It presents a number of snapshots of a Pueblo Indian, which have some value, as well as illuminating a few passages and points in Acoma history and sociology. The narrator is about 73 years old (1941).

#### AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The church was there [at Acoma] when I first opened my eyes. A priest lived there all alone. Before that time there used to be judges and constables living there with the priest. Everybody had to go to church then. If a man or woman did not go, the judges or constables came and got him, or her, and took him to the church. They tied him to a post and whipped him, or her, until he said "yes." If a husband or a wife ran around with someone else, the wife or husband could tell the judges. They decided what to do. If they decided that the accused was guilty they took him to the *Komanira* [the house in which "council" meetings are held]<sup>44</sup> and whipped him.

The people had to supply the priest and the judges and constables with food and wood. The *Bickale* [fiscals] had charge of that. Every family had to contribute. The unmarried girls and boys had to work in the church and the school and in the quarters of the priest, judges, and constables. They had a school in those days; they taught the children to read and write Spanish and they taught the Catholic religion. Whenever they had *katsina* dances at Acoma the priest and the constables had to stay in their rooms or leave the mesa.

But when I was a little boy only the priest lived at Acoma, alone. I don't know why the teachers and judges left. Someone told me that they had a quarrel with the Indians and the Indians were going to kill them. When I was a little boy the convento was in good shape and very pretty. We used to have Mass every morning and on Sunday, too.<sup>45</sup>

In the house where I first opened my eyes lived my mother and father, my mother's mother and father, three brothers and two sisters of my mother, and my mother's mother's mother. One of my *sanawε* (mother's brother), the oldest, was married and lived at

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<sup>44</sup> White, 1932, pp. 30, 60, fig. 1; Stirling, 1942, fig. 1, T. The term may be derived from the Spanish *comunidad*.—E. C. P.

<sup>45</sup> The priest no longer lives at Acoma. He comes there once a year on San Estevan's Day (September 2) from Old Laguna or San Fidel. He performs Mass occasionally at Acoma. (See White, 1932, p. 32.)

his wife's house. My mother's eldest sister was married; her husband lived there with us. I was the oldest among my brothers and sisters.

In those days there were no doors on the first floor of the houses. There were little isinglass (h'a-ck'a-ny') windows. There was no air except, perhaps, through a little hole in the window. Whenever there was any hollering [specifically, announcements of the war chief or governor] in the streets, my mother would listen at this hole, or else look out. Indoors we spent most of our time on the ground floor in wintertime. In summer we lived on the second (or third) floor. We slept on sheep pelts [as many do today].

I used to play with a boy about my size who lived next door. He was not a relative. We used to hunt squirrels and birds with bow and arrow, both on top of the mesa and at the bottom.

My mother's mother (sapapa) and mother's father (sanana), he especially, used to tell me stories. I used to spend a lot of time with them.

We didn't have any wagons or kerosene lamps then. We had some two-wheeled carts with solid wooden wheels. For light we had a bowl with sheep fat in it and a wick. We never had any matches; we made fire with a fire drill (a-'y'atcómé). There were only a few guns in the pueblo, mostly flint locks. Most hunters hunted with bow and arrows and clubs. Some people had a few Mexican dishes, but most of the families had only [Indian] pottery bowls. At that time no one did any farming in the Acomita valley. There were only a few houses at Acomita; they belonged to people who used to graze their sheep down there.

When I was very small my mother's father and mother went to Laguna to sell some pottery and buy some things. They brought back some wheat. That was the first time I ever saw it. Once in a while they got some coffee and sugar. Poor Mother! She was very fond of coffee. But we were very poor and never had much.

My father was a medicine man: he was the head of the Fire Society. These tciaanyi used to perform their ceremony<sup>46</sup> twice a year. My mother and I used to go with them. Everybody had to wait on top of the k'a'atc [kiva; chamber where the society held its meeting] until the tciaanyi sang the song for us to come down. When they sang the song for us to come in, one medicine man would come up and remove the line of ashes with his flint.<sup>47</sup> We were all eager to get in first in

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<sup>46</sup> Solstice ceremonies? (See White 1932, pp. 84-85.)

<sup>47</sup> During initiation ceremonies medicine societies lay down lines of ashes on the ground around the front of the house. No one is allowed to cross this line, under penalty of becoming a member of the society (White, 1932, p. 112). The same custom is observed at other Keresan pueblos.

order to get the good seats. Women with small children went into a room on the west side of the curing chamber.

There used to be lots of medicine men, more than there are now. When we would come in, the tcaianyi would have their ya-baicm [wooden slat altar] up. The head man would be sitting in front of the sand painting by his two medicine-bowls. These bowls were made of gypsum (Spanish, yeso; Keresan, ba't<sup>u</sup>) hollowed out; they had terraced sides, and pictures of snakes, clouds, lightning, etc., painted or carved on the sides.

[Here the narrator went into a detailed account of the paraphernalia and ritual; how the medicine man gathered, dried, and ground the herb medicine, etc. It was difficult to get him to tell about his *own* experiences.] I used to get scared at these ceremonies. The tcaianyi used to tell us about witches, and how they went around killing people. When they would look through the ma'caiyoyo [the quartz crystal that gives second sight] (see White, 1932, p. 110; 1932 a, p. 47; 1935, p. 127; Densmore, 1938, p. 60; Parsons, 1920, p. 119; Dumarest, 1919, p. 156) to find the witches, they would yell and scare us. My mother and I and my sisters used to have to stay after the ceremony was all over, as my mother had to pack up my father's things and take them home. My father had three or five yaya (honani, corn-ear fetich); one was made for him at the time of initiation, the others he had received at the death of society members.

There were no American doctors anywhere near Acoma in those days. The tcaianyi (medicine men) were all we had. But there were lots of them: we had Hakanyi (Fire), Hictianyi (Flint), Kapina, and Sii (Ant) tcaianyi.

When I was 5 I was "whipped into katsina" (see White, 1932, pp. 70-75). They were very strict about the katsina in those days—not like it is now; everyone had to join and take part [i.e., in the masked dances]. I was pretty scared when they initiated me. I thought Tsitsinits (the katsina whipper) was real. They didn't show us the masks until 2 or 3 years afterward, when we got to be old enough to know about such things.

We didn't have any fights with the Navahos when I was a boy. When I was about 7 years old a bunch of Indians from Cochiti, Domingo, and other pueblos near there, about 40 of them, passed through Acoma on their way to California. They were going out there to work in sheep camps or do some other work so they could buy some horses and bring them back. They stopped at Acoma over night. After supper they went through the streets singing, "California omi'arotsi, wiya heya," etc. It was a Comanche song saying, "California, I am going out there." One of the earliest of the "California, here I come" songs. Next morning they left early. One of

my mother's brothers went to California and stayed more than 10 years.

When I was about 10 years old there was a shortage of food. The crops weren't good, and we didn't have enough to eat. We had to eat prickly-pear cactus and "wild potatoes." We used to boil them with pure pottery clay and eat them. We sure had a hard time.

I went to Albuquerque when I was about 12 years old to attend the Mission school there. There was no school at Acoma. I couldn't talk either English or Spanish. When we got to Albuquerque we had to cross the river by boat, as there was no bridge there then. We left our burros on the west side and crossed on a flat boat.

I stayed at the Mission 3 years without going home. Sometimes some men from Acoma would come down to the Mission to see their sons.

They were building the railroad into Albuquerque at that time. Sometimes we went down to watch the men work on it. When we first saw the locomotives we nearly fainted, we were so scared. We thought it might swallow, burn, or run over us.

At the end of 3 years we went home. They had the railroad completed as far as McCarty's [a station on the Santa Fe railroad 85 miles west of Albuquerque, with a colony of Acoma, also called McCarty's] and we rode out on a flat car. It took all day to get home. The people at Acoma thought the engine and train were supernatural. They used to make prayer sticks for the engine and put them under the ties or rails and ask the engine for what they wanted of it. When they got courage enough to come up close to the engine, they used to throw prayer meal on it.

At the end of the summer we went back to school in Albuquerque; we rode again on a flat car. I had learned to speak English during my first 3 years at school. I got my English name at school, too. My parents never learned to speak English. When we got back in the fall we helped build a new school; we helped make and burn bricks. There were some Ute boys there at school. They were "tough guys": they would not allow their hair to be cut. I got my Bible at that time—1883. I've still got it.

I didn't go to school in 1885-86. The Mission was Presbyterian, and my folks didn't like that; they thought I ought to go to a Catholic school. So in 1886 I went to the Catholic school at Santa Fe, this time on a passenger train. My father died in August 1887, and my mother's sister's husband came up to bring me home. He was the war chief at Acoma. He came on horseback, leading another horse for me.

On the way back to Acoma we stopped at Domingo. My "uncle" [mother's sister's husband is called naicdia, "father," in Keresan, but the narrator spoke of him as "uncle"] had a brother who had mar-

ried in Domingo and was living there with his wife and children. They were glad to see us. The Domingos believe that Acoma and Zuñi are close to Wenima, the home of the katsina or rain-makers. Consequently, when an Acoma or a Zuñi Indian comes to Domingo they believe that it is sure to rain because they live near the katsina.

The next day they had a katsina dance at Domingo. They danced Tsaiyaityuwi katsina<sup>48</sup> with six pairs of side dancers. They danced all morning. At noon, the side dancers made everyone go into his house and close the door while the katsina ate their lunch; no one was even allowed to see the old ladies carrying food to the dancers.<sup>49</sup>

After lunch we went back to the plaza. The side dancers were very strict. They wouldn't let people watch the dance from the housetops. You had to stay down in the plaza. And you had to *stay* there, too; you were not allowed to leave until the dance was over.<sup>50</sup> If you had to relieve yourself, you had to use a pottery bowl. During the afternoon a little boy ran across the plaza. The side dancers hollered and chased him. The tsatyao hotcani ["outside chiefs," i. e., war chiefs and their helpers] came out and held the katsina back with their yapi [staffs of office]. If they had not done this, the side dancers could have killed the little boy, or severely beaten him, and no one could have blamed them. They could do this to anybody. One of the tsatyao hotcani picked the little boy up and took him back to his mother.

Late in the afternoon it clouded up and rained, hard. The katsina kept on dancing. We all had to sit out there in the rain until they finished.

That night we stayed at my "uncle's" house. There was a girl there who took a fancy to me. She wanted me to stay there in Domingo and be her husband. I stayed with her that night (at her invitation) but the next morning I left with my "uncle." She went along with us until we got out of the pueblo about a mile. She was nice and pretty, but I did not think I was old enough to get married yet.

I never went to school again after my father died. My mother moved to the house of one of her sisters to live. I had to take care of the fields and the sheep.

But when I went back to Acoma to stay, I didn't take part in the ceremonies and their religion. I didn't want to go to the estufa

<sup>48</sup> A very important katsina at Santo Domingo today (White, 1935, pp. 97, 107, 172, fig. 22; see also Stirling, 1942, p. 48, ftu. 22).

<sup>49</sup> "At Acoma they aren't that strict. The katsina eat back of the church. No one can go back where they are except the old ladies carrying food. But anyone is allowed to see the food being carried to the dancers."

<sup>50</sup> A Santa Ana pueblo man once told me that he did not care to attend katsina dances at Santo Domingo because "they make you stay right there in the plaza until the dance is over."

[Spanish for oven; name applied by early Spaniards to kivas], make prayer sticks, etc. I believed in the Bible. When they were going to have a ceremony, like a katsina dance, I would go out to sheep camp while they were getting ready, and then come back to Acoma on the day of the dance. The old men and officers didn't like this. They had a meeting to talk about it. They decided to make all the young men who had learned some American ways take part in all the ceremonies and Indian religion.

One afternoon when I was out in the sheep camp some men came up. Two were Bickale, one was a tsatyao hotcani. They told me I had to go back with them. "What is it all about?" I asked them. "When you get back you'll see," they told me. When we got back to Acoma they let me go to my house. When my mother saw me she threw her arms around me and cried and cried. After a while some of the "little chiefs" [helpers of the war chiefs] came and took me to Mauharots estufa. This was the "head" kiva. There were lots of people inside. When you got to the entrance [in the roof] you could feel the steam [from their bodies] coming up.

The little officers took me down inside. It was stifling hot and close in there. They took me over where some other [pro-American] boys were. It was crowded in the estufa; the cacique, war chiefs, and all the medicine men were there. José Poacanti, the acting governor, was talking in a loud voice about moving Kawepima [mythical mountain of the north where Cakak, the supernatural who sends snow, lives. Sometimes identified with Mt. Taylor]. Some young men had been asking such questions as, "How can medicine men make dead people alive?" and other skeptical questions. José Poacanti was talking about the powers of the medicine men and about moving this mountain.<sup>51</sup>

I sat down by the ladder. Some people said to the little officers, "Why don't you make them come into the middle?" and, "Why don't you make them kneel down?" The Bickales made us go out into the middle of the estufa. Then the old men asked us if we had said this and that. Then José Poacanti took a big Mexican-made horse-whip and began to whip us. There were about 20 or 30 of us. José would strike first one and then another. Then they made us kneel down. Some men pulled up our shirts and José Poacanti whipped us on our bare backs. He was mad [insane] when he was doing this; he was foaming at the mouth. After they whipped us they asked us if we would go to kiva, make prayer sticks, dance katsina, etc. I didn't say anything. My two sanawε [mother's brothers] were there. They tried to persuade me to go the old way. In fact,

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<sup>51</sup> Medicine men sometimes perform marvelous "feats" of magic to demonstrate their powers. (See White, 1932, pp. 122-124.)

one of my sanawε was one of the men who had reported my leaning toward American ways to the medicine men.

This went on all night and all the next day. After all the boys accused of pro-American ways had been brought into the estufa in the afternoon, the war chief had ordered the ladder to be pulled up so no one could leave. We stayed in there all evening, all that night, and all the next day.

After they got through whipping us, José asked us, "How is it going to be—good? Huh?" Then the war chief made a long talk; then the cacique, then the heads of the medicine societies, then *each* medicine man.<sup>52</sup> They all said, "We've got to be one people, believe in the medicine men, in the katsina, etc." They all cried [wept] for pity.

That evening they let us go home. When I got home my mother, her sisters and brothers cried. They formed a group with me in the middle with their arms around each other and wept. My mother cried *so loud*. Then I began to cry. I didn't cry in the estufa, but now I felt sorry for my mother and her brothers and sisters. My back was raw and bleeding. My mother put lard on it to help it heal. I couldn't sleep for 3 nights. Afterward the skin peeled off my back in strips.<sup>53</sup>

After that I used to go to the estufa, make prayer sticks, dance in the katsina dances, and take part in their ways. None of my brothers or cousins had been whipped. But they never scolded me or made fun of me. Some time after the whipping, I went out to sheep camp; I used to stay out in sheep camp a lot. I didn't know which way to go [i. e., whether to stay Indian or become Christian-American].<sup>54</sup> I used to read the Bible a lot. I let my hair grow long. I carried corn meal [in the leather pouch to pray with].<sup>55</sup>

This was the only time they ever whipped the boys like that. Some people [James Miller, a progressive, who died about 1930, was among them] didn't like the way the boys were whipped. They had José

<sup>52</sup> Eighteen or twenty hours was not too much for all this speech-making.

<sup>53</sup> During all this account the informant had made virtually no mention of his own thoughts and feelings. Upon being questioned directly about these, he had practically nothing to add. He experienced intense pain during the whipping; he felt sorry and wept when he got back home, and no more. This is not to be attributed to a faulty memory, I believe, for the experience was profound and seemed to remain vivid in his memory. This neglect of the subjective phase seems to be due to a prevailing lack of habits of self-analysis among Pueblo Indians.

<sup>54</sup> But the informant did not tell how he debated the question to himself.

<sup>55</sup> The informant was, apparently, "going both ways" at this time. Outwardly he was conforming to Indian ways by participating in ceremonies, letting his hair grow long, and by carrying a pouch of prayer meal. But, in response to a direct question, he said that when he prayed with the sacred meal that he prayed to God! And he continued to read his Bible. He eventually became a Christian and broke with the "old ways."

Poacanti arrested and put in prison in Albuquerque for 10 years [1889-99, estimated].<sup>56</sup>

When he got back they had a meeting in the Komanira. José talked to them. He wept and told them he had done wrong and asked them not to feel mad or hard toward him, etc. After that the old men let the younger men wear trousers, shoes, etc. They could advise and urge them to remain Indian, but they couldn't whip people any more who did lean toward American ways.<sup>57</sup>

#### MY INITIATION INTO KACALE

One evening my mother said to me, "The Kacale are coming to get you sometime this evening—after dark." My father had given me to the Kacale when I was a little boy; now they were coming to get me to put me in [i. e., initiate me].

After dark two Kacale came to get me. First they prayed; then they led me over a "road" [a line of meal drawn on the floor] that they made for me. When we got to the Kacales' house they told me to sit down and fold my arms. They were going to get some others [to be initiated]. One of the head Kacale was a Flint medicine man. After all of the boys to be initiated had been brought in, the head Kacale told us why we were there, what we would have to do, etc.

Then three Kacale started making the meal painting. They brought all their things—honani, medicine bowls, beads, fetiches, hawk-tail feathers, etc.—and arranged them on the altar. The head Kacale took some yakatca [red ocher] and put a spot on the head and breast [in the region of solar plexus] of each one of us. They then began to sing. They brought us up to the altar. The head Kacale dipped the hawk-tail feathers into the medicine bowl and sprinkled all of us, the altar and everything. There was one old lady Kacale there; she brushed our hair. Then they sang *Gacpvt* songs until almost midnight, when we went home.

We had to go to their house each night for 4 consecutive nights. On the third night they gave us the mush to drink.<sup>58</sup> After we had drunk the mush, they gave us a cigarette which they lighted from

<sup>56</sup> José was only the willing hand with which the priests and medicine men wielded the whip.

<sup>57</sup> This episode is characteristic of the career of Pueblo culture subjected to the inroads of American culture. Two factions—pro-American and anti-American—develop and become more distinct and antagonistic as time passes. (See Parsons, 1939, p. 1132 ff.)

In 1931 an Acoma Indian woman told a U. S. Senate subcommittee, during a discussion of political factions at Acoma: "I am with the majority. I am supposed to be a reactionary." Senator Bratton: "You are a reactionary?" Mrs. Lola Garcia: "Yes, sir; that is what they call me." The other "party," the minority, she called the "Progressives." Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, U. S. Senate, pt. 19, p. 10166. Washington, 1932. (See also White, 1932, pp. 61-62.)

<sup>58</sup> This mush is a mixture of corn meal and water in which are mixed the nastiest, most repugnant things they can think of. (See White, 1932, p. 100.)

a stick of glowing [dead] cactus wood. We smoked. On the fourth night the head Kacale brought us some wabani<sup>59</sup> [prayer feather bunches]. We went out to the east with them singing this song:

I am going to ask  
 Ye-a, ye-a  
 I am going to ask.  
 I am going  
 Toward the east  
 On the shell trail  
 Toward the east  
 Where the water of life lies  
 Where the sun rises  
 Bringing life, health, and happiness  
 To the earth.

When we got to the eastern edge of the mesa we prayed, "got the breath," and went back to the Kacale house. When we got back the Kacale swept up the meal-painting and put their things away. They put the meal away in corn husks and stored them away. We used them afterward in the estufa to make "roads" every morning and evening. On the fifth night we started to get ready for the nakats [scalp] ceremony. (See White, 1932, pp. 98-101.)

#### A HUNTING TRIP

After I got back from school, in the fall of 1887, they were going to have a hunting trip. They were going to go down south of Acoma to hunt antelope and deer. Seventy-four hunters went in this party. They took 4 men to cook for them and 8 men to herd the burros. They took lots of burros along to bring back the meat. I went along as interpreter. My sanawε [mother's brother] brought 2 guns with him when he came back from California. He let me use one of them.

We went down south to a place called Ho'ck'anyk'o-t (the Mexicans call it Datil). A white man was living there. There was a post-office, too. We asked for permission to camp there, near a spring. "All right, but don't camp too close," he told us. So we camped there. The burro tenders built a big corral for the burros and our horses. The cooks built a fire and cooked an antelope for our supper.

The war chief told us that we should all be in camp that evening, as we were to sing our hunting songs. After supper, the boys built a big fire. The war chief put down two honani [corn-ear fetiches], one belonged to the cacique (who did not come) and one belonged to a medicine man who was in the party. Each hunter had a caiyaik<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> These had something to do with the Opi, but just what the connection is I did not learn. The Opi are very close to the Koshare. (See White, 1932, pp. 97-101; Stirling, 1942, p. 87, fn. 87.)

<sup>60</sup> A stone animal fetich representing a mountain lion. Medicine men who have power over game animals are called caiyaik. Birds and beasts of prey are the "real" caiyaik, however, and, among these, the mountain lion is foremost. (See Stirling, 1942, p. 23.)

in a buckskin bag, together with corn meal, beads, etc. The hunters put their fetiches down in front of the honani. They all sang hunting songs until about midnight.

At daylight everyone was up, and as soon as they had eaten they started out to hunt. The hunters wore an antelope costume: a stuffed antelope head worn on the head, the face painted, and maybe some kind of shirt to make them look like antelope. I went out with my sanawæ. After we got a few miles from camp we saw lots of antelope—like a big herd of sheep. The hunters killed 744 on that one day. One man killed 34 by himself. When a man shot one, he didn't stop to skin it but went on and killed some more. After the first day they started skinning the antelope and cutting up the meat to dry.

When a man would start to skin an antelope he would take out his heart and dip his caiyaik in its blood to feed him; then he would put the fetich back in his pouch. If the antelope were female, the hunter would take out her stomach, cut it open, and then place her vulva in the stomach and sprinkle them with pollen. If the antelope were male, his penis and testicles were similarly placed in the stomach and sprinkled with pollen. Deer are treated in the same way. No meal is put in the animal's mouth.

We stayed out there about 2 weeks. We spent a lot of time cutting up the meat and drying it. We hunted a little, too, but we didn't kill much after the first day. When we were about ready to leave we found we didn't have enough burros to carry the meat, so the war chief sent some boys back to Acoma to get some more.

While we were waiting for the burros we used to hunt. One day I was out in the hills with a man. He was a Kapina tciaiyi. Late in the afternoon we came to a small hill. We sat down to rest for a while. "I'll go down this way and you go that way," my partner told me, "and we'll meet down there." "All right," I said. So he went away. I sat there for a while. Pretty soon I heard something coming, making cracking noises. It was a bear. He was eating acorns—you could hear him cracking them. He came up close, but he didn't see me. I was scared. I had never seen a live bear before. I didn't know what to do, whether to run away or shoot the bear. Finally I shot the bear. She jumped up high in the air and ran around. I ran away as hard as I could. I called to my partner, or to anyone who might be near. My partner came running up. "I shot a bear," I told him. "Where? Did you shoot him good?" "I don't know."

Then we began to trail the bear; every now and then we'd find a spot of blood. Sometimes the bear lay down to rest. After a long time we overtook her; she was lying down in a sort of a cave. I was still scared. "I'm going to shoot her again," I said. "No!" my

partner told me. He took a long pole and poked the bear. I had my gun ready, but she didn't move. She was dead. My shot had hit her in the back and gone through her liver and lungs.

Then we started to skin her. My partner told me not to skin below the bear's "elbow." I asked him if we were going to take off the *maci'nyi*.<sup>61</sup> "Yes." We skinned her. Under her skin she had a thick coat of fat. Then my partner took out the bear's stomach. Then he started to take out her heart. He told me to go away. I could not see what he did with the heart and stomach. Those *taiany* alone know how to do those things; nobody else can watch them. After a while he called me and told me to come. The heart and stomach were gone.<sup>62</sup>

We cut the bear up. She was greasy and very heavy. We took only the skin and two pieces of ribs back to camp. The medicine man began to cure the *macinyi*. He would fill them with hot sand to dry them out. He stuffed grass in them before we left. The next morning we went after the rest of the bear. Bear meat is good to eat. It's just like fresh pork.

The boys had returned from Acoma with the burros, so we packed up our meat and started back. When we got home I gave the bear skin to a Fire medicine man [his father, we recall, had been head of this society]. He would use it to cover a stool for the *Opi* to sit on in the *nakats* [scalp] ceremony. My partner, the *Kapina taiany*, kept the *macinyi*.

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<sup>61</sup> *Macinyi* are the bear-leg skins used by Keresan medicine men in curing patients and in fighting witches. They are eagerly sought, as well as entire bear skins. In a Sia myth, *Masewi* and *Oyoyewi*, the war god twins, killed a bear and skinned him in the same manner as this medicine man did—removing the skin from the paws, with claws attached, and cutting them off from the rest of the skin (Stevenson, 1894, p. 47). Taos Indians usually sell the bears they kill to the Domingo Indians or to some other Keresan people. (Evidence that Taos people, as they say, have no bear medicine.—E. C. P.)

<sup>62</sup> The bear is the most important of the animal supernaturals from whom the medicine men receive their power. (See White, 1932, p. 110, fn. 2.)

## TWO ACOMA TALES

### BASITYAMUTI (BUSHY HAIR YOUTH)<sup>63</sup>

A long time ago the people lived down at the bottom of the Acoma mesa on the south side. There was one man named Kowai'coteroro.<sup>64</sup> He was the best hunter of them all. He used to trap deer and antelope; he always killed lots of deer. He was a good man, but the people did not like him. But he always treated them very nice. Whenever they came to ask for meat Kowaicoteroro's wife always gave them some. Then Kowaicoteroro took his wife and family—they had some daughters and one son—and went to Tsi'a'ma to live. Tsiama was southwest of Acoma.

Kowaicoteroro's son was named Basityamuti (Bushy Hair Youth). He was a brave youth. He wore very ugly clothes and an ugly mask. Whenever he went out he always wore this mask. But when he came back home he would take it off.

Then Kowaicoteroro died. Basityamuti and his mother were all alone. No one liked Basityamuti because he was so ugly. When they had katsina dances at Acoma, Basityamuti and his mother always used to go and watch the dances, but they never talked to anyone because the people did not like them. Basityamuti was always lucky with his crops; he always had plenty of corn, beans, and pumpkins. The other people did not always have enough food. Sometimes they would go to Basityamuti and ask him for some food. He always gave them some. Sometimes they would come to trade buckskins, mantas, etc., for food; Basityamuti always had lots of these, and beads, too.

Basityamuti's father and mother believed very much in the katsina. At each meal<sup>65</sup> the mother would take a little bowl and

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<sup>63</sup> These Acoma tales were recorded in 1934 from the same informant from whom the variants were recorded in 1928 by Mr. Stirling. The first tale, Bushy Hair Youth, was not told Stirling as part of the Origin myth except perhaps as an afterthought, and so Stirling's version has been included here as a variant of the tale told in 1934. The second tale of pursuit by the ghost girl was also told Stirling and was included in the Origin myth, just as its Zuñi parallel is included in the Emergence myth of Zuñi; but the ghost girl tale was given White as an independent tale. The variability or flexibility of the narrative art of the Pueblos has been commented upon repeatedly; in these tales as told by the same person at different times we have another example.—E. C. P.

<sup>64</sup> This is the name of a dart which is thrown, in a game, at pumpkins. The main piece and shaft is a corn cob. It has a sharp pointed stick in one end and two feathers in the other. (See Stirling, 1942, pl. 16, a.)

<sup>65</sup> Informant's note: "At this time the people used to eat a late breakfast and then only one other meal a day."

put a bit of each kind of food into it. Then she would go up on the roof. She would stand facing Wenima, where the katsina live, and pray to them for anything that she wanted to get. Then she would put some guayaves [wafer bread] in the drain trough and then pour the stew, or whatever she had, onto the guayaves. Basiyamuti and his mother never *knew* whether this food ever got to the katsina at Wenima or not. But they believed in them [i. e., the katsina] so much in their hearts that they always offered them food in this way. This is the way they lived.

Tsatyao hotcanyi [the war chief] lived in Acoma. He had four daughters. Three of them were married. There was only one left. She was the prettiest one of all. All the people liked her. Lots of young men asked her to marry them. Cakak<sup>66</sup> and other spirits used to bring all kinds of clothes for her and for her mother and father and try to marry her. Her parents used to say, "All right, we accept you, but I don't know what our daughter will say." Then the man would ask the daughter to marry him. She would say, "I like you all right, but I don't know what my sister will say. Come in this room and we will ask her." So she would take the man in the next room. She had an abalone shell fixed in the plaster on the wall. Down below, on the floor, was a pile of corn meal covered with a white manta. "Take some corn meal," the girl would tell the suitor, "and throw it against my sister [i. e., the shell]. If she accepts you the meal will stick to the shell, but if she does not, the meal will fall to the floor." All of the men would try but always the meal would fall to the floor instead of sticking to the shell. So the girl would not marry them. So the men would take their presents back and go home.<sup>67</sup>

Now Basiyamuti decided that he would try to marry the war chief's daughter. He began to prepare, to make all the presents that he would need for the girl's father and mother and for the girl. He worked on these for a long time. His mother used to ask him what he was doing. "I am getting ready to marry Tsatyao hotcanyi's daughter," he would say. "What is the use of trying?" his mother would ask. "Many men have tried to get her—even Cakak, even Maiyotcuna<sup>68</sup>—and they can't do it." "But I am going to get her," Basiyamuti would say.

Finally Basiyamuti had everything ready. Then one day he set out. He told his mother to wait for the girl to come back with him. "All right! I'll be waiting," she said. Basiyamuti went to the pueblo and through the middle of the plaza. All the people saw

<sup>66</sup> The spirit of the North.

<sup>67</sup> For meal test, compare Zuñi, Benedict, 1935, p. 182 ff., p. 377.

<sup>68</sup> The spirit of the South.

him coming. They all laughed at him and made fun of him. Basiyamuti got to the war chief's house. He stood at the bottom of the ladder for a while; maybe he was praying. Then he went up. "Kaiya! I'm coming," he said, "Let me come in." "Yes; come in!" the war chief called out. Basiyamuti went in. He laid his bundle on the floor and began to talk. He asked for the girl. The mother and father said all right. The girl was in the next room. They called her in. She spoke pleasantly to Basiyamuti. "Yes," she said, "I'll accept you if you have everything for my father and mother and for me to wear." Basiyamuti undid his bundle and started to hand out the presents. "This is for you, Naicdia [father]," he said, "and this for you, Naiya [mother]." And he gave the girl her presents. Everything was complete.

So then the girl said, "All right, Basiyamuti, you have everything that is necessary. But I will marry you only if my sister is willing." Then the girl took Basiyamuti into the next room where the shell was. She told him to throw some corn meal against the shell. "If my sister is willing for you to marry me the meal will stick to the shell," she said. Basiyamuti threw the meal onto the shell. It stuck. The girl took the meal off the shell and put it into her basket of meal. Then she took her basket of meal in to her mother and told her mother and father that she was going to marry Basiyamuti. They were glad. "All right! I'm so glad you have accepted him," they said.

Then the girl's mother got a big basket. On one side she put inawi (corn flour) and on the other side she put ckaiotsa hati<sup>69</sup> and itya hati (made of prickly pear cactus). (When a girl took a basket like this to a boy's mother and father it meant a marriage.) Then Basiyamuti went out to go back to his home. The girl followed. When the girl had gone down the ladder two steps she paused and her mother put the basket on her head on a mackotc.<sup>70</sup> Basiyamuti went back to his home followed by the war chief's daughter.

It was almost noon when Basiyamuti and the girl got to his home. Basiyamuti's mother saw them coming. She was very glad. When Basiyamuti got to the foot of the ladder he stopped and called up, "Dnyc'! Upstairs!" "He-o!" his mother answered. She came out. "My son, are you bringing the girl?" she said. "Yes." Basiyamuti went up the ladder. The girl followed. Basiyamuti's mother came close to the ladder. When the girl got to the top, Basiyamuti's mother took the heavy basket off her head and took

<sup>69</sup> See p. 349.

<sup>70</sup> Ring of plant fiber placed on head to carry a heavy water jar or basket. (See Stirling, 1942, pl. 9, fig. 2.)

it inside the house; she set it down on the north side next to the doorway. Basiyamuti went in the house and into an inside room. After Basiyamuti's mother had put the basket of meal down she went to the girl. She hugged her and said, "You are my biyai [relative by marriage]; I am so happy that you have come to live with us."<sup>71</sup> Then Basiyamuti came out. He had taken off his mask and his old ragged clothes. The girl did not recognize him. He came up to her and embraced her. The girl was scared. She thought she was doing wrong to let him hug her. But Basiyamuti told her not to be afraid. "I only wear that mask and those old clothes when I go out every day," he said. Then he took her into the inside room and showed them to her. The girl was relieved when she saw them. She laughed. "This is my costume," Basiyamuti said. Basiyamuti was very handsome. His skin was very fair because it was always covered up—no sunshine on him. The girl was so happy because she had such a handsome husband.

Meanwhile Basiyamuti's mother had taken a handful of each kind of meal and put them into her little bowl. She went up onto the roof and offered the meal to the katsina at Wenima. When she came back she got dinner ready and they ate—deer meat.

The girl lived there happily with Basiyamuti and his mother. The people at the pueblo did not like it. They talked about<sup>72</sup> her and about Basiyamuti too. When the girl's father, Tsatyao hotcanyi, would go to the kiva the men would tease him about his son-in-law. He didn't like it. He got so that he did not like to go to the kiva any more.

Basiyamuti used to hunt. When he would get a deer he and his wife would take some of the meat to the pueblo for the Tsatyao hotcanyi. Basiyamuti always wore his mask and his old clothes when he went out. The girl never had said anything about him wearing a mask so no one knew about it. One day when Basiyamuti and his wife had gone to the Tsatyao hotcanyi's house to take him some meat he told them about how the men had been talking about them and how they had been teasing him about Basiyamuti. He said that it made him feel very bad to have the people talking about them like that. "Don't feel like that," the girl told him, "I've got a very handsome husband and he is very nice to me." Then the girl asked Basiyamuti to take off his mask and his old clothes. When he had done this, they saw he was a very handsome man. Tsatyao hotcanyi and his wife hugged Basiyamuti, they were so

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<sup>71</sup> The old custom was for the man to live with the bride in her house, but the reverse is here necessary to the story.

<sup>72</sup> No one likes to be "talked about." Pueblo Indians are extremely sensitive about it.

glad. "That's just his costume," the girl told her parents, "When he comes inside he takes them off."

The men kept teasing the Tsatyao hotcanyi about his son-in-law. But he never said anything about the mask and the costume. Now the men in the kiva began to plan for a dance. They were going to have a katsina dance; two kivas were going to dance. They were going to have all kinds of fruit. They were going to make melons of buckskin and paint them to look real to throw to the people. The men were making a plan to make the girl ashamed of Basityamuti so that she would leave him. They were going to try to humiliate Basityamuti by requiring something of him at the dance that he could not do. Then the girl would get so ashamed of him that she would leave him. That's the way they planned. They told Tsatyao hotcanyi to tell Basityamuti what might happen to him. Tsatyao hotcanyi got scared. He urged Basityamuti to do his best so his wife would not be ashamed of him. Basityamuti became worried. He wondered what he could do at the dance—how he could dress, how he might sing and dance, what he could throw to the people. He worried. He couldn't sleep well.

Basityamuti went out hunting. He was going to get a lot of meat to throw to the people. He was very sad. He hunted for 3 days but could not kill a thing. On the fourth day, early in the morning, he was out on a mesa toward the west, hunting. He met a katsina. But he did not see him, as he had his head down. The katsina spoke to Basityamuti: "Samuti [my son], are you out hunting?" "Yes," Basityamuti said. "You are not going to hunt today," the katsina told him; "I have come to take you to Wenima. The katsina hotcanyi has sent me to get you." It was early in the morning. Basityamuti said, "All right, I will go with you." The katsina had an arrow of ocbiorots<sup>73</sup> (cane, bamboo). He took the arrowhead off. Then he told Basityamuti to sit down. He put the end of the hollow arrow shaft on Basityamuti's head and sucked him inside. Then he put the arrowhead back on and shot the arrow toward the west. The katsina followed the arrow, running. The katsina shot the arrow toward the west four times. When the arrow came down the fourth time it was at Wenima—near the village. The katsina came up and let Basityamuti out of the arrow shaft. Then the katsina led him through the fields into the village, to the plaza and then to the kiva where all the katsina were waiting for them.

The katsina and Basityamuti went up the ladder on top of the kiva. The katsina gave Basityamuti some advice about what to say

<sup>73</sup> Boas translates oya'cpi'rvts' "reed whistle" (Boas, 1928, pt. 2, p. 332, line 2). Reed grass (*Phragmites communis*) and "cane" (*Arundo donax*) are sometimes called "bamboo" in the Southwest at the present time. The former is indigenous; the latter of European origin.

when he got inside. At the entrance to the kiva the katsina called out, "We are coming in!" "All right! Come in!" They went in. There were lots of different kinds of katsina there. They gave Basityamuti a stool to sit on and had him sit in the middle of the kiva. The katsina hotcanyi [chief] came over and sat close to him. Katsina hotcanyi told Basityamuti that the katsina knew all about what was happening to him back at Acoma. They knew about how the people talked about him and planned against him. They knew about how the people teased his father-in-law and how they wanted to have his wife leave him. "We don't like that," katsina hotcanyi told Basityamuti. "We like you very much," he said, "because you have always remembered us and have sent us food every time you had your meal. So we are going to help you so that those people will not get the best of you. We will give you everything you need."

Basityamuti sat up straight. He was so happy to hear this. "Now we are going to give you eight songs which you are to sing in the kiva at the dance," the katsina hotcanyi told him. Then they gave him eight songs. Basityamuti learned these songs, just the way the katsina wanted him to sing them. Some of the songs were beautiful and there were some sad ones. Then the katsina made a mask for Basityamuti, a very beautiful mask, more beautiful than any of the katsina. Some of the katsina brought in some sweet corn, roasted (tsaterɨc), four ears of each kind. They also brought in peaches, melons, and all kinds of nice clothes for himself and for his wife. They told Basityamuti to wear these fine clothes when he danced but to throw them to the people when the dance was over. His wife was to do the same.

"Now we are going to put this corn, melons, peaches, and clothes into a bundle for you to take back to your home," the katsina told Basityamuti. "When you get home go into the fourth room and untie the bundle and take the things out." So they made up the bundle. About this time Basityamuti's mother was having supper at home. She went up on the roof as usual to pray and to offer food to the katsina. The food went to Wenima at once and came into the kiva where Basityamuti was. Basityamuti saw it for himself. "Here is the food that your mother has sent us," katsina hotcanyi said to Basityamuti. Then the katsina began to eat. Basityamuti and the katsina ate all they wanted and there was still some food left.

Now it was time for Basityamuti to go back home. Katsina hotcanyi told the katsina who had brought him to take him back. Basityamuti took up his little bundle and got ready to leave. He made a speech to katsina hotcanyi and all of the katsina. He told them how happy he was that they had brought him to Wenima, how grateful he was to them for their help, and how much he appreciated it. "I will remem-

ber you all the rest of my life," he told them. Then he asked for permission to go. Katsina hotcanyi gave him permission. "We will be waiting here to see how you come out," he told Basityamuti, "to see how you are going to win out over those people." Basityamuti and the katsina left the kiva. The katsina put Basityamuti in the arrow shaft and shot him as before. Pretty soon they were near Basityamuti's home. The katsina let him out of the arrow shaft. Basityamuti thanked the katsina and said goodbye to him. Then he went on to his home.

Basityamuti got to his home before sundown. He was smiling, happy. His wife asked him why he looked so happy. Basityamuti went inside and took off his mask. Then he went into the inside room, into the fourth room. He told his wife to come in with him. "And you, too, naiya," he said to his mother. They went inside the fourth room with him. Basityamuti told his wife and mother that he had been in Wenima that day and had spent the day with the katsina. His wife and mother got scared. "Don't be afraid," Basityamuti told them. Then he told them about how he had met the katsina while out hunting and how the katsina had taken him to Wenima. He told them about how he had gone into the kiva where all the katsina were sitting and how they had told him about the people's plans to injure him, and how they were going to help him. Then he showed his mother and wife the little bundle of things that the katsina had given him. His mother undid the bundle and started to take the corn, melons, peaches, and clothes out. As she took them out they multiplied many fold. The mother put them in piles on the floor. Basityamuti told his wife and mother about how the food that his mother had offered to the katsina came into the kiva while he was there and how it was more than enough for all of them. The mother and daughter were delighted. They were so glad that the katsina were going to help Basityamuti win out over those people. And they were glad to know that the food that they sent to the katsina really got there.

Basityamuti began to get ready for the dance. He practiced his songs and got his costume and food ready. His mother and wife were to dance with him. They got their costumes ready, too.

The night of the dance came. Tsatyao hotcanyi came to Basityamuti's house and asked him how he wanted it. Basityamuti said, "Let them dance first. Then we will go out from here [to the kiva for our dance]." Tsatyao hotcanyi saw the pile of fresh corn and fruit. Basityamuti told him about how he had gone to Wenima and about how the katsina were going to help him and how they had given him this fruit. Tsatyao hotcanyi was kind of scared. He wondered what kind of a man Basityamuti was. Basityamuti let the war chief eat all the fruit and corn that he wanted. Then Tsatyao hotcanyi went back to his home. He was very happy.

That night all the people went to the big kiva to see the dance. The men dancers came in. They were dressed like katsina. They danced very well. They had their imitation fruit and melons, made of buckskin and painted, which they threw to the people. They danced twice, then they went out of the kiva. Then Basityamuti and his wife and mother came. He was dressed like Kanatca katsina and talked like him. The people heard him coming. He got to the top of the kiva. They asked him to come in (by shaking their rattles). Basityamuti went in, his wife and mother came after him. They were carrying lots of corn, melons, and fruit in big baskets. As soon as they got in the kiva the odor of the fresh sweet corn spread around as if it had just come out of the oven. They put their baskets down and started to dance. The people crowded around. Other people stood up so they could see. After the first dance, Basityamuti began to throw his presents to the people. He kept on throwing his gifts until some people had more than they could carry and still there were things left in the baskets. Then Basityamuti and his wife and mother began taking off their fine clothes and throwing them to the people. Some of the dancers who had gone out before Basityamuti came in, came back to watch. Then they went out and got the rest of the dancers to come in and watch Basityamuti. The dancers became ashamed and wanted to quit. One of the *tsukacac hotcanyi* [little chiefs] was sent to Basityamuti to tell him that the other dancers were not coming back and that he would have to finish. Basityamuti was willing. He did his best. He went back to his home and brought more fresh corn, fruit, melons, buckskins, and beads. Each time he came back he used another song that the katsina had given him. Then he would distribute more presents to the people. He did this all night. Then it was all over.

From that time the people respected Basityamuti. When his father-in-law died the people made him war chief. Basityamuti came back to live in the pueblo. He continued to wear his old clothes and his ugly mask, but the people never made fun of him any more. Basityamuti and his wife raised some children. Everybody liked the children because they thought that Basityamuti was some kind of a spirit.

VARIANT <sup>74</sup>

A war chief had two daughters. The youngest was liked by everybody. All the young men wanted her for wife. They went to her home to try to win her love by bringing presents of clothes for her and for her father and mother and other sister. The man would bring these and say to the girl, "I bring you these presents because

<sup>74</sup> Recorded by M. W. Stirling in 1928.

I love you and because I am interested in you." It happened that she had a large shell (*wapūni'*, "abalone") which was plastered on one of the walls of her home and when a man came she always answered him by saying, "I will not consent yet, let us ask my sister (the shell). If she consents then I consent also. If this corn meal, when you throw it, sticks on the shell, it means that she consents." So she gave some of the meal in a bowl and the man would take some and throw it against the shell and she would look to see if any stuck on. Many tried and failed.

There was one very poor man, who lived at a distance. His name was *Kasewat*.<sup>75</sup> He always wore an ugly mask and clothes when he went out and was the joke of the town. The people would joke with the girl saying, "You will marry *Kasewat*." But in the house with his mother he would take it off. But every one knew he was a great hunter. This man was a great friend of the *katsina*. He got everything from the *katsina*, clothes etc., complete for every member of the girl's household. As her father was war chief he required extra things, like a quiver and certain kinds of bows and arrows. He was instructed by the *katsina*, so one day he went out hunting. He was a fine hunter.

While out on the hunt he was met suddenly by a *katsina*. He was frightened, for it was the first time he had ever met a *katsina*. The *katsina* asked him, "Are you hunting?" He said, "Yes." So the *katsina* said, "Leave your hunt. You are not to hunt today, as I have been sent to bring you to *Wenimats*, the home of the *katsina*, to the chief *katsina*." Though afraid, he consented to go. The *katsina* told him to come and stand in front of him. This *katsina* had arrows made of reeds. He placed one over the top of his head and sucked him into the arrow. The *katsina* let this arrow fly in the direction from which he came. The *katsina* recovered it and let it fly four times before it reached the place. The fourth time it landed just at the boundary of the eastern fields of *Wenimats*. Then the *katsina* blew him out of the arrow. The *katsina* instructed him to follow.

There were many other *katsina* on guard in the fields and they played with *Kasewat* in passing and his guide told him not to fear. They went in a western direction. There were many wonderful things growing in the field. The trail was laid with abalone shell. They finally came to a *kiva* (*kaach*; in the ground). They said the name of the chief *katsina* was *Tsitsanits*. He was the father in the

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<sup>75</sup> Cf. White, 1932, pp. 172-180, where *Kasewat* is associated with *Flint Wing* and a giantess. The *Laguna Flint Wing* story has as hero *pasts'mi't'*, "Shock-of-Hair-Youth" (Boas, 1928, pt. 1, pp. 111-118).

kiva. When they arrived at this hole the katsina yelled down the hole saying, "Down below, I have brought Kasewat. Will he be allowed to enter?" They answered, "Yes, let him come down." So the katsina who brought Kasewat told him, "When you get to the bottom say, 'Koatsi (how do you do!), mothers and your spirits. You are passing this far in a day.' When you get to the bottom go to the right, to a dua'watsi'ish shrine and pray, spreading corn." Kasewat did as instructed and after finishing his prayer he saw many katsina sitting around waiting for him.

One of them stood up and caught him by both hands. Along the north side of the room the floor was laid with turquoise and there was a loose bear skin laid out there where he was told to sit. After he was seated the leader sat in front of him and asked him, "Have you come, my son?" He said, "Yes." "I have called you here because you love her [the war chief's daughter]. Every day we get an offering from you of food. Every time you sit down to eat you have offered us part of your food, which we have always received. All of this food you have raised or killed yourself. We have always been thinking of you and we know that you are thinking of wanting this girl. We think of helping you because you have been single and have been living poorly. We want you to have her and so we will help you if you wish. We are going to tell you how to win her. We are going to give you complete clothes for all of them in her house and for herself. You know many men have come to her house, but they all always left out the uaishtiakayani<sup>76</sup> which symbolizes the rainbow, the rainbow which won the first woman in the world at Shipapu. This will be included in the gifts you are to take to her. This is the reason we have called you here." They put all the clothes etc. in a bundle for Kasewat and told him to go there. "I am also going to give you some herbs; blow them in the direction of the pueblo. I will teach you a song which you are to sing:

Today I will be lucky  
 Here comes a bird boy (himself).  
 The girl in the east,  
 I have come to bring gifts  
 With which to stir your emotions and heart.  
 (Repeat four times.)"

Kasewat started home. He repeated the song over and over till he got to the south end of the village. The herb he was to chew was to move the emotions of the whole family of the girl. The war chief told his daughter that someone great was to visit them, "So when anyone comes, welcome him. I have noticed that you have never felt much regard for anyone coming to call on you." The

<sup>76</sup> Woman's hair frame. (See Stirling, 1942, pl. 13, fig. 1.)

girl did not say anything. As soon as Kasewat got to the east end of the village, he spit the medicine. He woke them up. When he stepped into the plaza many people saw him and they laughed at him and made fun of him because they knew he was going to this girl's house as a suitor. Some of them told him, "You will have no luck, for a man that looks like you would never be wanted in any house." He paid no attention.

Kasewat went home. When he got there his mother felt pity for her son and said, "You did not kill any game today." He answered and said, "I did not hunt as I went out to do this morning. A katsina took me to Wenimats." His mother was much excited but he did not tell her what happened there until the next day. Then he told her, "I am going after a maiden, the war chief's youngest daughter." The mother said, "I sympathize with you, as I do not think the girl will like you. Do not think of doing such a thing." But Kasewat insisted and told his mother not to worry but to wait for the girl. The mother had much faith in her son, so she believed him and started to prepare a meal for the couple. She let her son go, saying, "I will wait for you both in a happy mood." So Kasewat set out for the war chief's house.

He came to the foot of the war chief's house, he said, "Dini" (upstairs, upper rooms). The oldest daughter came out. She said "Yes." "Am I allowed to come up?" The girl said, "Yes; come up." He came up and greeted them, "Koatsi, saochanyi, my officer [chief]."

So the war chief welcomed him, told him to be seated, and asked him if there was anything he could do for him. Kasewat said, "Yes. I came in like a man who doesn't obey rules (like a criminal), but I came in because I want to ask for your younger daughter. I want to ask if you will give her to me to live with." So the war chief said, "There she sits, if she wants it is for her to say." The girl thought a moment and said, "I guess so, but have you brought a complete clothing outfit for my father, mother, sister, and for myself?" Kasewat said, "Yes, I have brought what I think is complete for all of you."

His bundle was very small and did not seem to have much, but when he untied it, it was large; so he sorted out the presents to each, placing the presents of each in separate groups. After he finished the last, the war chief's pile, he laid a quiver made of lion skin that was very new. War chief noticed that this had never been brought by other men. On the top of the girl's pile Kasewat laid the rainbow comb. They were all interested. The war chief stood up and said, "Look at what he has brought me," holding up the quiver and putting it on. The girl was very glad and showed her gladness for the first time by her expression.

It was known that Kasewat always had plenty to eat, but in other ways he was poor. The girl stood up and was thankful, so she called Kasewat into the room where the shell was placed. She brought some corn meal in a heap in a special basket which was wonderfully well made. She told Kasewat to take some and throw it against her "sister" (the shell). "If any sticks you are going to take me to your house." Kasewat took some of it and threw it against the shell. It all stuck to the shell. Everyone outside was waiting, interested to know what would happen. They expected him to lose. So the girl told her parents, "I guess this is the man I have been waiting for, for my sister has consented. I am going with him to his house to live with him."<sup>77</sup>

She put on her clothes and gave the others their presents. It happened that her costume fit her perfectly. So Kasewat said to the war chief and wife, "I am very thankful, but I do not think it is only by myself I have won her. I want to be thankful to the spirits because they have caused my success. I will allow your daughter to visit you sometimes and you will always be welcome to our house, whenever you wish. I am going to take your daughter now."

The girl's mother placed corn meal into a large basket, four different kinds of flours. One [was] made of kashaish (white corn meal), [and one of] shekaiuoisa hatí (meal of sweet corn, roasted in earth and then ground). On the other side was hati. (Corn prepared by soaking corn in a pot. When it sprouts and has soaked up the water in the pot it becomes sweet. It is taken out and dried in the sun, then ground up into sweet yellowish flour.) On the fourth side was prickly pear meal. (When ripe and soft they are picked, the thorns are brushed off and the seeds taken out and the meat is dried. Then it is ground up.) The corn and food were a return for what this man brought. Feather down was placed on top of this flour. This represented the plume on the girl's head used when she dances. So the girl placed a pot-rest on her head; her mother and sister helped her place the basket of flour on her head. After they helped her with the basket they said, "Let us go (nekämü)."

The people were much astonished to see Kasewat win out with the chief's youngest daughter. Some said, "So, that is the kind of a man that girl has been waiting for! There have been many more handsome men come for her and she has turned them away." They were surprised that she had consented to go away with Kasewat. When they reached the ground they started in the direction of his house. The girl felt embarrassed because the people were making fun

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<sup>77</sup> Today it often happens that a girl will see a man she likes and will invite him to her house and announce that she wants to marry him. Formerly the girl went to live with the man [according to the tales].

and laughing at them. In her heart she was rather sorry. But she decided that as her "sister" had consented she would go.

Kasewat's mother had been waiting for them. Every once in a while she went out and looked in the direction she expected the two to come from. They finally arrived. When they reached the bottom of his house, Kasewat called, "Mother, I have brought you a daughter." So she greeted both of them, "You are both welcome into my house. I have made an open trail with my prayers for both of you. This is going to be your house." When they reached the doorway they climbed up; the girl was helped by her mother-in-law in taking off her basket. The mother-in-law took the basket of flour into the fourth and farthest room in the house. The girl stopped in the first room, Kasewat went into the second room, where he took off his mask. Because it is customary that the daughter-in-law does not sit down or find a place until asked by her mother-in-law, the girl waited.

When the mother-in-law came back she embraced her daughter. (The newcomer puts his right arm over the left shoulder and the person greeted does the same.) This embrace is held on such an occasion while the mother-in-law gives a prayer. "Thank you, my daughter, I am very thankful that the spirits have consented by placing breath and thought (?) and that you have not felt ashamed of us. I take you in as a member of my household. From now I will be your mother and you will be my daughter. *Druwicats*."<sup>78</sup> Then the mother-in-law said, "Sit down and make yourself at home." The girl found it a much better house than she expected. She saw the floor was covered with rugs of buffalo, lion, and bear skins and many other skins.

While this greeting was going on, the boy was in the next room taking off his every-day clothes and his mask. There was no one in the world who knew him without this costume. When he came back in the first room the girl was astonished to see one she thought was a stranger coming into the room. She did not know him for he was very handsome, but the boy said, "Don't be astonished. I am Kasewat (matted hair)." But she did not believe him. But the mother said to the daughter, "Yes; he is the one whom you married." To prove it they took her in the second room and showed her the outfit he wore outside his house. She was convinced then, and was very glad, and they always lived happy from then on.

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<sup>78</sup> Informant's note: This word is like "amen," at the close of a prayer, or "goodbye," when one is leaving: "Go with a happy thought." It is only a greeting prayer like this that is so closed. It is used both at parting and at greeting.

MASEWI, OYOYEWI AND THE K'O'O-K'<sup>70</sup>

A long time ago Masewi and his brother Oyoyewi were very powerful against all kinds of animals; no animal could get the best of them. They were also great fighters among the people; they would go around just killing people for nothing. The ckaupictaiya,<sup>80</sup> or great spirits such as Cakak, Maiyoteuna, Tspina, Tsanokai,<sup>81</sup> and some others—perhaps some katsina—did not like the way Masewi and Oyoyewi were doing. So they got together and held a meeting at the Middle of the Land (sīnatdyeica haatsi). They talked about how Masewi and Oyoyewi were going around killing people for nothing. Then they thought of a plan to put a stop to this.

The ckaupictaiya sent some of their number to a graveyard and had them dig up the corpse of a woman and bring the body to the meeting. The spirits brought the body of an old woman to the gathering. She had been dead a long time and was very repulsive looking. But the spirits brought her back to life. They changed her into a young and beautiful girl. They gave her fine clothes and buckskins to wear and lots of beads and jewelry. Then they told her what to do.

Upon orders from the spirits, the girl went to Acoma. She went up on top of the mesa to where Masewi and Oyoyewi lived, on the east side. She went to their house. Masewi and Oyoyewi invited her to come in. When they saw how beautiful she was, they invited her to live with them. She agreed to do this. Masewi and Oyoyewi each wanted to sleep with the girl. Finally the girl said, "Why can't we all sleep together? I will sleep in the middle." So that was the way they arranged it. But the boys did not sleep; first one and then the other would make love to the girl. Finally they became tired and fell asleep.

When the girl saw that the twins were asleep, she changed into a kooko. Instead of a plump, beautiful young girl she became a skinny, dirty, repulsive old woman. Her fine clothes changed into filthy old rags. After a while Masewi woke up and pulled what he thought was the girl over to him; it was the kooko. Then Oyoyewi woke up and pulled her over to his side. They noticed in the dark that her body was bony. Her hair seemed to be matted with blood. One of the boys got up to stir the fire so he could see what was wrong. When

<sup>70</sup> See Stirling, 1942, p. 83; Zuñi (Benedict, 1935, vol. 1, pp. 62 ff., 289).

<sup>80</sup> See Stirling, 1942, p. 86.

<sup>81</sup> Spirits of the Mountains of the Directions. (See Stirling, 1942, p. 14.)

the fire blazed up they saw that it was the kooko. They scrambled to their feet and started to run out of the house as fast as they could go; they were very scared. "What is the matter?" the kooko called to them: "You love me, I love you. Why are you running away?" But the boys ran out of the house.

Masewi and Oyoyewi left in such a hurry that they did not take their weapons with them. "Where shall we go to be safe?" one of them asked. They joked a little bit: "You go back and sleep with that girl." They could not decide where to go. Finally they decided to go to Kawecdima (Mount Taylor) in the north. They went to Cakak's house. "Who's there?" Cakak called out. "It's us, Masewi and Oyoyewi," they answered. Cakak and Uttsiti<sup>82</sup> said to each other: "I bet that the kooko is after them." Then Cakak called out: "All right! Come in; lie down and sleep." So the boys went in and lay down exhausted. They fell asleep. Soon the kooko arrived at Cakak's house. "Are Masewi and Oyoyewi in there?" she called out. "Yes; they are in here. Come in." The kooko came in. "Ah, there you are, my love," she said to the boys, "I'll lie down and sleep with you." But the boys woke up and dashed out of the house.

This time Masewi and Oyoyewi went toward the west. They were very tired. It was daytime now, but the boys had to sleep. They lay down under a tree, but soon the kooko came up and they had to run off again. Finally, they came to Tspina's house in the west—near Flagstaff Mountain. They asked Tspina if they could come in. "Yes; come in and lie down." But no sooner were they asleep than the kooko came up. "Are Masewi and Oyoyewi in there?" she called out to Tspina. "Yes." "I want them to come out," the kooko said. "No. You come in here and get them yourself," Tspina told the kooko. So she went in. She tried to lie down with the war twins, but they jumped to their feet and rushed out of the house.

This time they ran to the south. They were very tired and they had had nothing to eat. Although it was daytime, they would try to get a little sleep under trees. But always the kooko would come up and they would have to go on. Finally they came to Maiyotcuna's house, at Dautyuma (South Mountain). They arrived at midnight. "Guatzi!" Masewi called out. "Dawai-eh!" Maiyotcuna replied. They asked if they could come and rest. "Yes; come in and lie down," Maiyotcuna told them. But again the kooko came in just as they had fallen asleep and drove them forth again.

Masewi and Oyoyewi ran toward the east. Finally, they came to Ktcana kot (a steep, white mountain in the east). Tsanoka lived here. But Tsanoka would not let Masewi and Oyoyewi come in. He

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<sup>82</sup> See Stirling, 1942, p. 1.

told them to go back to see Kaukaputerame:<sup>83</sup> "Perhaps he might help you," Tsanoka told Masewi. So the war twins set out for the home of Kaukaputerame. When the kooko arrived at Tsanoka's house he turned her away, too. "We can not use you here," he told her.

Masewi and Oyoyewi returned to Acoma where Kaukaputerame lived, down at the bottom of the mesa on the southwest side. The kooko kept following the twins. When Masewi and Oyoyewi got to Kaukaputerame's house they called out "Guatzi!" "Who is it?" Kaukaputerame asked. "Masewi and Oyoyewi." Kaukaputerame asked them to come in. Masewi told him about how the kooko had been chasing them. "Is that so?" said Kaukaputerame. "Well, we'll see what we can do." So Kaukaputerame got out his baby's head. It was like a ball and full of blood. (He used this head to win from people when they came to gamble with him.) He wrapped the head in a piece of buckskin.

Pretty soon the kooko came up. She came in Kaukaputerame's house. When she came in, Kaukaputerame threw the baby's head at her and hit her in the chest. When it hit her, the head cried out like a baby and the blood splashed on the kooko. This blow killed the kooko, and her body disappeared "like dust."

Now Kaukaputerame said to Masewi and Oyoyewi: "You have been going around the country killing people for nothing. This is wrong. Now if you want to be safe you've got to fast. You must not eat meat or salt, and you must not have anything to do with women for 30 days after you take a fresh scalp." Masewi and Oyoyewi took his advice. They went back to their home at Acoma. The next day they began to count the days; this day was number one. They had to do this by themselves. They told the people, "This will be the rule from now on for all people who kill a person. It is not right to kill for nothing. You've got to scalp and fast for 30 days after killing."

Eight days before the 30 days fast was to be over, Masewi and Oyoyewi began to practice for a scalp dance. Masewi and Oyoyewi were the head of all the people at Acoma. They asked the Koshairi to come from Hakoaikute [the place of the sunrise] and to help them, to initiate people into Koshairi. The Koshairi called the people into the kiva. In the scalp dance, the mother of Masewi and Oyoyewi took the part of the kooko. But she was dressed up in fine clothes, not rags. At the end of the 30-day period they danced the nakats [scalp dance] for 2 days.

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<sup>83</sup> Kaukaputerame was "a gambler all over the world." At his shrine below the mesa, people pray to him when they wish to gamble, race, or play ball.

## ACOMA NAMES OF BIRDS <sup>84</sup>

Most of the following identifications were secured from pictures, colored plates, and descriptions in *Birds of New Mexico*, by Florence M. Bailey; some, however, were made from live or from mounted birds.

In many instances, in the following list, the name of one species only is associated with an Acoma bird name. But this does not mean that the use of this Indian name is restricted to this species; it might, or might not, be applied to other species. The scope of applicability of each term is not known. As a matter of fact, the nature of Acoma ornithological nomenclature is not well known.<sup>85</sup> Some terms, apparently, are restricted to a species, as in the case of hawks; there is no one term for hawk so far as I could discover. Other terms seem to be names of what we might call "kinds" of birds: there is one word for woodpecker, although we have two different genera represented. All hummingbirds are called miter<sup>a</sup>.<sup>86</sup>

Some of the names appear to be onomatopoeitic.

### LIST OF ACOMA BIRD NAMES

- Canada goose (*Branta canadensis canadensis* L.), curta.  
 Duck, wai'oca.  
 Turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura septentrionalis* Weid), ma-caw<sup>1</sup>.  
 Cooper's hawk (*Accipiter cooperi* Bonaparte), cti-t<sup>1</sup>.  
 Sharp-shinned hawk (*Accipiter striatus velox* Wilson), i-tsa.  
 Western goshawk (*Astur atricapillus striatulus* Ridgway), G'a-wa.  
 Western red-tailed hawk (*Buteo borealis calurus* Cassin), cpi-yai.  
 Desert sparrow hawk (*Falco sparverius phalaena* Lesson), Tc'it'ik'a.  
 Dusky grouse (*Dendragapus obscurus obscurus* Say), cro'terok'a.  
 Quail (*Colinus virginianus texanus* Lawrence), ck'ack'a'ok'a.  
 Turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo merriami* Nelson), Tsi'n'a.  
 Sandhill crane (*Grus canadensis* L.), cu'k'ako.  
 Killdeer (*Oxyechus vociferus vociferus* L.), ctowictowik'a.  
 Greater yellowlegs (*Totanus melanoleucus* Gmelin), wai'etcapa.  
 Mourning dove (*Zenaidura macroura marginella* Woodhouse), ho'o'k'a.  
 Road-runner (*Geococcyx californianus* Lesson), ca''ack'a.

<sup>84</sup> There are lists of bird names in White (1935, pp. 204-205; and 1932 a, pp. 62-63). Ornithological Vocabulary of the Moki Indians, by Edgar A. Mearns (1896), presents quite a complete list of Hopi bird names. Tewa names may be found in Henderson and Harrington (1914, pp. 33-46).

<sup>85</sup> "Much more important than mere nomenclature is the idea of which nomenclature is but an attempted expression" (Henderson and Harrington, 1914, p. 9). They also state that "Indian nomenclature as a whole recognizes differences, not relationships" (p. 8).

<sup>86</sup> The Hopi, also, designate all hummingbirds by one term, but they have different names for various kinds of hawks (Mearns, 1896).

"Night owl," k'o'k'op.

Burrowing owl (*Speotyto cunicularia hypugaea* Bonaparte), h'ana'kan'i.

Poorwill (*Phalaenoptilus nuttalli nuttalli* Audubon), cpyu'k'a.

Nighthawk (*Chordeiles minor*), also called cpyu'k'a.

White-crowned sparrow (*Zonotrichia leucophrys* J. R. Forster), k'aiya-k'atu.

Hummingbird (family Trochilidae), mi'ter<sup>a</sup>.

Natalie's sapsucker (*Sphyrapicus thyroideus nataliae* Malherbe), cpi'k'a.

Rocky Mountain hairy woodpecker (*Dryobates villosus monticola* Anthony), cpi'k'a.

Arizona woodpecker (*Dryobates arizonae arizonae* Hargitt), cpi'k'a.

Red-shafted flicker (*Colaptes cafer collaris* Vigors), kauwa-ta.

Ash-throated fly catcher (*Myiarchus cinerascens cinerascens* Lawrence), k'abo'm<sup>o</sup>.

Desert horned lark (*Otocoris alpestris leucolaema* Coues), si'ya.

Long-crested jay (*Cyanocitta stelleri diademata* Bonaparte), croi'siya.

Arizona Pyrrhuloxia (*Pyrrhuloxia sinuata sinuata* Bonaparte), k'vk'anic croi'siya.

Barn swallow (*Hirundo erythrogaster* Boddaert), sese'ek'a.

Woodhouse's jay (*Aphelocoma californica woodhousei* Baird), hi-tsu.

Magpie (*Pica pica hudsonia* Sabine), dya''akaiya.

Western crow (*Corvus brachyrhynchos hesperis* Ridgway), stcu-ta.

Gray titmouse (*Baeolophus inornatus griseus* Ridgway), cti'tsutsi.

Meadowlark (*Sturnella neglecta neglecta* Audubon), stea'na.

Canyon wren (*Catherpes mexicanus conspersus* Ridgway), cuti.<sup>87</sup>

Rock wren (*Salpinctes obsoletus obsoletus* Say), sv't<sup>l</sup>.

Western mockingbird (*Mimus polyglottos leucopterus* Vigors), cpa''ati.<sup>88</sup>

Green-backed goldfinch (*Spinus psaltria hesperophilus* Oberholser), Tssetsek'a.

Western blue grosbeak (*Guiraca caerulea interfusa* Dwight and Griscom), h'a'tyaiya.

Say's phoebe (*Sayornis saya saya* Bonaparte), mo-t.

Sonora red wing (*Agelaius phoeniceus sonoriensis* Ridgway), mai'yairotv.

Brewer's blackbird (*Euphagus cyanocephalus* Wagler), ck'ock'otsu (the o is almost aw).

Bullock's oriole (*Icterus bullocki* Swainson), wi''ik'a.

Cooper's tanager (*Piranga rubra cooperi* Ridgway), wai''yo.

<sup>87</sup> The head war chief at Acoma is called cu-timīti, literally "canyon wren boy" (White, 1932, p. 45; cu-ti was not identified in that report).

<sup>88</sup> The second war chief at Acoma is called cpa''atimīti, "mocking bird boy" (White, 1932, p. 45).

## ACOMA NAMES OF ANIMALS <sup>89</sup>

Identifications were made from living and mounted animals, and from pictures, colored plates, and descriptions in *Wild Animals of North America*, by Edward W. Nelson (1918). Most of the remarks concerning ornithological nomenclature will apply here. The use of the Acoma names is not necessarily restricted, in every case, to the species with which they are associated respectively in the following list. Any species of fox, I believe, would be called má'ctya; any species of deer Dya''ny<sub>i</sub> (although the Arizona white-tailed deer is called "sweet corn" deer). There is an interesting aspect to their names for squirrels. The California ground squirrel (*Citellus beecheyi*) is not called by the same term as the striped ground squirrel (*Citellus tri-decemlineatus*), which is of the same genus, but is called by the same term as the gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*), which is of a different genus. The striped ground squirrel is called by the same term, however, as the antelope chipmunk (*Ammospermophilus leucurus*), which is of a different genus. But, in appearance, the striped ground squirrel resembles the antelope chipmunk more than it does its closer relative, the California ground squirrel. The Kaibab squirrel (*Sciurus kaibabensis*), although belonging to the same genus as the gray squirrel, is called by a different name. The general appearance of the animal seems to play a major role in terminological classification.

### LIST OF ACOMA ANIMAL NAMES

Buffalo (*Bison bison*), mocal'itc<sup>78</sup>.

Bear (family Ursidae), ko'haiya.

Grizzly bear (*Ursus horribilis*), ko'haiya Tsicka'tsic.

Deer (family Cervidae), Dya''ny<sub>i</sub>.

Arizona white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus couesi*); Tsits (water) Dya''ny<sub>i</sub>, or cpi'ny<sub>i</sub>ny<sub>i</sub> ("sweet corn") Dya''ny<sub>i</sub>.<sup>90</sup>

Antelope (*Antilocapra americana*), kī'ts.

American elk (*Cervus canadensis*), Dyuca.

Rocky Mountain sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), ck'a'ack<sup>80</sup>.

Mountain lion (*Felis concolor*), mo'k'aitc<sup>78</sup>.

Bobcat (*Lynx rufus*), Dya't<sup>79</sup>.

Beaver (*Castor canadensis*), G'o'o.

<sup>89</sup> A list of animal names may be found in White (1935, pp. 202-203); see, also, Hender-son and Harrington (1914), for Tewa animal and reptile names.

<sup>90</sup> cpi'ny<sub>i</sub>ny<sub>i</sub> is said to mean "popped corn" at Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 137). Dumarest speaks of Rshpenini, in a list of secret dances at Cochiti (1919, p. 184), but does not translate the word. Bandelier recounts a San Felipe legend about a dwarfish people called Pinini (Bandelier, 1892, pt. 2, p. 188; White, 1932 a, p. 7).

- Badger (*Taxidea taxus*), Dyup<sup>o</sup>.  
 Gray timber wolf (*Canis nubilus* Say), k'a'k'ana.  
 Coyote (*Canis mearnsi*), Tso'ck'i.<sup>91</sup>  
 Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), Tsiya'k'aiya'ctu.  
 Skunk (subfamily Mephitinae), G'ai'cate<sup>o</sup>.  
 Porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum*), i'ica.  
 Prairie dog (*Cynomys ludoricianus*), nī'ti.  
 Red fox (*Vulpes fulva*), ma'act<sup>o</sup>.  
 Jack rabbit (*Lepus californicus*), pe'tc<sup>o</sup>.<sup>91</sup>  
 Cottontail rabbit (*Sylvilagus floridanus*), Dyε't<sup>o</sup>.<sup>91</sup>  
 Muskrat (*Fiber zibethicus*), Tscts (water) Tsv'na (rat).  
 Rat (*Rattus norvegicus*), Tsv'na.  
 Mouse (*Mus musculus*), Siya'na.  
 Wood rat (*Neotoma albigula*), G'o'ts Tsna (this may be G'o'ti, "mountain" rat).  
 Gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*), si't<sup>o</sup>.  
 Kaibab squirrel (*Sciurus kaibabensis*), G'ai'yam<sup>o</sup>.  
 Flying squirrel (*Glaucomys volans*), G'ai'yam<sup>o</sup> G'aiyana'nici.  
 Antelope chipmunk (*Ammospermophilus leucurus*), Beri'na.  
 Striped ground squirrel (*Citellus tridecemlineatus*), Beri'na.  
 California ground squirrel (*Citellus beecheyi*), si't<sup>o</sup>.  
 Pocket gopher (*Geomys bursarius*), Tcu'na.  
 Kangaroo rat (*Dipodomys spectabilis*), k'a'tsa.  
 Painted chipmunk (*Eutamias minimus pictus*), G'ai'yac<sup>o</sup>.  
 Black-footed ferret (*Mustela nigripes*), mai'Dyup<sup>o</sup>.<sup>92</sup>  
 Bat (family Phyllostomidae), piki'ki.<sup>91</sup>

## MISCELLANEOUS ACOMA NAMES

- Snake, cro'wi.  
 Lizard (one that looks like "he is wearing a necktie"), Tsa'acty.  
 Bull frog, Dao'rak.  
 "Small frogs," wa'ckvte; "they make that kind of noise."  
 Horned toad, Dabi'nock<sup>o</sup>.  
 Toad, cka'tev.  
 Fish, ck'a'ac<sup>o</sup>.  
 Turtle, he'yati.  
 Housefly, tsa'pi.  
 Mosquito, stco'yona.  
 Grasshopper, sta'ti.  
 Bumblebee, stco'mv.  
 Butterfly, Borai'k'a.

<sup>91</sup> There are many differences between the Acoma-Laguna vocabularies and those of the eastern Keres. For the latter (as represented by Santo Domingo): Coyote, cro'tsna; skunk, k'a'wit<sup>o</sup>; Jack rabbit, Gya'na cottontail rabbit, le-k<sup>o</sup>; bat, sta'namak<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> Great difficulty has been experienced in identifying this animal, which is one of the most important of the Caiyaik (supernatural animal hunters). Stevenson identifies it as shrew (*Sorex*; in Stevenson, 1894, pp. 69, 73, 128). At Santo Domingo, it was identified from a well-mounted specimen as *Sorex personatus* (White, 1935, p. 203). In a list of Tewa animal names is a name which Henderson and Harrington (1914, p. 30) translate "earth mountain lion," but which they could not identify zoologically. It appears to be the mai'Dyup<sup>o</sup>: he is the "sacred beast of the nadir" (as *Sorex* is at Sla), and is described as a "small animal which burrows in the earth."

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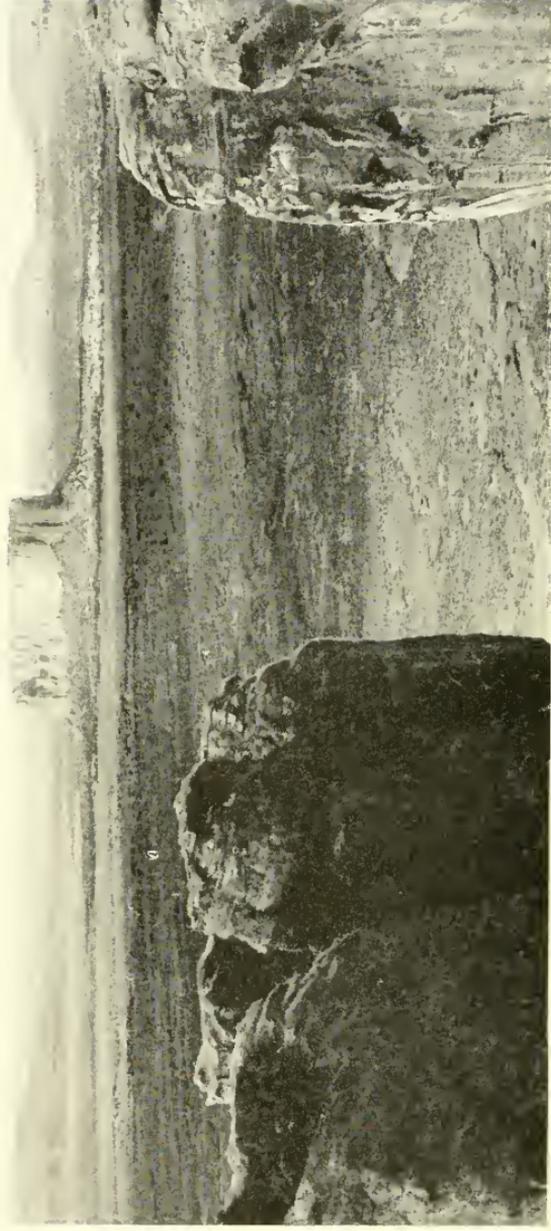
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PUEBLO OF ACOMA, NEW MEXICO: A STREET VIEW.  
(Photograph by Vroman.)

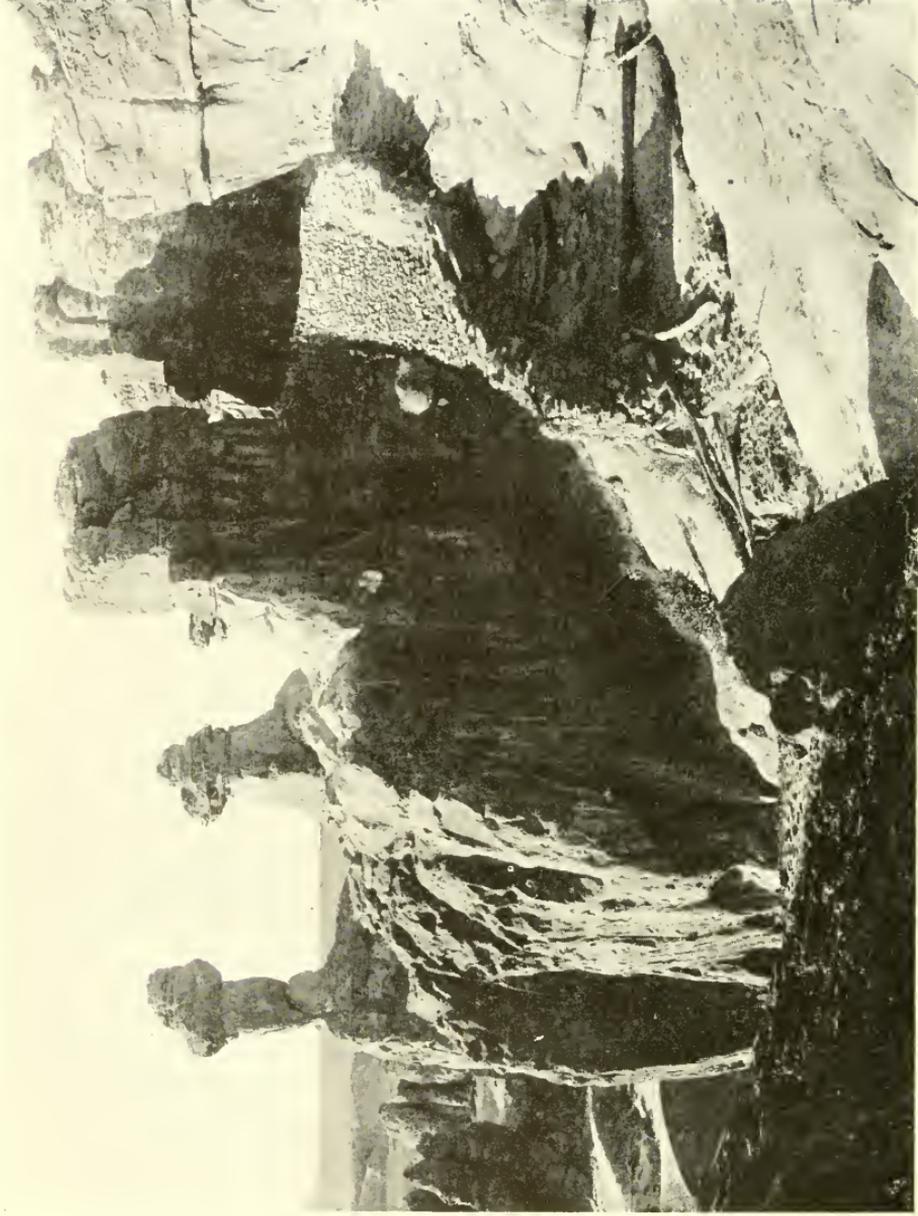


KATZIMO, OR THE ENCHANTED MESA, AS SEEN FROM ACOMA  
(Photograph by Vroman.)



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ROCK OF KATZIMO, OR THE ENCHANTED MESA, NEW MEXICO.

(Photograph by Vroman.)



THE LOWER END OF THE HORSE TRAIL, PUEBLO OF ACOMA, NEW MEXICO.  
(Photograph by Vroman.)