

The Voice of the Prophets:

Wisdom of the Ages, Aboriginal
Religions, Native American
Religions

Compiled By Marilyn Hughes

The Out-of-Body Travel Foundation!

www.outofbodytravel.org



The Light of the World , Holman Hunt

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To the Prophets, Saints, Mystics
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Throughout time . . . That They
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The Voice of the Prophets:

Wisdom of the Ages, Volume 10 of 12

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INTRODUCTION:

The Voice of the Prophets:

Wisdom of the Ages, Volume 10 of 12

The purpose of this series of texts is very simple. We have striven to compile the best of the better known *and* the least known of the ancient sacred texts from every religion throughout the world and throughout time.

It is our hope that this series of volumes makes it possible for a lay reader to truly access some of the most important world literature in religion without having to have a library of 5,000 books in their possession. In these volumes, you will find everything you need to know to have a well-rounded and deep understanding of the many different faiths and belief systems in our world.

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as most of us might think.

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The Voice of the Prophets

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Volume 10

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ABORIGINAL

Wisdom of Aboriginal Australians

The Euahlayi Tribe

*THE EUAHLAYI TRIBE, A Study of Aboriginal Life in
Australia, BY K. LANGLOH PARKER, WITH AN
INTRODUCTION BY ANDREW LANG LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, LTD, 1905,
Edinburgh: T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His
Majesty*

CHAPTER IV

THE MEDICINE MEN

I USED to wonder how the wirreenuns or doctor-wizards of the tribe attained their degrees.

I found out that the old wizards fix upon a young boy who is to follow their profession. They take him to a tribal burial-ground at night. There

they tie him down and leave him , after having lit some fires of fat at short distances round him.

During the night that boy, if he be shaky in his nerves, has rather a bad time.

One doctor of our tribe gave me a recital of his own early experience.

He said, after the old fellows had gone, a spirit came to him, and without undoing his fastenings by which he was bound, turned him over, then went away. Scarcely had the spirit departed when a big star fell straight from the sky alongside the boy; he gazed fixedly at it, and saw emerge from it, first the two hind legs, then the whole of a Beewee or iguana. The boy's totem was a Beewee, so he knew it would not hurt him. It ran close up to him, climbed on him, ran down his whole length, then went away.

Next came a snake straight towards his nose, hissing all the time. He was frightened now, for the snake is the hereditary enemy of the iguana. The boy struggled to free himself, but ineffectually. He tried to call out but found himself dumb. He tried to shut his eyes, or turn them from the snake, but was powerless to do so. The snake crawled on to him and licked him. Then it went away, leaving the boy as one paralysed. Next came a huge figure to him, having in its hand a gunnai or yam stick. The figure drove this into the boy's head, pulled it out through his back, and in the hole thus made placed a 'Gubberah,' or sacred stone, with the help of which much of the boy's magic in the future was to be worked.

This stone was about the size and something the shape of a small lemon, looking like a smoothed lump of semi-transparent crystal. It is in such stones that the wi-wirreenuns, or cleverest wizards, see visions of the past, of what is happening in the present at a distance, and of the future; also by directing rays from them towards their victims they are said to cause instantaneous death.

Next, to the doctor-boy on trial, came the spirits of the dead who corroborated round him, chanting songs full of sacred lore as regards the art of healing, and instructions how, when he needed it, he could call upon their aid.

Then they silently and mysteriously disappeared. The next day one of the old wizards came to release the boy; he kept him away from the camp all day and at night took him to a weedah, or bower-bird's, playground. There he tied him down again, and there the boy was visited again by the spirits of the dead, and more lore was imparted to him.

The reason given for taking him to a weedah's playground is, that before the weedah was changed into a bird, he was a great wirreenun; that is why, as a bird, he makes such a collection of pebbles and bones at his playground.

The bower-bird's playgrounds are numerous in the bush. They are made of grass built into a tent-shaped arch open at each end, through which the weedahs run in and out, and scattered in heaps all around are white bones and black stones, bits of glass, and sometimes we have found coins, rings, and brooches.

The weedahs do not lay their eggs at their playgrounds their nests are hard to find. A little boy always known as 'Weedah,' died lately, so probably a new name will have to be found for the bird, or to mention it will be taboo, at all events before the old people, who never allow the names of the dead to be mentioned.

For several nights the medical student was tied down in case he should be frightened and run away, after that he was left without bonds. He was kept away from the camp for about two months. But he was not allowed to become a practitioner until he was some years older: first he dealt in conjuring, later on he was permitted to show his knowledge of pharmacy.

His conjuring cures are divers.

A burn he cures by sucking lumps of charcoal from it. Obstinate pains in the chest, the wizard says, must be caused by some enemy having put a dead person's hair, or bone in it. Looking wisdom personified in truly professional manner, he sucks at the affected spot, and soon produces from his mouth hair, bones, or whatever he said was there.

If this faith-healing does not succeed, a stronger wizard than he must have bewitched the patient; he will consult the spirits. To that end he goes to his Minggah, a tree or stone-more often a tree, only the very

greatest wirreenuns have stones, which are called Goomah--where his own and any spirits friendly towards him may dwell.

He finds out there who the enemy is, and whence he obtained his poison. If a wirreenun is too far away to consult his friendly spirits in person, he can send his Mullee Mullee, or dream spirit, to interview them.

He may learn that an enemy has captured the sick person's Doowee, or dream spirit--only wirreenuns' dream spirits are Mullee Mullee, the others are Doowee--then he makes it his business to get that Doowee back.

These dream spirits are rather troublesome possessions while their human habitations sleep they can leave them and wander at will. The things seen in dreams are supposed to be what the Doowees see while away from the sleeping bodies. This wandering of the Doowees is a great chance for their enemies: capture the Doowee and the body sickens; knock the Doowee about before it returns and the body wakes up tired and languid. Should the Doowee not return at all, the person from whom it wandered dies. When you wake up unaccountably tired in the morning, be sure your Doowee has been 'on the spree,' having a free fight or something of that sort. And though your Doowee may give you at times lovely visions of passing paradises, on the whole you would be better without him.

There is on the Queensland border country a dillee bag full of unclaimed Doowees. The wirreenun who has charge of this is one of the most feared of wirreenuns; he is a great magician, who, with his wonder-working glassy stones, can conjure up visions of the old fleshly habitations of the captured Doowees.

He has Gubberahs, or clever stones, in which are the active spirits of evil-working devils, as well as others to work good. Should a Doowee once get into this wirreenun's bag, which has the power of self-movement, there is not a great chance of getting it back, though it is sometimes said to be done by a rival combination of magic. The worst of it is that ordinary people have no power over their Doowees; all they can do is to guard against their escaping by trying to keep their mouths shut while asleep.

The wirreenuns are masters of their Mullee Mullees, sending them where they please, to do what they are ordered, always provided they do not meet a greater than themselves.

All sorts of complications arise through the substitution of mad or evil spirits for the rightful Doowee. Be sure if you think any one has suddenly changed his character unaccountably, there has been some hankey-pankey with that person's Doowee. One of the greatest warnings of coming evil is to see your totem in a dream; such a sign is a herald of misfortune to you or one of your immediate kin. Should a wirreenun, perhaps for enmity, perhaps for the sake of ransom, decide to capture a Doowee, he will send his Mullee Mullee out to do it, bidding the Mullee Mullee secrete the Doowee in his--the wirreenun's--Minggah, tree or rock.

When he is consulted as to the return of the missing Doowee, he will order the one who has lost it to Sleep, then the Doowee, should the terms made suit the wirreenun, re-enters the body. Should it not do so, the Doowee-less one is doomed to die.

In a wirreenun's Minggah, too, are often secreted shadow spirits stolen from their owners, who are by their loss dying a lingering death, for no man can live without Mulloowil, his shadow. Every one has a shadow spirit which he is very careful not to parade before his enemies, as any injury to it affects himself. A wirreenun can gradually shrink the shadow's size, the owner sickens and dies. 'May your shadow never be less!'

The shadow of a wirreenun is, like his head, always mahgarl, or taboo; any one touching either will be made to suffer for such sacrilege.

A man's Minggah is generally a tree from amongst his multiplex totems, as having greater reason to help him, being of the same family.

In his Minggah a wirreenun will probably keep some Wundah, or white devil spirits, with which to work evil. There, too, he often keeps his yunbeai, or animal spirit--that is, his individual totem, not hereditary one. All wirreenuns have a yunbeai, and sometimes a special favourite of the wirreenuns is given a yunbeai too--or in the event of any one being very ill, he is given a yunbeai, and the strength of that animal goes into the patient, making him strong again, or a dying wirreenun leaves his yunbeai to some one else. Though this spirit gives extra

strength it likewise gives an extra danger, for any injury to the animal hurts the man too; thus even wirreenuns are exposed to danger.

No one, as we have said, must eat the flesh of his yunbeai animal; he may of his family totem, inherited from his mother, but of his yunbeai or individual familiar, never.

A wirreenun can assume the shape of his yunbeai; so if his yunbeai were, for example, a bird, and the wirreenun were in danger of being wounded or killed, he would change himself into that bird and fly away.

A great wirreenun can substitute one yunbeai for another, as was done when the opossum disappeared from our district, and the wirreenun, whose yunbeai it was, sickened and lay ill for months. Two very powerful wirreenuns gave him a new yunbeai, piggiebillah, the porcupine. His recovery began at once. The porcupine had been one of his favourite foods; from the time its spirit was put into him as his yunbeai, he never touched it.

A wirreenun has the power to conjure up a vision of his particular yunbeai, which he can make visible to those whom he chooses shall see it.

The blacks always told me that a very old man on the Narran, dead some years ago, would show me his yunbeai if I wished; it was Oolah, the prickly lizard.

One day I went to the camp, saw the old man in his usual airy costume, only assumed as I came in sight, a tailless shirt. One of the gins said something to him; he growled an answer; she seemed persuading him to do something. Presently he moved away to a quite clear spot on the other side of the fire; he muttered something in a sing-song voice, and suddenly I saw him beating his head as if in accompaniment to his song, and then--where it came from I can't say--there beside him was a lizard. That fragment of a shirt was too transparent to have hidden that lizard; he could not have had it up his sleeve, because his sleeves were in shreds. It may have been a pet lizard that he charmed in from the bush by his song, but I did not see it arrive.

They told me this old man had two yunbeai, the other was a snake. He often had them in evidence at his camp, and when he died they were

seen beside him; there they remained until he was put into his coffin, then they disappeared and were never seen again. This man was the greatest of our local wizards, and I think really the last of the very clever ones. They say he was an old grey-headed man when Sir Thomas Mitchell first explored the Narran district in 1845. We always considered him a centenarian.

It was through him that I heard some of the best of the old legends, with an interpreter to make good our respective deficiencies in each other's language.

In the lives of blacks, or rather in their deaths, the Gooweera, or poison sticks or bones, play a great part.

A Gooweera is a stick about six inches long and half an inch through, pointed at both ends. This is used for sickening' or killing men.

A Guddeegooree is a similar stick, but much smaller, about three inches in length, and is used against women.

A man wishing to injure another takes one of these sticks, and warms it at a small fire he has made; he sticks the gooweera in the ground a few inches from the fire. While it is warming, he chants an incantation, telling who he wants to kill, why he wants to kill him, how long he wants the process to last, whether it is to be sudden death or a lingering sickness.

The chant over, and the gooweera warmed, he takes it from the fire. Should he wish to kill his enemy quickly, he binds opossum hair cord round the stick, only leaving one point exposed; should he only want to make his enemy ill, he only partially binds the stick. Then he ties a ligature tightly round his right arm, between the wrist and elbow, and taking the gooweera, or guddeegooree, according to the sex of his enemy, he points it at the person he wishes to injure, taking care he is not seen doing it.

Suddenly he feels the stick becoming heavier, he knows then it is drawing the blood from his enemy. The poison is prevented from entering himself by the ligature he has put round his arm. When the gooweera is heavy enough he ceases pointing it.

If he wants to kill the person outright, he goes away, makes a small hole in the earth, makes a fire beside it. In this hole he puts a few Dheal leaves--Dheal is the tree sacred to the dead; on top of the leaves he puts the gooweera, then more leaves this done, he goes away. The next day he comes back with his hand he hits the earth beside the buried stick, out jumps the gooweera, his enemy is dead. He takes the stick, which may be used many times, and goes on his way satisfied. Should he only wish to inflict a lingering illness on his enemy, he refrains from burying the gooweera, and in this case it is possible to save the afflicted person.

For instance, should any one suspect the man with the gooweera of having caused the illness, knowing of some grudge he had against the sick person, the one who suspects will probably intercede for mercy. The man may deny that he knows anything about it. He may, on the other hand, confess that he is the agent. If the intercessions prevail, he produces the gooweera, rubs it all over with iguana fat, and gives the intercessor what fat is left to rub over the sick person, who, on that being done, gradually regains his normal condition after having probably been reduced to a living skeleton from an indescribable wasting sickness, which I suspect we spell funk.

The best way to make a gooweera effective is to tie on the end of it some hair from the victim's head--a lock of hair being, in this country of upside-downs, a hate token instead of one of love.

When the lock of hair method is chosen as a means of happy dispatch, the process is carried out by a professional.

The hair is taken to the Boogahroo--a bag of hair and gooweeras--which is kept by one or two powerful wirreenuns in a certain Minggah. The wirreenun on receiving the hair asks to whom it belongs. Should it belong to one of a tribe he is favourably disposed towards, he takes the gooweera or hair, puts it in the bag, but never sings the I death song' over it, nor does he warm it.

Should he, however, be indifferent, or ill-disposed towards the individual or his tribe, he completes the process by going through the form already given, or rather when there are two wirreenuns at the Boogahroo, the receiver of the hair gives it to the other one, who sings the death-song, warms the gooweera, and burns the hair. The person from whose head the hair on the gooweera came, then by sympathetic magic, at whatever distance he is, dies a sudden or lingering death

according to the incantation sung over the poison-stick. Gooweeras need not necessarily be of wood; bone is sometimes used, and in these latter days even iron.

Sometimes at a large meeting of the blacks the Boogahroo wirreenuns bring the bag and produce from it various locks of hair, which the owners or their relations recognise, claim, and recover. They find out, from the wirreenun, who put them there; on gaining which knowledge a tribal feud is declared—a regular vendetta, which lasts from generation to generation.

If it be known that a man has stolen a lock of hair, he will be watched and prevented from reaching the Boogahroo tree, if possible.

These gooweeras used to be a terrible 'nuisance to us on the station. A really good working black boy would say he must leave, he was going to die. On inquiry we would extract the information that some one was pointing a gooweera at him.

Then sometimes the whole camp was upset; a strange black fellow had arrived, and was said to have brought gooweeras. This reaching the boss's ears, confiscation would result in order to restore peace of mind in the camp. Before I left the station a gin brought me a gooweera and told me to keep it; she had stolen it from her husband, who had threatened to point it at her for talking to another man.

Some of them, though they still had faith in the power of such charms, had faith also in me. I used to drive devils out with patent medicines; my tobacco and patent medicine accounts while collecting folk-lore were enormous.

A wirreenun, or, in fact, any one having a yunbeai, has the power to cure any one suffering an injury from whatever that yunbeai is; as, for example, a man whose yunbeai is a black snake can cure a man who is bitten by a black snake, the method being to chant an incantation which makes the yunbeai enter the stricken body and drive out the poison. These various incantations are a large part of the wirreenun's education; not least valuable amongst them is the chant sung over the tracks of snakes, which renders the bites of those snakes innocuous.

CHAPTER V

MORE ABOUT THE MEDICINE MEN AND LEECHCRAFT

THE wirreenuns sometimes hold meetings which they allow non-professionals to attend. At these the spirits of the dead speak through the medium of those they liked best on earth, and whose bodies their spirits now animate. These spirits are known as Yowee, the equivalent of our soul, which never leave the body of the living, growing as it grows, and when it dies take judgment for it, and can at will assume its perishable shape unless reincarnated in another form. So you see each person has at least three spirits, and some four, as follows: his Yowee, soul equivalent; his Doowee, a dream spirit; his Mulloowil, a shadow spirit; and may be his Yunbeai, or animal spirit.

Sometimes one person is so good a medium as to have the spirits of almost any one amongst the dead people speak through him or her, in the whistling spirit voice.

I think it is very clever of these mediums to have decided that spirits all have one sort of voice.

At these meetings there would be great rivalry among the wirreenuns. The one who could produce the most magical stones would be supposed to be the most powerful. The strength of the stones in them, whether swallowed or rubbed in through their heads, adds its strength to theirs, for these stones are living spirits, as it were, breathing and growing in their fleshly cases, the owner having the power to produce them at any time. The manifestation of such power is sometimes, at one of these trials of magic, a small shower of pebbles as seeming to fall from the heads and mouths of the rivals, and should by chance any one steal any of these as they fall, the power of the original possessor would be lessened. The dying bequeath these stones, their most precious possessions, to the living wirreenun most nearly related to them.

The wirreenun's health and power not only depend upon his crystals and yunbeai, but also on his Minggah; should an accident happen to that, unless he has another, he will die-in any case, he will sicken. Many of the legends deal with the magic of these spirit-animated trees.

They are places of refuge in time of danger; no one save the wirreenun, whose spirit-tree it was, would dare to touch a refugee at a Minggah;

and should the sanctuary be a Goomarh, or spirit-stone, not even a wirreenun would dare to interfere, so that it is a perfectly safe sanctuary from humanly dealt evil. But a refugee at a Minggah or Goomarh runs a great risk of incurring the wrath of the spirits, for Minggah are taboo to all but their own wirreenun.

There was a Minggah, a great gaunt Coolabah, near our river garden. Some gilahs build in it every year, but nothing would induce the most avaricious of black bird-collectors to get the young ones from there.

A wirreenun's boondoorr, or dillee bag, holds a queer collection: several sizes of gooweeras, of both bone and wood, poison-stones, bones, gubberahs (sacred stones), perhaps a dillee--the biggest, most magical stone used for crystal-gazing, the spirit out of which is said to go to the person of whom you want to hear, wherever he is, to see what he is doing, and then show you the person in the crystal. A dinahgurrerhlowah, or moolee, death-dealing stone, which is said to knock a person insensible, or strike him dead as lightning would by an instantaneous flash.

To these are added in this miscellaneous collection medicinal herbs, nose-bones to put through the cartilage of his nose when going to a strange camp, so that he will not smell strangers easily. The blacks say the smell of white people makes them sick; we in our arrogance had thought it the other way on.

Swansdown, shells, and woven strands of opossum's hair are valuable, and guarded as such in the boondoorr, which is sometimes kept for safety in the wirreenun's Minggah.

Having dealt with the supernatural part of a wirreenun's training, which argues cunning in him and credulity in others, I must get to his more natural remedies.

Snakebite they cure by sucking the wound and cauterising it with a firestick. They say they suck out the young snakes which have been injected into the bitten person.

For headaches or pains which do not yield to the vegetable medicine, the wirreenuns tie a piece of opossum's hair string round the sore place, take one end in their mouths, and pull it round and round until it draws blood along the cord. For rheumatic pains in the head or in the small of

the back and loins they often bind the places affected with coils of opossum hair cord, as people do sometimes with red knitting-silk.

The blacks have many herbal medicines, infusions of various barks, which they drink or wash themselves with, as the case may be.

Various leaves they grind on their dayoorl-stones, rubbing themselves with the pulp. Steam baths they make of pennyroyal, eucalyptus, pine, and others.

The bleeding of wounds they stanch with the down of birds.

For irritations of the skin they heat dwarf saltbush twigs and put the hot ends on the irritable parts.

After setting a broken limb they put grass and bark round it, then bind it up.

For swollen eyes they warm the leaves of certain trees and hold them to the affected parts, or make an infusion of Budtha leaves and bathe the eyes in it.

For rheumatic pains a fire is made, Budtha twigs laid on it, a little water thrown on them; the ashes raked out, a little more water thrown on, then the patient lies on top, his opossum rug spread over him, and thus his body is steamed. To induce perspiration, earth or sand is also often heated and placed in a hollowed-out space; on it the patient lies, and is covered with more heated earth.

Pennyroyal infused they consider a great blood purifier they also use a heap as a pillow if suffering from insomnia. It is hard to believe a black ever does suffer from insomnia, yet the cure argues the fact.

Beefwood gum is supposed to strengthen children. It is also used for reducing swollen joints. A hole is made in the ground, some coals put in, on them some beefwood leaves, on top of them the gum; over the hole is put enough bark to cover it with a piece cut out of it the size of the swollen joint to be steamed, which joint is held over this hole.

Various fats are also used as cures. Iguana fat for pains in the head and stiffness anywhere. Porcupine and opossum fats for preserving their

hair, fish fat to gloss their skins, emu fat in cold weather to save their skins from chapping.

But what is supposed to strengthen them more than anything, both mentally and physically, is a small piece of the flesh of a dead person, or before a body is put in a bark coffin a few incisions were made in it; when it was confined it was stood on end, and what drained from the incisions was caught in small wirrees and drunk by the mourners.

I fancy such cannibalism as has been in these tribes was not with a view to satisfaction of appetite but to the incorporation of additional strength. Either men or women are allowed to assist in this particularly nauseating funeral rite, but not the young people.

Nor must their shadows fall across any one who has partaken of this rite; should they do so some evil will befall them.

If the mother of a young child has not enough milk for its sustenance, she is steamed over 'old man' saltbush, and hot twigs of it laid on her breasts. To expedite the expulsion of the afterbirth, an old woman presses the patient round the waist, gives her frequent drinks of cold water, and sprinkles water over her. As soon as the afterbirth is removed a steam is prepared. Two logs are laid horizontally, some stones put in between them, then some fire, on top leaves of eucalyptus, and water is then sprinkled over them. The patient stands astride these logs, an opossum rug all over her, until she is well steamed. After this she is able to walk about as if nothing unusual had happened. Every night for about a month she has to lie on a steam bed made of damped eucalyptus leaves. She is not allowed to return to the general camp for about three months after the birth of her child.

Though perfectly well, she is considered unclean, and not allowed to touch anything belonging to any one. Her food is brought to her by some old woman. Were she to touch the food or food utensils of another they would be considered unclean and unfit for use. Her camp is gailie--that is, only for her; and she is goorerwon as soon as her child is born--a woman unclean and apart. Immediately a' baby is born it is washed in cold water.

Ghostly traditions the blacks have of the time when Dunnerh-Dunnerh, the smallpox, decimated their ancestors. Enemies sent it in the winds, which hung it on the trees, over the camps, whence it dropped on to its

victims. So terror-stricken were the tribes that, with few exceptions, they did not stay to bury their dead; and because they did not do so, flying even from the dying, a curse was laid on them that some day the plague would return, brought back by the Wundah or white devils; and the blacks shudder still, though it was generations before them, at the thought that such a horror may come again.

Poison-stones are ground up finely and placed in the food of the person desired to be got rid of. These poison-stones are of two kinds, a yellowish-looking stone and a black one; they cause a lingering death. The small bones of the wrist of a dead person are also pounded up and put into food, in honey or water, as a poison.

One cure struck me as quaint. The patient may be lying down, when up will come one of the tribe, most likely a wirreenun with a big piece of bark. He strikes the ground with this all round the patient, making a great row; this is to frighten the sickness away.

What seems to me a somewhat peculiar ceremony is the reception a coming baby holds before its birth.

The baby is presumably about to be born. Its grandmother is there naturally, but the black baby declines to appear at the request of its grandmother, and, moreover, declines to come if even the voice of its grandmother is heard; so grannie has to be a silent spectator while some other woman tempts the baby into the world by descanting on the glories of it. First, perhaps, she will say:

'Come now, here's your auntie waiting to see you.'

'Here's your sister.'

'Here's your father's sister,' and so on through a whole list. Then she will say, as the relatives and friends do not seem a draw:

'Make haste, the bumble fruit is ripe. The guiebet flowers are blooming. The grass is waving high. The birds are all talking. And it is a beautiful place, hurry up and see for yourself.'

But it generally happens that the baby is too cute to be tempted, and an old woman has to produce what she calls a wi-mouyan-a clever stick-

which she waves over the expectant mother, crooning a charm which brings forth the baby.

If any one nurses a patient and the patient dies, the nurse wears an armlet of opossum's hair called goomil, and a sort of fur boa called gurroo.

If blacks go visiting, when they leave they make a smoke fire and smoke themselves, so that they may not carry home any disease.

As a rule blacks do not have small feet, but their hands are almost invariably small and well shaped, having tapering fingers.

CHAPTER XI

SOMETHING ABOUT STARS AND LEGENDS

VENUS in the Summer evenings is a striking object in the western sky. Our Venus they call the Laughing Star, who is a man. He once said something very improper, and has been laughing at his joke ever since. As he scintillates you seem to see him grinning still at his Rabelais-like witticism, seeing which the aborigines say:

'He's a rude old man, that Laughing Star.'

The Milky Way is a warrambool, or water overflow; the stars are the fires, and the dusky haze the smoke from them, which spirits of the dead have lit on their journey across the sky. In their fires they are cooking the mussels they gather where they camp.

There is one old man up there who was once a great rainmaker, and when you see that he has turned round as the position of the Milky Way is altered, you may expect rain; he never moves except to make it.

A waving dark shadow that you will see along the same course is Kurreah, the crocodile.

To get to the Warrambool, the Wurrwilberoo, two dark spots in Scorpio, have to be passed. They are devils who try to catch the spirits of the dead; sometimes even coming to earth, when they animate whirlwinds and strike terror into the blacks. The old men try to keep

them from racing through the camp by throwing their spears and boomerangs at them.

The Pleiades are seven sisters, as usual, the dimmed ones having been dulled because on earth Wurrannah seized them and tried to melt the crystal off them at a fire; for, beautiful as they were with their long hair, they were ice-maidens. But he was unsuccessful beyond dulling their brightness, for the ice as it melted put out the fire. The two ice-maidens were miserable on earth with him, and eventually escaped by the aid of one of their 'multiplex totems,' the pine-tree. Wurrannah had told them to get him pine bark. Now the Meamei--Pleiades--belong to the Beewee totem, so does the pine-tree. They chopped the pine bark, and as they did s-o the tree telescoped itself to the sky where the five other Meamei were, whom they now joined, and with whom they have remained ever since. But they -who were polluted by their enforced residence with the earth-man never shone again with the brightness of their sisters. This legend was told emphasising the beauty of chastity.

Men had desired all the sisters when once they travelled on earth, but they kept themselves unspotted from the world, with the exception of the two Wurrannah captured by stratagem.

Orion's Sword and Belt are the Berai-Berai--the boys--who best of all loved the Meamei, for whom they used to hunt, bringing their offerings to them; but the ice-maidens were obdurate and cold, disdainful lovers, as might be expected from their parentage. Their father was a rocky mountain, their mother an icy mountain stream. But when they were translated to the sky the Berai-Berai were inconsolable. They would not hunt, they would not eat, they pined away and died. The spirits pitied them and placed them in the sky within sound of the singing of the Meamei, and there they are happy. By day they hunt, and at night light their corroboree fires, and dance to the singing in the distance. just to remind the earth-people of them, the Meamei drop down some ice in the winter, and they it is who make the winter thunderstorms.

Castor and Pollux, in some tribes, are two hunters of long ago.

Canopus is Womba, the Mad Star, the wonderful Weedah of long ago, who, on losing his loves, went mad, and was sent to the sky that they might not reach him; but they followed, and are travelling after him to this day, and after them the wizard Beereun, their evil genius, who

made the mirage on the plains in order to deceive them, that they and Weedah might be lured on by it and perish of thirst.

When they escaped him Beereun threw a barbed spear into the sky, and hooked one spear on to another until he made a ladder up which he climbed after them; and across the sky he is still pursuing them.

The Clouds of Magellan are the Bralgah, or Native Companions, mother and daughter, whom the Wurrailberoo chased in order to kill and eat the mother and keep the daughter, who was the great dancer of the tribes. They almost caught her, but her tribe pursued them too quickly; when, determined that if they lost her so should her people, they chanted an incantation and changed her from Bralgah, the dancing-girl, to Bralgah, the dancing-bird, then left her to wander about the plains. They translated themselves on beefwood trees into the sky, and there they are still.

Gowargay, the featherless emu, is a debbil-debbil of water-holes; he drags people who bathe in his holes down and drowns them, but goes every night to his sky-camp, the Coalpit, a dark place by the Southern Cross, and there he crouches. Our Corvus, the crow, is the kangaroo.

The Southern Crown is Mullyan, the eagle-hawk. The Southern Cross was the first Mingah, or spirit tree a huge Yaraan, which was the medium for the translation of the first man who died on earth to the sky. The white cockatoos which used to roost in this tree when they saw it moving skywards followed it, and are following it still as Mouyi, the pointers. The other Yaraan trees wailed for the sadness that death brought into the world, weeping tears of blood. The red gum which crystallises down their trunks is the tears.

Some tribes say it was by a woman's fault that death came into the world.

This legend avers that at first the tribes were meant to live for ever. The women were told never to go near a certain hollow tree. The bees made a nest in this tree; the women coveted the honey, but the men forbade them to go near it. But at last one woman determined to get that honey; chop went her tomahawk into that hollow trunk, and out flew a huge bat. This was the spirit of death which was now let free to roam the world, claiming all it could touch with its wings.

Of eclipses there are various accounts. Some say it is Yhi, the sun, the wanton woman, who has overtaken at last her enemy the moon, who scorned her love, and whom now she tries to kill, but the spirits intervene, dreading a return to a dark world. Some say the enemies have managed to get evil spirits into each other which are destroying them. The wirreenuns chant incantations to oust these spirits of evil, and when the eclipse is over claim a triumph of their magic.

Another account says that Yhi, the sun, after many lovers, tried to ensnare Bahloo, the moon; but he would have none of her, and so she chases him across the sky, telling the spirits who stand round the sky holding it up, that if they let him escape past them to earth, she will throw down the spirit who sits in the sky holding the ends of the Kurrajong ropes which they guard at the other end, and if that spirit falls the earth will be hurled down into everlasting darkness.

So poor Bahloo, when he wants to get to earth and go on with the creation of baby girls, has to sneak down as an emu past the spirits, hurrying off as soon as the sun sinks down too.

Bahloo is a very important personage in legends.

When the blacks see a halo round the moon they say,

'Hullo! Going to be rain. Bahloo building a house to keep himself dry.'

All sorts of scraps of folk-lore used to crop out from the little girls I took from the camp into the house to domesticate. When storms were threatening, some of the clouds have a netted sort of look, something like a mackerel sky, only with a dusky green tinge, they would say: 'See the old man with the net on his back; he's going to drop some hailstones.'

Meteors always mean death; should a trail follow them, the dead person has left a large family.

Comets are a spirit of evil supposed to drink up the rain-clouds, so causing a drought; their tails being huge families all thirsty, so thirsty that they draw the river up into the clouds.

Every natural feature in any way pronounced has a mythical reason for its existence, every peculiarity in bird life, every peculiarity in the trees and stones. Besides there are many mythical bogies still at large, according to native lore, making the bush a gnome-land.

Even the winds carry a legend in their breath.

You hear people say they could have 'burst with rage,' but it is left to a black's legend to tell of a whole tribe bursting with rage, and so originating the winds.

There was once an invisible tribe called Mayrah. These people, men and women, though they talked and hunted with them, could never be seen by the other tribes, to whom were only visible their accoutrements for hunting. They would hear a woman's voice speak to them, see perhaps a goolay in mid-air and hear from it an invisible baby's cry; they would know then a Mayrah woman was there. Or a man would speak to them. Looking up they would see a belt with weapons in it, a forehead band too, perhaps, but no waist nor forehead, a water-vessel invisibly held: a man was there, an invisible Mayrah. One of these Mayrah men chummed with one of the Doolungaiyah tribe; he was a splendid mate, a great hunter, and all that was desirable, but for his invisibility. The Doolungaiyah longed to see him, and began to worry him on the subject until at last the Mayrah became enraged, went to his tribe, and told them of the curiosity of the other tribes as to their bodily forms. The others became as furious as he was; they all burst with rage and rushed away roaring in six different directions, and ever since have only returned as formless wind to be heard but never seen. So savagely the Mayrah howled round the Doolungaiyah's camp that he burrowed into the sand to escape, and his tribe have burrowed ever since.

Three of the winds are masculine and three feminine. The Crow, according to legend, controls Gheeger Gheeger, and keeps her in a hollow log. The Eagle-hawk owns Gooroongoodilbaydilbay, and flies with her in the shape of high clouds. Yarragerh is a man, and he has for wives the Budtha, Bibbil, and Bumble trees, and when he breathes on them they burst into new shoots, buds, flowers, and fruits, telling the world that their lover Yarragerh, the spring, has come.

Douran Doura woos the Coolabah, and Kurrajong, who flower after the hot north wind has kissed them.

The women winds have no power to make trees fruitful. They can but moan through them, or tear them in rage for the lovers they have stolen, whom they can only meet twice a year at the great corroboree of the winds, when they all come together, heard but never seen; for Mayrah, the winds, are invisible, as were the Mayrah, the tribe who in bursting gave them birth.

Yarragerh and Douran Doura are the most honoured winds as being the surest rain-bringers. In some of the blacks' songs Mayrah is sung of as the mother of Yarragerh, the spring, or as a woman kissed into life by Yarragerh putting such warmth into her that she blows the winter away. But these are poetical licences, for Yarragerh is ordinarily a man who woos the trees as a spring wind until the flowers are born and the fruit formed, then back he goes to the heaven whence he came.

Then there are the historical landmarks: Byamee's tracks in stone, and so on, and the battle-fields, too, of old tribal fights. Just in front of our station store was a gnarled old Coolabah tree covered with warty excrescences, which are supposed to be seats for spirits, so showing a spirit haunt.

In this particular tree are the spirits of the Moungun, or armless women, and when the wind blows you could hear them wailing. Their cruel husband chopped their arms off because they could not get him the honey he wanted, and their spirits have wailed ever since.

Across the creek is another very old tree, having one hollow part in which is said to be secreted a shell which old Wurrannah, the traveller of the tribes, and the first to see the sea, brought back. No one would dare to touch the shell. The tribe of a neighbouring creek, when we were first at the station, used to threaten to come and get it, but the men of the local tribe used to muster to protect it from desecration even at the expense of their lives.

The Minggah by the garden I have told you of before. Further down the creek are others.

At Weetalibah was the tree from which Byamee cut the first Gayandi. This tree was burnt by travellers a few years ago. The blacks were furious: the sacred tree of Byamee burnt by the white devils! There are trees, too, considered sacred, from which Byamee cut honey and marked them for his own, just as a man even now, on finding a bee's

nest and not being able to stay and get it, marks a tree, which for any one else to touch is theft.

A little way from the head station was an outcrop of white stones. These are said to be fossilised bones of Boogoodoogahdah's victims. She was a cannibal woman who had hundreds of dogs; with them she used to round up blacks and kill them, and she and her dogs ate them. At last she was outwitted and killed herself, and her spirit flew out as a bird from her heart. This bird haunts burial grounds, and if in a drought any one can run it down and make it cry out, rain will fall.

During a drought one of these birds came into my garden, hearing which the blacks said rain would come soon, and it did. In another drought when the rainmakers had failed, some of the old blacks saw a rain-bird and hunted it, but could not get it to call out.

Geologists say there should be diamonds along some of the old water-courses of the Moorilla ridges. Perhaps the white stone that the blacks talk about, which shows a light at night, and has, they say, a devil in it, is a diamond. Ruskin rather thought there was a devil in diamonds, making women do all sorts of evil to possess them. The blacks told me that a Queensland tribe had a marvellous stone which at great gatherings they show. Taking those who are privileged to see it into the dark, there they suddenly produce it, and it glows like a star, though when looked closely at in daylight seems only like a large drop of rain solidified. This stone, they said, has to be well guarded, as it has the power of self-movement, or rather, the devil in it can move it.

The greatest of local landmarks is at Brewarrina; this is the work of Byamee and his giant sons, the stone fisheries made in the bed of the Barwon.

At Boogira, on the Narran Lake, is an imprint in stone of Byamee's hand and foot, which shows that in those days were giants. There it was that Byamee brought to bay the crocodiles who had swallowed his wives, from which he recovered them and restored them to life.

At Mildool is a scooped-out rock which Byamee made to catch and hold water; beside it he hollowed out a smaller stone, that his dog might have a drinking-place too. This recurrence of the mention of dogs in the legends touching Byamee looks as if blacks at all events believed dogs to have been in Australia as long as men.

At Dooyanweenia are two rocks where Byamee and Birrahgnooloo rested, and to these rocks are still sticking the hairs he pulled from his beard, after rubbing his face with gum to make them come out easily.

At Guddee, a spring in the Brewarrina district, every now and then come up huge bones of animals now extinct. Legends say that these bones are the remains of the victims of Mullyan, the eagle-hawk, whose camp was in the tree at the foot of which was the spring. This tree was a tree of trees; first, a widely spreading gum, then another kind, next a pine, and lastly a midgee, in which was Mullyan's camp, out of which the relations of his victims burnt him and his wives, and they now form the Northern Crown constellation. The roots of this gigantic tree travelled for miles, forming underground water-courses. At Eurahbah and elsewhere are hollowed-out caves like stones; in these places Birrahgnooloo slept, and near them, before the stock trampled them out, were always to be found springs made at her instigation for her refreshment; she is the patroness of water.

At Toulby and elsewhere are mud springs. It is said that long ago there were no springs there, nor in the Warrego district, and in the droughts the water-courses all dried up and the blacks perished in hundreds. Time, after time this happened, until at last it seemed as if the tribes would be exterminated. The Yanta--spirits--saw what was happening and felt grieved, so they determined to come and live on the earth again to try and bring relief to the drought-stricken people. Down they came and set to work to excavate springs. They scooped out earth and dug, deeper and deeper, until at length after many of them gave in from exhaustion, those that were left were rewarded by seeing springs bubble up.

The first of those that they made was at Yantabulla, which bears their name to this day.

The blacks were delighted at having watering-places which neither a drought nor the fiercest sun could dry up. The Yantas were not contented with this nor with the other springs they made. They determined to excavate a whole plain, and turn it into a lake so deep that the sun could never dry it, and which would be full of fish for the tribes.

They went to Kinggle and there began their work. On they toiled unceasingly, but work as they would they could not complete their

scheme, for one after another wearied and died, until at last nothing was left on the plain but the mud springs under the surface and the graves of the Yantas on top. No blacks will cross Kinggle plains lest some of these spirits arise through the openings of their graves.

This legend shows what a disheartening country the West is in a drought. When even the spirits gave in, how can ordinary men succeed? But indeed it is not ordinary men who do, but our 'Western heroes,' as Will Ogilvie calls them, who wear their cross of bronze on neck and cheek in the country where 'the green fades into grey.'

CHAPTER TWELVE NATIVE AMERICAN

Wisdom of Native American Religion

The Secret Teachings of All Ages

American Indian Symbolism

*The Secret Teachings of All Ages, By Manly P. Hall,
Philosophical University Press, 1924*

THE North American Indian is by nature a symbolist, a mystic, and a philosopher. Like most aboriginal peoples, his soul was en rapport with the cosmic agencies manifesting about him. Not only did his *Manidos* control creation from their exalted seats above the clouds, but they also descended into the world of men and mingled with their red children. The gray clouds hanging over the horizon were the smoke from the *calumets* of the gods, who could build fires of petrified wood and use a comet for a flame. The American Indian peopled the forests, rivers, and sky with myriads of superphysical and invisible beings. There are legends of entire tribes of Indians who lived in lake bottoms; of races who were never seen in the daytime but who, coming forth from their hidden caves, roamed the earth at night and waylaid unwary travelers; also of Bat Indians, with human bodies and batlike wings, who lived in gloomy forests and inaccessible cliffs and who slept hanging head downward from great branches and outcroppings of rock. The red man's philosophy of elemental creatures is apparently the outcome of his intimate contact with Nature, whose inexplicable wonders become the generating cause of such metaphysical speculations.

In common with the early Scandinavians, the Indians of North America considered the earth (the Great Mother) to be an intermediate plane, bounded above by a heavenly sphere (the dwelling place of the Great Spirit) and below by a dark and terrifying subterranean world (the abode of shadows and of submundane powers). Like the Chaldeans, they divided the interval between the surface of earth and heaven into various strata, one consisting of clouds, another of the paths of the heavenly bodies, and so on. The underworld was similarly divided and like the Greek system represented to the initiated the House of the Lesser Mysteries. Those creatures capable of functioning in two or more elements were considered as messengers between the spirits of these various planes. The abode of the dead was presumed to be in a distant place: in the heavens above, the earth below, the distant corners of the world, or across wide seas. Sometimes a river flows between the world of the dead and that of the living, in this respect paralleling Egyptian, Greek, and Christian theology. To the Indian the number four has a peculiar sanctity, presumably because the Great Spirit created His universe in a square frame. This is suggestive of the veneration accorded the *tetrad* by the Pythagoreans, who held it to be a fitting symbol of the Creator. The legendary narratives of the strange adventures of intrepid heroes who while in the physical body penetrated the realms of the dead prove beyond question the presence of Mystery cults among the North American red men. Wherever the Mysteries were established they were recognized as the philosophic equivalents of death, for those passing through the rituals experienced all after-death conditions while still in the physical body. At the consummation of the ritual the initiate actually gained the ability to pass in and out of his physical body at will. This is the philosophic foundation for the allegories of adventures in the Indian Shadow Land, or World of Ghosts.

"From coast to coast," writes Hartley Burr Alexander, "the sacred Calumet is the Indian's altar, and its smoke is the proper offering to Heaven." (See *Mythology of All Races*.) In the *Notes* on the same work is given the following description of the pipe ceremony:

"The master of ceremonies, again rising to his feet, filled and lighted the pipe of peace from his own fire. Drawing three whiffs, one after the other, he blew the first towards the zenith, the second towards the ground, and the third towards the Sun. By the first act he returned thanks to the Great Spirit for the preservation of his life during the past year, and for being permitted to be present at this council. By the second, he returned thanks to his Mother, the Earth, for her various

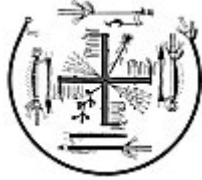
productions which had ministered to his sustenance. And by the third, he returned thanks to the Sun for his never-failing light, ever shining upon all."

It was necessary for the Indian to secure the red stone for his calumet from the pipestone quarry where in some remote past the Great Spirit had come and, after fashioning with His own hands a great pipe, had smoked it toward the four corners of creation and thus instituted this most sacred ceremony. Scores of Indian tribes--some of them traveling thousands of miles--secured the sacred stone from this single quarry, where the mandate of the Great Spirit had decreed that eternal peace should reign.

The Indian does not worship the sun; he rather regards this shining orb as an appropriate symbol of the Great and Good Spirit who forever radiates life to his red children. In Indian symbolism the serpent--especially the Great Serpent--corroborates other evidence pointing to the presence of the Mysteries on the North American Continent. The flying serpent is the Atlantean token of the initiate; the seven-headed snake represents the seven great Atlantean islands (the cities of Chibola?) and also the seven great prehistoric schools of esoteric philosophy. Moreover, who can doubt the presence of the secret doctrine in the Americas when he gazes upon the great serpent mound in Adams County, Ohio, where the huge reptile is represented as disgorging the Egg of Existence? Many American Indian tribes are reincarnationists, some are transmigrationists. They even called their children by the names supposed to have been borne by them in a former life. There is an account of an instance where a parent by inadvertence had given his infant the wrong name, whereupon the babe cried incessantly until the mistake had been rectified! The belief in reincarnation is also prevalent among the Eskimos. Aged Eskimos not infrequently kill themselves in order to reincarnate in the family of some newly married loved one.

The American Indians recognize the difference between the ghost and the actual soul of a dead person, a knowledge restricted to initiates of the Mysteries. In common with the Platonists they also understood the principles of an archetypal sphere wherein exist the patterns of all forms manifesting in the earth plane, The theory of Group, or Elder, Souls having supervision over the animal species is also shared by them. The red man's belief in guardian spirits would have warmed the heart of Paracelsus. When they attain the importance of being protectors of entire clans or tribes, these guardians are called *totems*. In some tribes

impressive ceremonies mark the occasion when the young men are sent out into the forest to fast and pray and there remain until their guardian spirit manifests to them. Whatever creature appears thereupon becomes their peculiar genius, to whom they appeal in time of trouble.



NAVAHO SAND PAINTING.

From an original drawing by Hasteen Klah.

The Navaho dry or sand paintings are made by sprinkling varicolored ground pigment upon a base of smooth sand. The one here reproduced is encircled by the rainbow goddess, and portrays an episode from the Navaho cosmogony myth. According to Hasteen Klah, the Navaho sand priest who designed this painting, the Navahos do not believe in idolatry, hence they make no images of their gods, but perpetuate only the mental concept of them. Just as the gods draw pictures upon the moving clouds, so the priests make paintings on the sand, and when the purpose of the drawing has been fulfilled it is effaced by a sweep of the hand. According to this informant, the Zuni, Hopi, and Navaho nations had a common genesis; they all came out of the earth and then separated into three nations.

The Navahos first emerged about 3,000 years ago at a point now called La Platte Mountain in Colorado. The four mountains sacred to the Navahos are La Platte Mountain, Mount Taylor, Navaho Mountain, and San Francisco Mountain. While these three nations were under the earth four mountain ranges were below with them. The eastern mountains were white, the southern blue, the western yellow, and the northern black. The rise and fall of these mountains caused the alternation of day and night. When the white mountains rose it was day under the earth; when the yellow ones rose, twilight; the black mountains brought night, and the blue, dawn. Seven major deities were recognized by the Navahos, but Hasteen Klah was unable to say whether the Indians related these deities to the planets. Bakochiddy, one of these seven major gods, was white in color with light reddish hair and gray eyes. His father was the sun ray and his mother the daylight. He ascended to heaven and in some respects his life parallels that of Christ. To avenge the kidnapping of his child, Kahothsode, a fish god, caused a

great flood to arise. To escape destruction, the Zunis, Hopis, and Navahos ascended to the surface of the earth.

The sand painting here reproduced is part of the medicine series prepared for the healing of disease. In the healing ceremony the patient is placed upon the drawing, which is made in a consecrated hogan, and all outsiders excluded. The sacred swastika in the center of the drawing is perhaps the most nearly universal of religious emblems and represents the four corners of the world. The two hunchback god, at the right and left assume their appearance by reason of the great clouds borne upon their backs. In Navaho religious art, male divinities are always shown with circular heads and female divinities with square heads.

The outstanding hero of North American Indian folklore is Hiawatha, a name which, according to Lewis Spence, signifies "he who seeks the wampum-belt." Hiawatha enjoys the distinction of anticipating by several centuries the late Woodrow Wilson's cherished dream of a League of Nations. Following in the footsteps of Schoolcraft, Longfellow confused the historical Hiawatha of the Iroquois with Manabozho, a mythological hero of the Algonquins and Ojibwas. Hiawatha, a chief of the Iroquois, after many reverses and disappointments, succeeded in uniting the five great nations of the Iroquois into the "League of the Five Nations." The original purpose of the league--to abolish war by substituting councils of arbitration--was not wholly successful, but the power of the "Silver Chain" conferred upon the Iroquois a solidarity attained by no other confederacy of North American Indians. Hiawatha, however, met the same opposition which has confronted every great idealist, irrespective of time or race. The *shamans* turned their magic against him and, according to one legend, created an evil bird which, swooping down from heaven, tore his only daughter to pieces before his eyes. When Hiawatha, after accomplishing his mission, had sailed away in his self-propelled canoe along the path of the sunset, his people realized the true greatness of their benefactor and elevated him to the dignity of a demigod. In Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* the poet has cast the great Indian statesman in a charming setting of magic and enchantment; yet through the maze of symbol and allegory is ever faintly visible the figure of Hiawatha the initiate--the very personification of the red man and his philosophy.

THE POPOL VUH

No other sacred book sets forth so completely as the *Popol Vuh* the initiatory rituals of a great school of mystical philosophy. This volume

alone is sufficient to establish incontestably the philosophical excellence of the red race.

"The Red 'Children of the Sun,'" writes James Morgan Pryse, "do not worship the One God. For them that One God is absolutely impersonal, and all the Forces emanated from that One God are personal. This is the exact reverse of the popular western conception of a personal God and impersonal working forces in nature. Decide for yourself which of these beliefs is the more philosophical. These Children of the Sun adore the Plumèd Serpent, who is the messenger of the Sun. He was the God Quetzalcoatl in Mexico, Gucumatz in Quiché; and in Peru he was called Amaru. From the latter name comes our word America. *Amaruca* is, literally translated, 'Land of the Plumèd Serpent.' The priests of this God of Peace, from their chief centre in the Cordilleras, once ruled both Americas. All the Red men who have remained true to the ancient religion are still under their sway. One of their strong centres was in Guatemala, and of their Order was the author of the book called *Popol Vuh*. In the Quiché tongue Gucumatz is the exact equivalent of Quetzalcoatl in the Nahuatl language; *quetzal*, the bird of Paradise; *coatl*, serpent--'the Serpent veiled in plumes of the paradise-bird!'"

The *Popol Vuh* was discovered by Father Ximinez in the seventeenth century. It was translated into French by Brasseur de Bourbourg and published in 1861. The only complete English translation is that by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie, which ran through the early files of *The Word* magazine and which is used as the basis of this article. A portion of the *Popol Vuh* was translated into English, with extremely valuable commentaries, by James Morgan Pryse, but unfortunately his translation was never completed. The second book of the *Popol Vuh* is largely devoted to the initiatory rituals of the Quiché nation. These ceremonies are of first importance to students of Masonic symbolism and mystical philosophy, since they establish beyond doubt the existence of ancient and divinely instituted Mystery schools on the American Continent.

Lewis Spence, in describing the *Popol Vuh*, gives a number of translations of the title of the manuscript itself. Passing over the renditions, "The Book of the Mat" and "The Record of the Community," he considers it likely that the correct title is "The Collection of Written Leaves," *Popol* signifying the "prepared bark" and *Vuh*, "paper" or "book" from the verb *uoch*, to write. Dr. Guthrie interprets the words *Popol Vuh* to mean "The Senate Book," or "The Book of the Holy Assembly"; Brasseur de Bourbourg calls it "The Sacred Book"; and

Father Ximinez designates the volume "The National Book." In his articles on the *Popol Vuh* appearing in the fifteenth volume of *Lucifer*, James Morgan Pryse, approaching the subject from the standpoint of the mystic, calls this work "The Book of the Azure Veil." In the *Popol Vuh* itself the ancient records from which the Christianized Indian who compiled it derived his material are referred to as "The Tale of Human Existence in the Land of Shadows, and, How Man Saw Light and Life."

The meager available native records contain abundant evidence that the later civilizations of Central and South America were hopelessly dominated by the black arts of their priestcrafts. In the convexities of their magnetized mirrors the Indian sorcerers captured the intelligences of elemental beings and, gazing into the depths of these abominable devices, eventually made the scepter subservient to the wand. Robed in garments of sable hue, the neophytes in their search for truth were led by their sinister guides through the confused passageways of necromancy. By the left-hand path they descended into the somber depths of the infernal world, where they learned to endow stones with the power of speech and to subtly ensnare the minds of men with their chants and fetishes. As typical of the perversion which prevailed, none could achieve to the greater Mysteries until a human being had suffered immolation at his hand and the bleeding heart of the victim had been elevated before the leering face of the stone idol fabricated by a priestcraft the members of which realized more fully than they dared to admit the true nature of the man-made demon. The sanguinary and indescribable rites practiced by many of the Central American Indians may represent remnants of the later Atlantean perversion of the ancient sun Mysteries. According to the secret tradition, it was during the later Atlantean epoch that black magic and sorcery dominated the esoteric schools, resulting in the bloody sacrificial rites and gruesome idolatry which ultimately overthrew the Atlantean empire and even penetrated the Aryan religious world.

THE MYSTERIES OF XIBALBA

The princes of Xibalba (so the *Popol Vuh* recounts) sent their four owl messengers to Hunhun-ahpu and Vukub-hunhun-ahpu, ordering them to come at once to the place of initiation in the fastnesses of the Guatemalan mountains. Failing in the tests imposed by the princes of Xibalba, the two brothers--according to the ancient custom--paid with their lives for their shortcomings. Hunhun-ahpu and Vukub-hunhun-ahpu were buried together, but the head of Hunhun-ahpu was placed among the branches of the sacred calabash tree which grew in the

middle of the road leading to the awful Mysteries of Xibalba. Immediately the calabash tree covered itself with fruit and the head of Hunhun-ahpu "showed itself no more; for it reunited itself with the other fruits of the calabash tree." Now Xquiq was the virgin daughter of prince Cuchumaquiq. From her father she had learned of the marvelous calabash tree, and desiring to possess some of its fruit, she journeyed alone to the somber place where it grew. When Xquiq put forth her hand to pick the fruit of the tree, some saliva from the mouth of Hunhun-ahpu fell into it and the head spoke to Xquiq, saying: "This saliva and froth is my posterity which I have just given you. Now my head will cease to speak, for it is only the head of a corpse, which has no more flesh."

Following the admonitions of Hunhun-ahpu, the young girl returned to her home. Her father, Cuchumaquiq, later discovering that she was about to become a mother, questioned her concerning the father of her child. Xquiq replied that the child was begotten while she was gazing upon the head of Hunhun-ahpu in the calabash tree and that she had known no man. Cuchumaquiq, refusing to believe her story, at the instigation of the princes of Xibalba, demanded her heart in an urn. Led away by her executioners, Xquiq pleaded with them to spare her life, which they agreed to do, substituting for her heart the fruit of a certain tree (rubber) whose sap was red and of the consistency of blood. When the princes of Xibalba placed the supposed heart upon the coals of the altar to be consumed, they were all amazed by the perfume which rose therefrom, for they did not know that they were burning the fruit of a fragrant plant.

Xquiq gave birth to twin sons, who were named Hunahpu and Xbalanque and whose lives were dedicated to avenging the deaths of Hunhun-ahpu and Vukub-hunhun-ahpu. The years passed, and the two boys grew up to manhood and great were their deeds. Especially did they excel in a certain game called tennis but somewhat resembling hockey. Hearing of the prowess of the youths, the princes of Xibalba asked: "Who, then, are those who now begin again to play over our heads, and who do not scruple to shake (the earth)? Are not Hunhun-ahpu and Vukub-hunhun-ahpu dead, who wished to exalt themselves before our face?" So the princes of Xibalba sent for the two youths, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, that they might destroy them also in the seven days of the Mysteries. Before departing, the two brothers bade farewell to their grandmother, each planting in the midst of the house a cane plant, saying that as long as the cane lived she would know that they were alive.



FRAGMENT OF INDIAN POTTERY.

Courtesy of Alice Palmer Henderson

This curious fragment was found four feet under the ground beneath a trash pile of broken early Indian pottery not far from the Casa Grande ruins in Arizona. It is significant because of its striking to the Masonic compass and square. Indian baskets pottery, and blankets frequently bear ornamental designs of especial Masonic and philosophic interest.

"O, our grandmother, O, our mother, do not weep; behold the sign of our word which remains with you. " Hunahpu and Xbalanque then departed, each with his *sabarcán* (blowpipe), and for many days they journeyed along the perilous trail, descending through tortuous ravines and along precipitous cliffs, past strange birds and boiling springs, towards the sanctuary of Xibalba.

The actual ordeals of the Xibalbian Mysteries were seven in number. As a preliminary the two adventurers crossed a river of mud and then a stream of blood, accomplishing these difficult feats by using their *sabarcans* as bridges. Continuing on their way, they reached a point where four roads converged--a black road, a white road, a red road, and a green road. Now Hunahpu and Xbalanque knew that their first test would consist of being able to discriminate between the princes of Xibalba and the wooden effigies robed to resemble them; also that they must call each of the princes by his correct name without having been given the information. To secure this information, Hunahpu pulled a hair from his leg, which hair then became a strange insect called *Xan*; buzzing along the black road, the *Xan* entered the council chamber of the princes of Xibalba and stung the leg of the figure nearest the door, which it discovered to be a manikin. By the same artifice the second figure was proved to be of wood, but upon stinging the third, there was an immediate response. By stinging each of the twelve assembled princes in turn the insect thus discovered each one's name, for the princes called each other by name in discussing the cause of the mysterious bites. Having secured the desired information in this novel manner, the insect then flew back to Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who

thus fortified, fearlessly approached the threshold of Xibalba and presented themselves to the twelve assembled princes.

When told to adore the king, Hunahpu and Xbalanque laughed, for they knew that the figure pointed out to them was the lifeless manikin. The young adventurers thereupon addressed the twelve princes by name thus: "Hail, Hun-came; hail, Vukub-came; hail, Xiquiripat; hail, Cuchumaquiq; hail, Ahalpuh; hail, Ahalcana; hail, Chamiabak; hail, Chamiaholona; hail, Quiqxic; hail, Patan; hail, Quiqre; hail, Quiqrixqaq." When invited by the Xibalbians to seat themselves upon a great stone bench, Hunahpu and Xbalanque declined to do so, declaring that they well knew the stone to be heated so that they would be burned to death if they sat upon it. The princes of Xibalba then ordered Hunahpu and Xbalanque to rest for the night in the House of Shadows. This completed the first degree of the Xibalbian Mysteries.

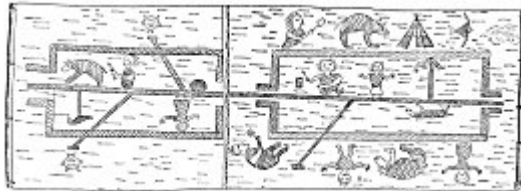
The second trial was given in the House of Shadows, where to each of the candidates was brought a pine torch and a cigar, with the injunction that both must be kept alight throughout the entire night and yet each must be returned the next morning unconsumed. Knowing that death was the alternative to failure in the test, the young men burnt aras-feathers in place of the pine splinters (which they closely resemble) and also put fireflies on the tips of the cigars. Seeing the lights, those who watched felt certain that Hunahpu and Xbalanque had fallen into the trap, but when morning came the torches and cigars were returned to the guards unconsumed and still burning. In amazement and awe, the princes of Xibalba gazed upon the unconsumed splinters and cigars, for never before had these been returned intact.

The third ordeal took place presumably in a cavern called the House of Spears. Here hour after hour the youths were forced to defend themselves against the strongest and most skillful warriors armed with spears. Hunahpu and Xbalanque pacified the spearmen, who thereupon ceased attacking them. They then turned their attention to the second and most difficult part of the test: the production of four vases of the rarest flowers but which they were not permitted to leave the temple to gather. Unable to pass the guards, the two young men secured the assistance of the ants. These tiny creatures, crawling into the gardens of the temple, brought back the blossoms so that by morning the vases were filled. When Hunahpu and Xbalanque presented the flowers to the twelve princes, the latter, in amazement, recognized the blossoms as having been filched from their own private gardens. In consternation,

the princes of Xibalba then counseled together how they could destroy the intrepid neophytes and forthwith prepared for them the next ordeal.

For their fourth test, the two brothers were made to enter the House of Cold, where they remained for an entire night. The princes of Xibalba considered the chill of the icy cavern to be unbearable and it is described as "the abode of the frozen winds of the North." Hunahpu and Xbalanque, however, protected themselves from the deadening influence of the frozen air by building fires of pine cones, whose warmth caused the spirit of cold to leave the cavern so that the youths were not dead but full of life when day dawned. Even greater than before was the amazement of the princes of Xibalba when Hunahpu and Xbalanque again entered the Hall of Assembly in the custody of their guardians.

The fifth ordeal was also of a nocturnal nature. Hunahpu and Xbalanque were ushered into a great chamber which was immediately filled with ferocious tigers. Here they were forced to remain throughout the night. The young men tossed bones to the tigers, which they ground to pieces with their strong jaws. Gazing into the House of the Tigers, the princes of Xibalba beheld the animals chewing the bones and said one to the other: "They have at last learned (to know the power of Xibalba), and they have given themselves up to the beasts. " But when at dawn Hunahpu and Xbalanque emerged from the House of the Tigers unharmed, the Xibalbians



MIDEWIWIN RECORD ON BIRCH BARK.

Courtesy of Alice Palmer Henderson.

The birch-bark roll is one of the most sacred possessions of an initiate of the Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society, of the Ojibwas. Concerning these rolls, Colonel Carrick Mallery writes: "To persons acquainted with secret societies, a good comparison for the Midewiwin charts would be what is called a trestleboard of a Masonic order, which is printed and published and publicly

exposed without exhibiting any secrets of the order; yet it is not only significant, but useful to the esoteric in assistance to their memory as to the details of ceremony." A most complete and trustworthy account of the Midewiwin is that given by W. J. Hoffman in the Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. He writes:

The Midewiwin--Society of the Mide or Shaman--consists of an indefinite number of Mide of both sexes. The society is graded into four separate and distinct degrees, although there is a general impression prevailing even among certain members that any degree beyond the first is practically a mere repetition. The greater power attained by one in making advancement depends upon the fact of his having submitted to 'being shot at with the medicine sacks' in the hands of the officiating priests. * * * It has always been customary for the Mide priests to preserve birch-bark records, bearing delicate incised lines to represent pictorially the ground plan of the number of degrees to which the owner is entitled. Such records or charts are sacred and are never exposed to the public view."

The two rectangular diagrams represent two degrees of the Mide lodge and the straight line through the center the spiritual path, or "straight and narrow way," running through the degrees. The lines running tangent to the central Path signify temptations, and the faces at the termini of the lines are *manidos*, or powerful spirits. Writing of the Midewiwin, Schoolcraft, the great authority on the American Indian, says: "In the society of the Midewiwin the object is to teach the higher doctrines of spiritual existence, its nature and mode of existence, and the influence it exercises among men. It is an association of men who profess the highest knowledge known to the tribes."

According to legend, *Manabozho*, the great Rabbit, who was a servant of *Dzhe Manido*, the Good Spirit, gazing down upon the progenitors of the Ojibwas and perceiving them to be without spiritual knowledge, instructed an otter in the mysteries of Midewiwin. *Manabozho* built a Midewigan and initiated the otter, shooting the sacred Migis (a small shell, the sacred symbol of the Mide) into the body of the otter. He then conferred immortality upon the animal, and entrusted to it the secrets of the Grand Medicine Society. The ceremony of initiation is preceded by sweat baths and consists chiefly of overcoming the influences of evil manidos. The initiate is also instructed in the art of healing and (judging from Plate III of Mr. Hoffman's article) a knowledge of directionalizing the forces moving through the vital centers of the human body. Though the cross is an important symbol in the Midewiwin rites, it is noteworthy that the Mide Priests steadfastly refused to give up their religion and be converted to Christianity.

cried: "Of what race are those?" for they could not understand how any man could escape the tigers' fury. Then the princes of Xibalba prepared for the two brothers a new ordeal.

The sixth test consisted of remaining from sunset to sunrise in the House of Fire. Hunahpu and Xbalanque entered a large apartment arranged like a furnace. On every side the flames arose and the air was stifling; so great was the heat that those who entered this chamber could survive only a few moments. But at sunrise when the doors of the furnace were opened, Hunahpu and Xbalanque came forth unscorched by the fury of the flames. The princes of Xibalba, perceiving how the two intrepid youths had survived every ordeal prepared for their destruction, were filled with fear lest all the secrets of Xibalba should fall into the hands of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. So they prepared the last ordeal, an ordeal yet more terrible than any which had gone before, certain that the youths could not withstand this crucial test.

The seventh ordeal took place in the House of the Bats. Here in a dark subterranean labyrinth lurked many strange and odious creatures of destruction. Huge bars fluttered dismally through the corridors and hung with folded wings from the carvings on the walls and ceilings. Here also dwelt Camazotz, the God of Bats, a hideous monster with the body of a man and the wings and head of a bat. Camazotz carried a great sword and, soaring through the gloom, decapitated with a single sweep of his blade any unwary wanderers seeking to find their way through the terror-filled chambers. Xbalanque passed successfully through this horrifying test, but Hunahpu, caught off his guard, was beheaded by Camazotz.

Later, Hunahpu was restored to life by magic, and the two brothers, having thus foiled every attempt against their lives by the Xibalbians, in order to better avenge the murder of Hunhun-ahpu and Vukub-hunhun-ahpu, permitted themselves to be burned upon a funeral pyre. Their powdered bones were then cast into a river and immediately became two great man-fishes. Later taking upon themselves the forms of aged wanderers, they danced for the Xibalbians and wrought strange miracles. Thus one would cut the other to pieces and with a single word resurrect him, or they would burn houses by magic and then instantly rebuild them. The fame of the two dancers--who were in reality Hunahpu and Xbalanque--finally came to the notice of the twelve princes of Xibalba, who thereupon desired these two miracle-workers to perform their strange feats before them. After Hunahpu and Xbalanque had slain the dog of the princes and restored it to life, had burned the royal palace and instantly rebuilt it, and given other demonstrations of their magical powers, the monarch of the Xibalbians asked the magicians to destroy him and restore him also to life. So Hunahpu and Xbalanque slew the princes of Xibalba but did not return them to life,

thereby avenging the murder of Hunhun-ahpu and Vukub-hunhun-ahpu. These heroes later ascended to heaven, where they became the celestial lights.

KEYS TO THE MYSTERIES OF XIBALBA

"Do not these initiations," writes Le Plongeon, "vividly recall to mind what Henoah said he saw in his visions? That blazing house of crystal, burning hot and icy cold--that place where were the bow of fire, the quiver of arrows, the sword of fire--that other where he had to cross the babbling stream, and the river of fire--and those extremities of the Earth full of all kinds of huge beasts and birds--or the habitation where appeared one of great glory sitting upon the orb of the sun--and, lastly, does not the tamarind tree in the midst of the earth, that he was cold was the Tree of Knowledge, find its simile in the calabash tree, in the middle of the road where those of Xibalba placed the head of Hunhun Ahpu, after sacrificing him for having failed to support the first trial of the initiation? * * * These were the awful ordeals that the candidates for initiation into the sacred mysteries had to pass through in Xibalba. Do they not seem an exact counterpart of what happened in a milder form at the initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries? and also the greater mysteries of Egypt, from which these were copied? Does not the recital of what the candidates to the mysteries in Xibalba were required to know, before being admitted, * * * recall to mind the wonderful similar feats said to be performed by the Mahatmas, the Brothers in India, and of several of the passages of the book of Daniel, who had been initiated to the mysteries of the Chaldeans or Magi which, according to Eubulus, were divided into three classes or genera, the highest being the most learned?" (See *Sacred Mysteries among the Mayas and the Quiches*.)

In his introductory notes to the *Popol Vuh*, Dr. Guthrie presents a number of important parallelisms between this sacred book of the Quichés and the sacred writings of other great civilizations. In the tests through which Hunahpu and Xbalanque are forced to pass he finds the following analogy with the signs of the zodiac as employed in the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks:

"Aries, crossing the river of mud. Taurus, crossing the river of blood. Gemini, detecting the two dummy kings. Cancer, the House of Darkness. Leo, the House of Spears. Virgo, the House of Cold (the usual trip to Hell). Libra, the House of Tigers (feline poise). Scorpio, the House of Fire. Sagittarius, the House of Bats, where the God Camazotz

decapitates one of the heroes. Capricorn, the burning on the scaffold (the dual Phoenix). Aquarius, their ashes being scattered in a river. Pisces, their ashes turning into *man-fishes*, and later back into human form."

It would seem more appropriate to assign the river of blood to Aries and that of mud to Taurus, and it is not at all improbable that in the ancient form of the legend the order of the rivers was reversed. Dr. Guthrie's most astonishing conclusion is his effort to identify Xibalba with the ancient continent of Atlantis. He sees in the twelve princes of Xibalba the rulers of the Atlantean empire, and in the destruction of these princes by the magic of Hunahpu and Xbalanque an allegorical depiction of the tragic end of Atlantis. To the initiated, however, it is evident that Atlantis is simply a symbolic figure in which is set forth the mystery of origins.

Concerned primarily with the problems of mystical anatomy, Mr. Pryse relates the various symbols described in the *Popol Vuh* to the occult centers of consciousness in the human body. Accordingly, he sees in the elastic ball the pineal gland and in Hunahpu and Xbalanque the dual electric current directed along the spinal column. Unfortunately, Mr. Pryse did not translate that portion of the *Popol Vuh* dealing directly with the initiatory ceremonial. Xibalba he considers to be the shadowy or etheric sphere which, according to the Mystery teachings, was located within the body of the planet itself. The fourth book of the *Popol Vuh* concludes with an account of the erection of a majestic temple, all white, where was preserved a secret black divining stone, cubical in shape. Gucumatz (or Quetzalcoatl) partakes of many of the attributes of King Solomon: the account of the temple building in the *Popol Vuh* is a reminder of the story of Solomon's Temple, and undoubtedly has a similar significance. Brasseur de Bourbourg was first attracted to the study of religious parallelisms in the *Popol Vuh* by the fact that the temple together with the black stone which it contained, was named the *Caabaha*, a name astonishingly similar to that of the Temple, or *Caaba*, which contains the sacred black stone of Islam.

The exploits of Hunahpu and Xbalanque take place before the actual creation of the human race and therefore are to be considered essentially as spiritual mysteries. Xibalba doubtless signifies the inferior universe of Chaldean and Pythagorean philosophy; the princes of Xibalba are the twelve Governors of the lower universe; and the two dummies or manikins in their midst may be interpreted as the two false signs of the ancient zodiac inserted in the heavens to make the

astronomical Mysteries incomprehensible to the profane. The descent of Hunahpu and Xbalanque into the subterranean kingdom of Xibalba by crossing over the rivers on bridges made from their blowguns has a subtle analogy to the descent of the spiritual nature of man into the physical body through certain superphysical channels that may be likened to the blowguns or tubes. The *sabarcan* is also an appropriate emblem of the spinal cord and the power resident within its tiny central opening. The two youths are invited to play the "Game of Life" with the Gods of Death, and only with the aid of supernatural power imparted to them by the "Sages" can they triumph over these gloomy lords. The tests represent the soul wandering through the sub-zodiacal realms of the created universe; their final victory over the Lords of Death represents the ascension of the spiritual and illumined consciousness from the tower nature which has been wholly consumed by the fire of spiritual purification.

That the Quichés possessed the keys to the mystery of regeneration is evident from an analysis of the symbols appearing upon the images of their priests and gods. In Vol. II of the *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* is reproduced the head of an image generally considered to represent Quetzalcoatl. The sculpturing is distinctly Oriental in character and on the crown of the head appear both the thousand-petaled sunburst of spiritual illumination and the serpent of the liberated spinal fire. The Hindu *chakra* is unmistakable and it frequently appears in the religious art of the three Americas. One of the carved monoliths of Central America is adorned with the heads of two elephants with their drivers. No such animals have existed in the Western Hemisphere since prehistoric times and it is evident that the carvings are the result of contact with the distant continent of Asia. Among the Mysteries of the Central American Indians is a remarkable doctrine concerning the consecrated mantles or, as they were called in Europe, magic capes. Because their glory was fatal to mortal vision, the gods, when appearing to the initiated priests, robed themselves in these mantles, Allegory and fable likewise are the mantles with which the secret doctrine is ever enveloped. Such a magic cape of concealment is the *Popol Vuh*, and deep within its folds sits the god of Quiché philosophy. The massive pyramids, temples, and monoliths of Central America may be likened also to the feet of gods, whose upper parts are enshrouded in magic mantles of invisibility.

The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies
of the Oglala Division of The Teton
Dakota

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INTRODUCTION.

The Siouan words in this paper are of the Teton dialect as it is spoken by the Oglala, the letters in them having the same values as in English, except that those in the following table represent only the sounds indicated therein:--

a as a in far
e as a in fate
i as e in me
o as o in no
u as u in move
c as ch in chin
g as gu in gull
n as n in no, when it begins a syllable
n as n in ink, when it does not begin a syllable
s as sh in she
h as h in he, when it begins a word
h as a guttural aspirate, vocalized, when it does not
begin a word

The capitalization, other than that required by English, is to indicate that the things capitalized were considered sacred by the Oglala.

During many years, the vocation of the author brought him into intimate relation with the Oglala, and during that time, for his personal gratification, he gathered all the information he could get, relative to the aboriginal state of the Lakota, receiving it from many persons, at times and places far apart. He cultivated the friendship of the shamans, and became a shaman, thus receiving information that it was impossible to get otherwise. The notes taken at these times are largely fragmentary and contain much repetition and irrelevant matter, but their substantial agreement indicates the authenticity of the information and that the subjects had been formalized for a sufficient length of time to eliminate incongruities. In this paper the author has tried to arrange the information he secured relative to the Sun Dance and other special ceremonies, as conducted according to the point of view of an Oglala Shaman, giving the reasons why and the manner in which the successive steps in the ceremonies should be performed, as well as expressing the concepts of the informants as the author understood them. The chief aim is to present a full account of the Oglala Sun Dance, giving the information as it was received, as nearly as may be, when irrelevant matter is eliminated and it is systematized. The principal informants were old Oglala who professed to have participated in the ceremony, some of whom were Shamans who claimed to have conducted the Sun dance ceremony in its fullest form. These informants are now all dead.

The Shamans were the custodians of the mythological and ceremonial lore of the Lakota and they hid much of this in an esoteric language, revealing it only to one who was to become a Shaman. Consequently, the people now know but little of this lore and have abandoned the Shamans and their doctrines. The remaining Shamans are all old men, so that there are now but few who know the ancient mythology and ceremonials. Even many of the names of their ancient deities have been forgotten by the people. These names, as given in this paper, are those used in the ceremonial language of the Shamans.

While the Shamans recognized a scheme in their mythology and a system in their ceremonials, they had never formulated them into a single whole. No one Shaman was found who could give them in a comprehensive or sequential manner. Aided by the Shamans, the scheme of their mythology was formulated and this was approved by every informant to whom it was submitted. In the same manner, the system of the ceremonials was formulated and approved. In former times, the Oglala had ceremonies that pertained to almost every act of their lives. The simplest was the passing of the pipe and the most

complex, the Sun Dance. In performing these ceremonies every word or movement is a formal rite that has reference to the in Mythology. Therefore, to understand the ceremonies, one must know the rites and something of the mythology. The Oglala did not worship their deities and their ceremonials were not devotional. They considered their Gods as merely superhuman, whose aid could be invoked, or who could be pleased so that they would grant favors, or who could be displeased so that they would punish.

The professional story-tellers were of material assistance in getting information. They were important constituents of the social organization of the Lakota winter camp, for they were the custodians of the legendary lore and told the legends, both for entertainment and instruction. Usually these story-tellers were Shamans. A few of these legends that deal with the mythology are appended to this paper.

The greatest difficulty encountered in gathering information was due to the misinterpretation of the concepts expressed by the informants. This difficulty is apt to occur to anyone who attempts to get information from the old Lakota, because, owing to the paucity of the old Lakota vocabulary, it is often necessary to express widely varying concepts by the same word or phrase, the comprehension of the concept depending on the association of correct ideas with the expression. The phrases were conventional, but not fixed, for they could be modified by the addition, subtraction, or interjection of words. When the white people heard these phrases they assumed that they were words and wrote them as such. In translating English into Lakota, there was often no Lakota word equivalent to the English word and in such cases a Lakota word was used to express a concept that was foreign to it. Thus, in written Lakota, the phrases became fixed as words and insusceptible to modification so that many words were given new meanings. Thus was brought about a marked transition of the language, both in structure and meaning, so that there are now both old and modern forms of speech. Thus, influenced by education received from white people, the younger generation of the Oglala adopted the modern form of the language, and abandoned the Shamans and their ceremonials, and nearly all the customs of the old Lakota. Yet, the old people when speaking in a formal manner, or of formal things, still use the old forms of speech. Naturally, the interpreters, who are of the younger generation, do not understand all of the modified phrases peculiar to the old forms of speech and are apt to give erroneous and misleading interpretations. The Lakota term *Wakan Tanka*, and the English term Great Spirit illustrate these difficulties. In modern Lakota *Wakantanka* is

one word, correctly interpreted as the Great Spirit, for, as now used, it designates Jehova, the God of Christians. In old Lakota *Wakan Tanka*, is two words, and designates a class of Gods, and through them all the Gods. It is never used to designate a single God; but the interpreters invariably interpret the term *Wakan Tanka* as the Great Spirit.

Again, my informants used the term *Nagi Tanka* and it was also interpreted as the Great Spirit, the interpreters asserting that *Wakan Tanka* and *Nagi Tanka* were synonymous terms; but upon inquiry, it appeared that the informants had only asserted that *Nagi Tanka* was one of the *Wakan Tanka*. Then some informants used the terms *Tokan*, *Skan*, and *Taku Skanskan* to designate Gods. These were interpreted as the Sky, the Moving, and What Moves. The information given with these interpretations was confusing and often contradictory. Other informants used the terms *Wikan*, *Makakan*, and *Inyankan* to designate Gods, and they were interpreted as the Sun, the Earth, and the Rock. It developed that *Wikan* was the shamanistic term for *Wakan Tanka Wi* and this term was interpreted as the Great Spirit, the Sun. With these misinterpretations, the mythology and ceremonials of the Lakota appeared to be indefinite, vague, and puzzling. But after some years, it was found the *Tokan*, *Skan*, and *Taku Skanskan* were appellatives of *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit, according to that God's attributes, and that *Wakan Tanka* designated the Gods, *Wi Skan*, *Maka*, and *Inyan*, considered as a whole, and through them including all other Benevolent Gods. The Shamans also used the term *Tob-tob* as if to designate a God. This term was interpreted as four-four, but it puzzled us until it was learned that the term *Tob-tob* differs from the term *Wakan Tanka* only in that it considers all the Benevolent Gods, each of four classes and four in each class, as one whole. Now, when these basic conceptions were comprehended, investigation relative to ceremonials and mythology was easy.

The Oglala make a wide distinction between the ceremony of the Sun Dance and the sun dance itself, for the dance is but a culminating rite of the ceremony. ¹ The ceremony is graduated according to the purposes of the dancers, each grade having all the rites of the grade below it and additional rites. The highest grade is performed for a dancer who dances for the purpose of becoming a Shaman. It is not necessary to dance in the Sun Dance to become a Shaman, but those who do so are most highly esteemed, and only they can possess a Fetish with the potency of *Wakan Tanka*. As should be expected of a people who had no literature, no ceremony was invariable, but it was required that in each ceremony each rite should be performed always in the same manner as

nearly as the circumstances would permit. In any ceremony, a Shaman could perform additional rites according to his will. The ceremony of the Sun Dance was given for the benefit of both the dancer and the people and could not be carried out without the participation of the latter.

The author is indebted to many Oglala for information, especially to Little-wound, American-horse, Bad-wound, Short-bull, No-flesh, Ringing-shield, Tyon, and Sword. Little-wound was the first to agree to tell the secret lore of the Shamans, but he died before he could do so. American-horse gave much information relative to the war customs of the Lakota. Bad-wound, No-flesh, and Ringing-shield gave information relative to the doctrines of the Oglala. Short-bull gave information and painted two large pictures of the ceremonial camp for the Sun dance in which each detail is significant. Tyon spoke and wrote in English poorly, but he was the most valuable interpreter, for he knew of the old customs, ceremonials, and language of the Lakota, and could comprehend most of the information given by the Shamans. For the benefit of the author, he wrote many Lakota texts upon which parts of this paper are based. He was a professional story-teller and had a large fund of Lakota legends.

Sword was a man of marked ability with a philosophical trend far beyond the average Oglala. He could neither write nor speak English, but wrote much in old Lakota and the translations of his texts have been used in the preparation of this paper. As but few Oglala can, he was able to talk interestingly of the former habits and conduct of his people, so as to give distinct ideas of their daily lives. He began an autobiography which promised to be of historical value, but died before completing it.

A few days before the author left the Oglala he interviewed Finger, an old Shaman, who at that time gave information which clearly indicates that the Shaman's concept of the God *Skan*, or the Great Spirit, is a vague concept of force, or energy. We had no opportunity for verifying this information. The notes taken at this interview are appended to this paper.

THE SUN DANCE.

One desiring to dance the Sun Dance according to the customs of the Oglala as they were practised before contact with white people should

choose an instructor to prepare him for the ceremony, who should teach him, in substance, as follows:--

The Sun Dance of the Oglala is a sacred ceremony which may be undertaken by any one of mankind, provided he or she:--

1. Undertakes it for a proper purpose.
2. Complies with the essentials for the ceremony.
3. Conforms to the customs of the Oglala.
4. Accepts the mythology of the Lakota.

The proper purposes for undertaking the Sun Dance are:--

1. To fulfill a vow.
2. To secure supernatural aid for another.
3. To secure supernatural aid for self.
4. To secure supernatural powers for self.

The essentials for the ceremony are:--

1. The constituents.
2. The conditions.
3. The stages.
4. The time.

The constituents are:--

1. The dancers.
2. The Mentors.
3. The assistants.
4. The people.

The conditions are:--

1. Provision for the ceremony.
2. Preparation of the dancers.
3. Consecration of the equipment.
4. Establishment of a ceremonial camp

The stages are:--

1. Announcement of the candidacy.
2. Instruction of the Candidate.
3. Occupation of the ceremonial camp.
4. Dancing the Sun Dance.

The time is:--

1. When the buffalo are fat.
2. When new sprouts of sage are a span long.
3. When chokecherries are ripening.
4. When the Moon is rising as the Sun is going down.

Before beginning to dance the Sun Dance during the ceremony the Candidate must make an acceptable offering to the Sun and have a wound that will cause his blood to flow while he dances. If he dances the Sun Dance to its completion, he may expect a vision in which he may receive a communication from the Sun.

All the requirements and rites pertaining to this ceremony are based upon the Mythology of the Lakota and they must be supervised by a Shaman. A Shaman must control the ceremonial camp and conduct all the ceremonies pertaining to the Sun Dance that take place there, except the dance, which should be conducted by the leader of the dance. This dance may take either of the four forms, which are:--

1. Gaze-at-Sun.
2. Gaze-at-Sun Buffalo.
3. Gaze-at-Sun Staked.
4. Gaze-at-Sun Suspended.

The first is the simplest form and may be undertaken for either of the first three purposes enumerated above and performed with a scant compliance with the essentials, though the Candidate must comply with them to the best of his ability. It should be danced only when one or more of the other forms are danced. It must begin with the first song of the Sun Dance and continue during four songs, though it may continue during as many more songs as the dancer pleases. For this form, any offering may be made to the Sun, but it should be of as much value as the Candidate can afford. The wound to cause the blood to flow must not be smaller than that made by cutting away a bit of skin as large as a louse and it may be as large and deep as the Candidate wills to have it made. Women and children may dance the first form, because there are

no tortures inflicted during the dance. Those who have danced the Sun Dance on a former occasion may again dance this form, provided they first make an offering to the Sun and cause the blood to flow from wounds on their persons. Such dancers may begin the dance at any time during the dance by others and may dance for as many songs as they choose.

The second, third, and fourth forms each differ from the others, only in the manner of the wounds to cause the flow of blood and the torture inflicted during the dance; but the wounds and tortures for each form should be

made alike for each dancer of that form. One may undertake either of these three forms for either of the first three purposes; but one who undertakes to dance for the fourth purpose must dance the fourth form. The torture inflicted in the fourth form, may be, either figuratively or actually, suspending the dancer while he dances. If the dancer is dancing for the purpose of securing the supernatural powers that Shamans should have, he must dance the fourth form actually suspended. A dance thus performed is the Sun Dance in its fullest form which includes most of the: Mythology and much of the customs of the Oglala. One who dances the Sun Dance in its fullest form establishes before the Sun, and in the presence of the people, his possession of the four great virtues, which are:--

1. Bravery.
2. Generosity.
3. Fortitude.
4. Integrity.

One who possesses these four virtues should be respected and honored by all the people. Thus, the scars made by the wounds and tortures inflicted during the Sun Dance are honorable insignia.

One who contemplates dancing the Sun Dance should know these things: and carefully consider the compliance with the essentials for the performance of the ceremony, for it is done for the benefit of both the dancer and the people. He should endeavor to know whether the people deem his virtues sufficient to enable him to dance the Sun Dance to its completion or not; for, if they think he lacks in one or all of the great virtues, they probably will not become constituents, and he cannot have the ceremony performed.

The Sun Dance is a feastal ceremony and provision must be made for feasts that are rites and are to be given by the Candidate, his kindred, and his band, for all these are honored by the performance of the ceremony. Therefore, while it is expected that a Candidate will give all his possessions in making provision for the feasts, his kindred and his friends should also give liberally; indeed, the entire band should contribute for both feasts and presents. A Candidate must give presents to his Mentor and attendant and should give to all the assistants and those who take an active part in the rites of the ceremony. He must provide the equipment necessary for the occasion, and make acceptable offerings to the Sun. If he cannot comply with these conditions in an abundant manner, he should undertake only the first form of the dance, and then little will be expected of him or his people. If he thinks he can make suitable provision, he may proceed.

CHOOSING THE MENTOR.

He should choose some one to be his Mentor to prepare him for the Ceremony. He should make this choice according to the purpose for which he will undertake the dance, for his Mentor should be one who can fit him for that purpose. He may choose anyone, except that if he is to dance to become a Shaman he must choose a Shaman as his Mentor. This too, should be borne in mind, that to become the leader of the dance the Candidate's Mentor must be a Shaman.

When he has made his choice he should take a present, a pipe, and smoking material, and go to the tipi of the one chosen, enter it, and lay the present at the right side of the *catku*, which is the place at the rear inside the tipi, and opposite the door, the place of honor. By thus placing a present, one indicates that he has a request of importance to make. When he has placed the present, he should fill the pipe, light it, and offer it to the one chosen. In ordinary visits, the one who dwells in the tipi is first to fill the pipe and light it and then offers it to the visitor as a courtesy indicating friendship. If a visitor fills the pipe first and offers it to the host, this indicates that he esteems his host very highly and is willing to be subordinate to him. If the host refuses the pipe this indicates that he does not desire intimate relations with the one offering it. If the pipe thus offered by one who has made a choice for his Mentor is refused, he may choose another, but it would be better for him to proceed no farther in the matter because such a refusal would indicate that all his people are not willing to become constituents in a ceremony performed for him. But if the pipe is accepted, the one offering and the one accepting it, should smoke it in communion until its contents are

consumed. Why they two alone should smoke this pipeful and why they should smoke until the contents of the pipe are consumed, will appear in the course of this paper.

Having smoked in communion, which is done by passing the pipe from one to the other and alternately smoking four whiffs from it, the host should ask the visitor regarding his request and the visitor should tell his desires and make his request. In case the request is for the host to become a Mentor, he should take the present and place it with his possessions and appoint a day when he will come to the tipi of the one who has chosen him, and then and there, give his answer to the request. The one who is to receive this answer should make a feast on the appointed day and invite two of his friends to the feast. On that day, the one chosen and the invited friends should go to the tipi where the feast is made and feast with the one who gives it.

After the feast, the one who is to receive the answer should fill a pipe, light it, and offer it to the one he has chosen, saying, "*Tunkansila*, smoke that all may be as we desire." The Lakota word, *tunkansila*, ordinarily means maternal grandfather, but it is often used as a term of reverence, and as used in this rite, indicates that the one using it desires the one to whom he has applied it, to become his instructor, to whom he will subordinate his thoughts, words, and deeds; that is, that he desires him to become his Mentor. The one to whom the pipe is thus offered should take it, saying "*Wole*, I will smoke that all may be as we desire." The Lakota word, *wole*, means one who seeks, and as used here it means one who seeks preparation to dance the Sun Dance or, in other words, a Candidate. When the pipe has thus been offered and accepted, the four who have feasted together should smoke it in communion until its contents are consumed. By these rites the relation of Mentor and Candidate is assumed and as this relationship is considered sacred, the titles are capitalized in this paper. This relationship continues from the time it is assumed, until the dance begins in the Sun Dance Lodge. It must be assumed before the establishment of the preliminary camp and may be at any time that will permit instruction of the Candidate to fit him for the purpose of his dance. For the first form of the dance, this may be but a few days before the establishment of the preliminary camp, but for the dance in its fullest form, the relationship should be assumed not later than during the moon when water-fowls return from the south, though it is better if assumed during the time of the snows.

When the rites of assuming the relationship are completed the Mentor should appoint one of the friends present to be the attendant of the

Candidate, with the proviso that if at any time he is not able to perform his duties the other friend present shall act in his place. The one so appointed should attend and serve the Candidate from the time of his appointment until the Candidate has danced the Sun Dance and returned from the Sun Dance Lodge to his own tipi. It is expected that he and the Candidate will be *kolapi*, or comrades, (luring the remainder of their lives. When these formalities are completed, the Mentor should rise to return to his tipi, handing his pipe and tobacco pouch to the Candidate. The Candidate should take them, and carry them, following the Mentor to his tipi. This is the public announcement by the Candidate that lie is to dance the Sun Dance, and when it is made, the council of his band should assemble in the council lodge to approve of the candidacy and thereby pledge the people as constituents of the ceremony.

INVITATIONS.

This council should appoint two reputable young men as *akicita*, or messengers, to other bands. These messengers should be provided with a sufficient number of invitation wands and presents, a pipe, and sufficient tobacco. An invitation wand is made of a sprout from a plum tree, about as large as the largest quill from an eagle's wing, and four spans long. Its smaller end should be ornamented with a design of such color and material as the maker may see fit, though all for one event should be so nearly alike that there should be little choice among any of them, so as to give no cause for a thought of discrimination in the invitation. The presents may be any objects of value, but their values should be nearly alike. The usual presents are tobacco.

The messengers should clothe themselves in their gayest attire and leave so as to arrive by daylight and in an ostentatious manner, usually singing as they approach the camp. When two thus approach a Lakota camp, they are recognized as messengers and the herald should announce their approach. When such an announcement is made, the council should immediately assemble in the council lodge, and the herald should conduct the messengers to this assembly. Then one of the messengers should lay a present at the right side of the place of honor and the other should fill the pipe, light it, and offer it to the one who sits at the place of honor.

This one should be the chief of the band, but it may be either of the councilors. If the band is not inclined to friendly relations with the band

that sent the invitation, the pipe will be refused; if so, the messengers should take the present and immediately leave the camp. If the pipe is accepted, all present in the lodge should smoke it in communion until its contents are consumed. Then the one who sits at the place of honor should ask of the messengers the object of their visit, and they should give the name of the Candidate and invite the band to be present at the ceremonial camp. If the band cannot accept the invitation, the reason should then be given, and in such case the messengers should take tip the present and band it to the one who sits at the place of honor, as a token of the continuation of friendship. If the council accepts the invitation, the one who sits at the place of honor should take up the present and hold it in his hands, thereby pledging the members of his band to become constituents of the ceremony. Then the messengers should give him an invitation wand which thereby becomes a token to be redeemed by those who sent it by a feast to those to whom it was sent. When these formalities are complied with, the messengers should remain for one night in the camp as the guests of the band invited. The messengers should in this manner visit each camp for which they have invitation wands and if they speak to other than members of the invited bands, they should verbally invite them to be present at the ceremonial camp. When the messengers have visited the camps according to their instructions, they should return and report to the council of their camp and then their appointment as akicita terminates.

Invitations are given in this manner to induce others to become Candidates to dance the Sun Dance and in order to estimate the probable number that will be present at the ceremonial camp, so as to make suitable provision for them. If there are Candidates in other camps, the procedure should be the same with them. The greater the number of Candidates, the greater will be the festivities, and the greater the number of presents given and received. Further, the bands which become constituents of the ceremony vie with each other in the prodigality of their feasts, offerings, and presents, and in all that pertains to making the ceremony a notable occasion. The Candidate, whose candidacy is first announced by messengers, will be the leader of the dance if his Mentor is a Shaman. Otherwise, the leader should be chosen by the Candidates when they are about to occupy the Sacred Lodge within the ceremonial camp circle.

PREPARATION OF THE CANDIDATE.

Soon after the public announcement of the relation of Mentor and Candidate, the Mentor should require the Candidate to enter a

sweatlodge to *ini*, or vitalize. *Inipi*, or vitalizing, is an act of more or less ceremony to stimulate the *ni*, or vitality, so that it may increase strength and purify the body. Vitalizing may be merely a means of refreshment, a remedial measure for disease, or to purify the body for some important undertaking. It ought always to be done as a preliminary to ceremonies pertaining to the *Wakan Tanka*, or the Great Gods. In its simplest form, it is done by releasing the spirit-like of water in a confined space so that it may enter the body. This spirit-like stimulates the vitality so that it overcomes harmful things that may be in the body and the spirit-like of the water washes them out of the body and they appear upon the skin like sweat and can be washed or wiped away. Thus, the vitality is strengthened and the body purified. If the vitalizing is a remedy for disease, medicines may be added to the water so that their potency, or spirit-like, may be released and enter the body, and there cause the desired effect.

The methods for vitalizing according to the customs of the Oglala are: A lodge is made by thrusting slender saplings into the ground in a circle, the diameter of which is a little longer than the height of a tall man. The tops of these saplings are bent and bound together so as to form a dome-like support for a covering. This support is covered with robes so as to confine the vapor from boiling water, this vapor being the spirit-like of the water released. At any place on the border of the covering, except toward the north, an opening that may be tightly closed, should be made large enough so that a man can crawl through it. This is the *ini ti* or vitalizing lodge. The equipment necessary for vitalizing is:--

1. Heated stones.
2. Water.
3. A pipe.
4. Smoking material.

To these can be added such other equipment as may be required by the ceremony that is to be performed while vitalizing. One who is to vitalize should strip and crawl naked into the vitalizing lodge, taking with him the pipe and tobacco. Assistants, usually women, heat the stones in a fire near the lodge and, when the occupants are within, should bring the stones and pass them through the opening, then pass the water into the lodge and tightly close the opening. Those inside should place the hot stones at the center of the lodge and at intervals pour small quantities of water on them. This releases the spirit-like of the water and as it cannot escape upward, it must enter the bodies of those exposed to it. It is propitiated with smoke from the pipe and will stimulate the vitality.

When it appears again upon the surface of the body, like sweat, it will have in it the harmful things that were in the body, and it should be wiped away, or better, it should be washed away, which is best done by plunging into water. One vitalizing in the simplest manner should sing an appropriate song while pouring the water on the hot stones. The time required for vitalizing in its simplest form may be as long as is required to smoke two pipefuls. A single person may vitalize alone, but as many as can get into the lodge may vitalize together. The process of vitalizing is elaborated to the purposes for which it is done and may be a complex ceremony supervised by a Shaman, and prolonged for a day and night or even longer.

When the Mentor has required the Candidate to vitalize, the Mentor, Candidate, and attendant should occupy the vitalizing lodge and the Mentor should take into the lodge his fetish and wisps of sage and sweetgrass and the assistants should pass coals of fire so that they may burn in the lodge. While vitalizing, the Shaman should first sprinkle bits of sage on the burning coals so as to make an incense and expel the evil powers from the lodge. Then he should sprinkle bits of sweetgrass on the coals, making an incense that will propitiate the powers for good. While doing this, he should invoke his fetish, either in song or prayer, in order that its potency may aid him in what he is about to do. Having done these things, he should require the Candidate to seek a vision and instruct him as to the manner of his doing so, as follows:--

If an Oglala contemplates an important undertaking, he ought to seek a vision, and if he has the vision he should be governed according to the interpretation of it. To seek a vision one should strip and wear only a robe, a breechclout, and moccasins. Clothed thus, he should take a pipe, smoking materials, and a knife, and go to the top of a high place where others are not likely to intrude. There he should remove every living or growing thing from a space on the ground sufficiently large for him to sit or lie upon. Then he should go, to this space and remain on it until he has a vision, or until he is convinced that he will have none. When he enters the cleared space, he should invoke the Four Winds in order that they may not bring inclement weather upon him. Then he should await a vision, meditating continuously upon his quest. He may invoke the gods, verbally or mentally, either in song or prayer. He may stand, sit, or lie awake or asleep, but he must not go away from the space he has prepared. He may smoke as often as he wishes, but he must neither drink nor eat while making the quest.

The vision may come to him, either when he is awake, or when he is asleep. It may appear in the form of anything that breathes or as some inanimate thing. If it communicates with him, it may speak intelligibly to him, or it may use words that he does not understand, or speak in the language of birds or beasts. By something that it says or does it will make known to him that it is the vision he seeks. He should wait for such a vision until he receives it, or until he is so exhausted that he can wait no longer without danger of losing his life: If he should receive a vision, he should return to his tipi singing a song of victory. If one seeks a vision and it is not granted to him, he should meekly come from the quest as privately as possible. If a vision appears to one in the form of a dog, a shore lark, a swallow, a night hawk, a frog, a lizard, or a dragon fly, it has been granted by *Wakinyan*, the Winged God, for these creatures are His *akicita*, or representatives, and when either of them speaks to one in a vision the one spoken to must become *heyoka* and ever afterwards speak and act anti-natural, or as a buffoon. A Candidate to dance the Sun Dance who receives a vision from *Wakinyan* must, during the ceremony in the dance lodge, act as a clown, and in every manner attempt to make the people laugh. He must appear to enjoy the tortures inflicted during the dance and should make sport of his fellow dancers.

One who seeks a vision and receives it, ought to consult a Shaman relative to an interpretation of it, even if the communication received in the vision is apparently intelligible and easily understood. If he is a Candidate to dance the Sun Dance, he must consult his Mentor, and be guided by him. It may be that the vision prohibits the Candidate from dancing the Sun Dance, and if so, he should proceed no further in the matter.

After the Candidate's quest of a vision, his Mentor should consecrate him, his tipi, implements, utensils, and apparel, in the following manner:--The Mentor should make an altar in the tipi of the Candidate, between the fireplace, which is at the center of the tipi, and the place of honor. An Oglala Shaman makes an altar by removing everything that breathes or grows from the space where the altar is to be. This should be done because the altar is a sacred thing which should have nothing in or upon it except that which may be an offering acceptable to the Gods. Any other thing that may touch this space while it is an altar should either be destroyed or purified in an incense of sage and then in one of sweetgrass. This space must be square, for the altar must have four sides of equal length, because each side pertains to one of the Four

Winds and each of these must receive equal consideration in every respect.

The sides of the altar should be toward the west, the north, the east, and the south, so that one side will be toward the tipi of each of the Four Winds. The sides should measure not less than four hand breadths, nor more than the height of a man, They may vary anywhere between these extremes. The smallest altars should be made in tipis and the largest in the Sun Dance Lodge. At each angle of this square, a pointed space should project halfway between two of the directions. These are the horns of the altar that guard it against all malevolent beings. The square space and horns should be dug to the depth of a finger length and the loosened soil removed and freed from everything. Then it should be pulverized, replaced, level. The one who replaces and levels the soil should utter an and made appropriate invocation, or sing an appropriate song, or both, for in this manner the altar is consecrated to the purposes for which it is made. The Mentor should place on the altar in the tipi of the Candidate, a buffalo skull with the horns attached, so that the nostril cavities will face towards the place of honor. He should then decorate this skull with stripes of red paint, one across the forehead and one lengthwise on each side of the skull; at the same time, he should paint a red stripe across the forehead of the Candidate. The stripes across the forehead indicate that the Buffalo God has adopted the Candidate as a *hunka*, or relative by ceremony. The red stripes on the sides of the skull indicate that the Buffalo God will give especial protection to the Candidate. The horns of the skull should be adorned with any ornaments that the Candidate may apply. Then the Mentor should fill and light a pipe and he and the Candidate should smoke it in communion, alternately blowing the smoke into the nostril cavities of the skull, thus smoking in communion with the Buffalo God. This should be done in order that the potency of the pipe may harmonize all those communing.

When this rite is completed the Mentor should instruct the Candidate that this altar should be maintained in his tipi until he enters the Sacred Lodge in the ceremonial camp; that anything placed upon the altar must be considered an offering to the Gods; that he should so place a portion of each thing he eats or drinks in the tipi; that others may also do so; that no one should touch the altar, or anything upon it, except those whose hands are painted red; and that no one should step over the altar or pass between it and the place of honor if this can be avoided. This is because the altar is a sacred place occupied by the potency of the God, the Buffalo, and should be revered as the God is revered. Also,

that if anything of any kind should otherwise come upon this altar it should be removed and be destroyed or purified in the incense of sage and then of sweetgrass.

When the altar and instructions are completed, the Mentor should prepare a meditation couch for the Candidate by making a bed of sage at the rear, outside the tipi and projecting from it, and should instruct him to occupy this bed most of the time when not with his Mentor, meditating on his preparation for the Sun Dance. This bed should be made of sage because this herb is pleasing to the Benevolent Gods and repulsive to all malevolent beings; therefore, it will keep all harmful things and thoughts from one occupying a bed made of it. When the sage bed is prepared the Mentor should place the Candidate's cedar tree, or rack. This should be of cedar because the cedar is favored by Wakinyan, the Winged God, and he will not visit one protected by it, nor cause such a one to act foolishly. The bark should be taken from it and its larger end should be as large as a man's leg. It should be long enough so that when fixed upright in the ground it will be as high as a man's shoulders. It should have portions of branches left on it so that they will be convenient prongs for hanging articles. The Mentor should paint it red and fix it upright in the ground at the foot of the bed of sage and instruct the Candidate to place all his implements of war and the chase on it and keep them there until after he has danced the Sun Dance. He also instructs him that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to place such a rack beside his tipi during the remainder of his life; that anything placed upon such a rack is taboo to all of mankind, except the owner of the rack; that while he is a candidate, things placed upon this rack by others thereby become offerings to the Sun and so are his property; that friends wishing to give presents to him as a Candidate should place such presents on this rack. When the rack has been placed, if the Mentor is a Shaman, he should consecrate the person of the Candidate. If he is not a Shaman, he should employ a Shaman to do this in the following manner:--

In his tipi the Candidate should strip and sit beside the altar facing the Shaman who should sit at the place of honor. The attendant should fill and light a pipe and offer it to the Shaman, and he, the Mentor, Candidate, and Attendant smoke in communion. Then, while the attendant sounds either the drum or rattles, the Shaman should paint the Candidate's hands red, meanwhile singing an appropriate song or making an appropriate invocation. He should then instruct the Candidate that the sacred color, red, upon the hands sanctifies them so that they may handle sacred things; that while he is a Candidate his

hands should be painted red; and if he dances the Sun Dance to completion he will be entitled to paint his hands red at any time during the remainder of his life. Then he should braid wisps of sweetgrass into the semblance of a scalplock, bind it with red, give it to the Candidate, and instruct him that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to attach such a braid of sweetgrass to his person or implements at any time during his life; that such a braid will insure the favor of the Feminine God to one who rightfully possesses it. Then the Shaman should paint in red on the chest of the Candidate a design which he has devised and instruct him that if he completes his undertaking, this design will become his insignum indicating that he has danced, the second, third, or fourth form of the Sun Dance to completion; and that he will be entitled to place it on his person or property and use it as his signature. When the person of the Candidate has been thus consecrated, his clothing, implements, and utensils should be incensed with sage while the Shaman utters or sings an appropriate invocation which will consecrate them. The things thus consecrated must be used by none other than the Candidate until after the Sun Dance is danced.

When these consecrations are completed, the Mentor should teach the Candidate the invariable rules that should govern a Candidate to dance the second, third, or fourth form of the Sun Dance. These are:--

1. He must subordinate himself to his Mentor.
2. He must mediate continually upon his undertaking.
3. He must speak little with others than his Mentor.
4. He must use only his consecrated implements and utensils.

1. He must not become angry.
2. He must not hear ribald speech.
3. He must not go into the water.
4. He must not have sexual intercourse.

If a Candidate disregards any of these rules, he must do such penance as his Mentor may prescribe before he can proceed with his undertaking.

INSTRUCTION OF A SHAMAN.

When these preliminary formalities have been fulfilled in this manner, the Candidate is thereby prepared to receive the instructions that should be given him to fit him to dance either of the last three forms of the Sun Dance, also for the purpose of his undertaking. If his purpose is to become a Shaman, he should be informed that as a Shaman the people will consider that he is endowed with a knowledge of the laws and customs of the Lakota and supernatural wisdom; that he can communicate with supernatural beings and interpret Their wills; that he will have supervisory authority over all ceremonies; and that if he knows the will of a supernatural being to be that any law, customs, or ceremony be altered or prohibited, he should act according to such will. He should also be informed that the people will hold him to strict account for his action as a Shaman, and if they find that he exercises his authority only to gratify his own desires, the *akicita*, or marshals of the camp, may adjudge and punish him according to his offense, even to the taking of his life. If, in the exercise of his authority or attributes as a Shaman he wrongfully injures another, the one injured may exact from him a satisfaction for the injury, which might be to take his life. After receiving this information, if he persists in his desire to become a Shaman, he should be instructed so that he may have a knowledge of the following matters before he dances:--

The Lakotapi are the original people, superior to all others of mankind, and it is a matter of grace on their part to concede rights of any kind to any other people. Long ago, they were one tribe and made their winter camp in the region of the pines near the Sacred Lake, maintaining but one council fire. Bands wandered far away, making winter camps and maintaining council fires elsewhere, thus becoming independent tribes. Seven tribes were formed in this manner, which, at one time, encamped together in a formal camp. circle, each maintaining its own council fire. This time is known as "The Time of the Seven Great Council Fires," and is the beginning of an era for the Lakotapi. These tribes recognize each other as kindred peoples having like laws and customs.

According to their customs, when two or more tribes encamp together, the ranking tribe takes precedence by placing its camp at the chief place in the camp circle, which is opposite the entrance to the circle and other tribes should place their camps in the circle next from the chief place in the order of their precedence. At first, the order of precedence was according to the age of a tribe, counting from the time when it first made its council fire. Thus, the tribe that made its winter camp near the Sacred Lake had the chief place in a camp circle of the Lakotapi. But the tribe that made its winter camp on the plains became the most

powerful, usurped the chief place, and has held it. This tribe is the Teton, who are a haughty people who arrogate for themselves the name Lakota, as a distinction from the other Lakotapi. After the manner of the original seven tribes, the Teton were divided into seven subtribes, which when encamped together observe the customs that govern the formation of a camp circle of the tribes. At first, another subtribe had the precedence, but the Oglala became the most powerful and usurped it and holds it. Thus, in a formal camp circle of any or all of the Lakotapi, the Oglala would take precedence and place its camp at the chief place. For this reason, the Oglala are the chief people of the original peoples, and are superior to all mankind. Therefore, in a conflict of laws, customs, or ceremonies, those of the Oglala should prevail.

The Oglala are divided into a number of bands, each of which is called a camp, and is known by the name of its chief. An Oglala band consists of a number of families organized so as to form a camp with a council fire as a symbol of its autonomy. When different bands encamp together, the oldest, counting from the time when it first maintained a council fire, takes precedence and maintains its council fire. The other bands place their camps in the circle according to their age, but they hold their organization in abeyance while in the circle and do not make a council fire.

A camp is organized when it has a chief, a council, a magistrate, a herald, and marshals, and maintains a council fire. It ought to have a council lodge and may have a dancing lodge. Members of the band may be members of military societies and while such are controlled as militia by the societies they must aid in maintaining the organization of the camp.

A camp may be organized by any number of any persons who erect a sufficient number of tipis so that there may be men enough to form the organization. There should not be less than seven tipis in a camp and there may be as many more as the organization will permit. Only husbanded tipis are counted when estimating the size or strength of a camp, a husbanded tipi being one in which dwells a husband and wife; if a man has more than one wife who erects a tipi, all such are counted as one tipi only. Anyone may become a member of a band by encamping with it and expressing a wish to belong to it. Thus, a popular band may have an indefinite number of members and become powerful. Anyone may withdraw from a band by simply saying he does not wish to be counted as a member. Thus, an unpopular band

may dwindle until it has not enough tipis to maintain an organized camp and then it is no longer recognized as a band. The members of a band are entitled to the force of the entire band in the protection of their rights and they must obey the laws and customs of the Oglala and the edicts of their council.

Any member may present any matter for the consideration of the council, except matters authorized by a Shaman and may speak before the council relative to any matter it may have under consideration. A member may be suspended by the council when he must place his tipi outside the camp circle. When a tipi is thus placed its inhabitants are barred from all communal privileges, but are entitled to the protection of the band. When a member is expelled by the council, he must not place his tipi near the encampment of the band from which he is expelled and the inhabitants of his tipi are not entitled to protection by this band. A Shaman may give advice relative to the standing of any member of a band or relative to the exemption of any member from the operation of any edict by the council and his advice should be heeded. He may taboo anyone and relief from such taboo or ban can be had only by act of the council approved by a Shaman.

The first chief of a band is he who has sufficient following to organize a camp. His tenure of office is for life, but he may be deposed by the council. The succession of chieftainship is hereditary, but the heir may be debarred by the council. If a vacancy in the chieftainship occurs with no heir-apparent, the council should choose a chief. One who has sufficient following can usurp the chieftainship. A chief is acknowledged by the band when at a formal meeting of the council he is invited to sit at the chief place and an influential councilor fills and lights a pipe and offers it to him and he and the councilors smoke it in communion. The chief is the administrator of, and entitled to precedence in, all the communal affairs of the band, and is the commander of all that pertains to war. When on a foray he is entitled to the largest personal share of the booty and always entitled to the largest personal share of the products of a communal hunt or chase. He may command the marshals to do anything, and if the command accords with the laws or customs of the Oglala, or the edicts of the council, they should obey him, but they should judge the propriety of the command. Like any other member of the band, he is subject to judgment and punishment by the marshals. He may adopt any device he chooses as the insignum of his chieftaincy. Usually, this is made of the quills from the tail of the golden eagle. He may have such other insignia as he is entitled to, like other members of the band. A Shaman may make taboo

for him anything that is a perquisite of his chieftainship and such a ban can be removed only by the council acting on the advice of a Shaman.

The council of the camp is composed of men who are accepted as councilors because they customarily assemble in formal circle about the council fire to consider matters of common interest to the band. It usually consists of the chief and elderly men of good repute, knowledge, and experience, though any renowned man may sit in the council, and if the councilors give heed to his speeches or ask his views upon matters they are considering, he thereby becomes a councilor. Any councilor may cease to be such by not sitting in the circle about the council fire. A Shaman may taboo the councilorship for any member of the band. The duties of the council are to consider and decide upon all matters of common interest to the band; to issue such edicts as they see fit; to command the herald to make such proclamations as they desire; and to hear and decide upon appeals from the judgments of the marshals. A Shaman can act only as advisor of the council. The council must appoint the herald and the marshals of the camp, but each councilor is subject to the discipline of the marshals in the same manner as are all other members of the band. The only perquisites of the councilorship are the honors of being a councilor. An act of the council is accepted when it is not opposed by councilors who have a sufficient following of members to enforce their opposition.

The *wakiconze*, or magistrate, of the camp, is one who acts as such by common consent of the band. He should be a *mihunka*, that is, an elderly man who has the respect and confidence of the people. When the band is encamped his duties are to decide upon all disputed points in friendly controversies, contests, or games; and to give advice when such is needed or requested. The magistrate may be a Shaman, the chief, a councilor, or a marshal, and if he is either of these, when applicable, he should first act as magistrate and then in his other capacity. When the band makes a peaceful journey, the magistrate has entire command and the duties of other officers of the camp are held in abeyance from the time the tipis are taken down for the move, until they are erected in an encampment. His duties then are to appoint marshals of the movement; to select the route; to order the halts for refreshment; to select the places for temporary encampment; and to provide against surprise by an enemy during movement. It is customary for him to appoint the marshals of the camp as marshals of the movement, but he may appoint any others as such. Their duties are to enforce the customs that govern a band when making a movement and to carry out such instructions as the magistrate may give. The most important of these should be that

some of the marshals shall go in advance and far at both sides of the route as scouts watching for game or an enemy, and if signs of either are seen, to signal by smoke. When such a signal is seen the magistrate should immediately order a temporary encampment and when it is made his authority ceases until the movement is again resumed. If the journey is to be to and from a place, as for instance, to a ceremony or to make a formal visit to another band, the appointments made by the magistrate do not terminate until that journey is complete, no difference how long the intervals of the movement may be.

The herald is a marshal, usually selected because his voice is full and deep-toned. His badge of office is a willow wand about four forearm lengths long, forked at its smaller end, and peeled and dried. The tips of the forks are ornamented with dangling smaller quills from the wing of a golden eagle and maybe ornamented in any other manner the herald chooses. The insignium of his office is the same as that of other marshals. He may wear such other insignia as he is entitled to have. He may exercise all the duties of a marshal, but ordinarily only the duties of a herald are required of him. These are to proclaim to the camp matters of common interest, or that any member wishes to make known by the band; to summon councilors to assemble and persons to appear before the council; to supervise making and maintaining a council fire, the erection and care of a council lodge; and to herald the approach of a band or of visitors.

The appointment of a marshal is a formality that should be accomplished by the council in the following manner. The council may appoint any number of marshals for it manifests an honor regarded as little less than that of being a chief or a renowned warrior. Anyone may nominate any man who is physically fit for appointment as a marshal. The council should consider any such nomination and accept or reject it. If the nomination is accepted, the council should hold it for one or more intervals of its assemblage and consider such electioneering as the band may do. Then it may agree to reject or accept the nominee. If the council accepts the nominee it should direct the herald to summon him to appear before it to be appointed a marshal. This the herald should do by public proclamation so that the nominee may be either absent or present in his tipi when the herald goes there, for if he is then absent, it is considered that he refuses the nomination; if he is present, that he accepts it. After giving the nominee sufficient time to locate himself, the herald, accompanied by a marshal, should go to the tipi of the nominee and examine it, and if the nominee is there he should paint a perpendicular black stripe on the door flap of the tipi. Then the marshal

should enter the tipi, grasp the nominee by his arm, and so conduct him into the presence of the council. In the meantime, the council should invite a Shaman to sit at the chief place in the circle. The herald should announce to the council the presence of the nominee and then the Shaman should invite the nominee to sit between the chief place and the council fire. When he is thus seated the Shaman should fill and light a pipe and offer it to the nominee who should smoke and pass it, so that he and the council men may smoke in communion. When this rite is ended, the Shaman should inform the nominee that he is about to be appointed a marshal and instruct him relative to his functions as such, in substance as follows:--

The duties of a marshal are to enforce compliance with the laws, customs, and usages of the Oglala, and the edicts of the council; they are authorized to adjudge infractions; to determine disagreements and disorders; and to inflict penalties even to that of death. They may act individually or collectively, as they choose. They are subordinate to no official and appeals from their judgments may be made only to the council which may adjudge their decisions justifiable or unjustifiable. In the exercise of his function, a marshal is liable for misconduct or neglect, but only to the marshals, who may adjudge him and inflict such penalties as they deem proper, but the penalties should always be greater than those inflicted upon others for like offenses. Anyone may plead relative to a cause and a marshal should hear and heed such pleas. A Shaman may advise a marshal relative to his functions and such advice should be duly considered.

When the Shaman thinks the nominee understands the functions of a marshal he should inform him that he was nominated a marshal and had signified an acceptance of the nomination and that thereupon he was so appointed, as attested by the herald placing the black stripe on his door flap which he is entitled to have there while he is marshal. Then the Shaman should paint a black stripe on the marshal's right cheek, from the outer corner of the eye to the lower edge of the jaw, and inform him that a black stripe so placed on the face is the insignium of a marshal, and is recognized by the people as a sufficient warrant of office.

This ends the formality of appointing a marshal; but it is expected that the new marshal will give a feast to celebrate the occasion. The council may appoint temporary marshals. without ceremony. But such are subordinate to the council, have no authority other than that of a policeman, and should be displaced by regularly appointed marshals at

the earliest opportunity. The council may appoint marshals for special purposes with no ceremony other than instructions relative to these purposes. Such marshals have no functions other than those necessary for the accomplishment of that for which they were appointed; when that is accomplished and the council so informed, their appointments terminate. A Shaman may advise relative to the appointment of marshals without ceremony, but such is all that he should have to do with the acts of the council in such appointments.

A band, when encamped together, should make the formal camp circle by placing their tipis so as to enclose a circular space, leaving a small vacant space in the circle. The tipis so placed form the camp circle, the vacant space is the entrance, and the enclosed space, the area, while that part of the circle opposite the entrance is the chief place. The entrance should be at the east side of the circle and the parts of the circle that abut on it are the horns of the camp circle. The tipis should be so placed that their doors will be toward the center of the area and in the order of precedence of their occupants. The tipi of the chief should be at the chief place and those of prominent men next to the chief place in the order of their accepted standing, except that the tipis at the horns are considered guards of the entrance and places of honor, usually those of tried warriors. The council lodge should be erected on the area with its door toward the chief place and usually is placed near the tipi of the chief. If there is a dance or ceremonial lodge or enclosure of any kind, it should be placed at the center of the area with its entrance toward the south. A society may erect its lodge on the area any place it chooses, except at the center. Structures of any kind to be used only by their owners for purposes other than habitation, must be placed outside the camp circle, such, for instance, as menstrual lodges, vitalizing lodges, etc. The marshals may compel anyone to place his tipi outside the camp circle and this is an ostracism. A *heyoka* must place the door of his tipi so that it will not be towards the center of the area. The marshals should assign to visitors places in the circle for their tipis, relative to the chief place according to their importance. A Shaman may place his tipi where he chooses, except at the chief place, and he may determine the location of anything placed on the area. He may taboo, restricted or unlimited, any person or tipi in the circle.

When two or more bands camp together and become as one band, the tipis of the members of different bands do not intermingle, but are grouped so that members of a band may have their tipis together. If there are a number of bands so encamped that it is practicable, these groups are entire bands, placed in the circle relative to the chief place in

the order of precedence of the bands. A Shaman should know this order of precedence, for he should control the establishment and organization of a ceremonial camp, as will appear when describing the establishment of a camp for dancing the Sun Dance.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FOR A SHAMAN.

When the Mentor is satisfied that the Candidate understands the social customs of the Oglala sufficiently well to know when a Shaman may, or may not, interfere with them, he should then instruct him relative to the doctrines and ceremonials pertaining to the Gods. Some of these are known to the people, but most of them are known only by the Shamans and they hide these in a ceremonial language known only by them. This language is made up of common words to which an esoteric meaning is given and of strange words that are known only by the Shamans. The sacred mysteries are thus hidden from the people because they are unfitted to know them. But one who is to become a Shaman should be instructed relative to these mysteries, in substance as follows:--

The Supernatural is *Wakan Tanka*, or the Great Mystery that no one of mankind can comprehend. It may be pleased or displeased by the conduct of any one of mankind. It may be propitiated or placated by a proper ceremony correctly performed. Its aid may be secured by appropriate sacrifice. Therefore, it is the Great God.

This Great God communicates with mankind through various media and in various manners. The chosen medium is a *Wicasa Wakan*, or Shaman. Other media are called *Akicita Wakan*, or Sacred Messengers. A Sacred Messenger may be anything animate or inanimate, other than mankind, which makes itself known as such. It may be either permanent or temporary. A permanent messenger is one that is always the medium of communication from a certain God. A temporary Sacred Messenger is such only during one communication and may be the medium for any God other than those who have permanent messengers. A communication from a God may be either unsolicited or solicited. An unsolicited communication is transmitted through a Shaman. Solicited communications are granted through the Sacred Messengers. These may be either intelligible or unintelligible to the recipient, and if unintelligible, they should be interpreted by a Shaman.

The Shamans should teach these doctrines to the people and exhort them to practise the four great virtues which, named in the order of their importance, are:--

1. Bravery.
2. Fortitude.
3. Generosity.
4. Fidelity.

The doctrines which only the Shamans know are these:--

Wakan Tanka is one, yet It is many who are:--
Wakan Tanka Waste, the Benevolent Gods.
Wakan Tanka Sica, the Malevolent Gods.

The Benevolent Gods are of two kinds who are:

Wakan Kin, the Gods.
Taku Wakan, Gods Kindred.

The Gods are of two classes which are:

Wakan Ankanta, the Superior Gods.
Wakan Kolaya, the Associate Gods.

The Gods Kindred are of two classes which are:

Wakan Kuya, the Subordinate Gods.
Wakanlapi, the Gods-like.

Each of these four classes consists of four individuals as follows:

The individuals of the Superior Gods:--
Wi, the Sun, the Chief of the Gods.
Skan, the Sky, the Great Spirit.
Maka, the Earth, the All-mother.
Inyan, the Rock, the All-father.

The individuals of the Associate Gods:--

Hanwi, the Moon, the Associate of *Wi*.
Tate, the Wind, the Associate of *Skan*.
Wohpe, the Feminine, the Associate of *Maka*.
Wakinyan, the Winged God, the Associate of *Inyan*.

The individuals of the Subordinate Gods:

Tatanka, the Buffalo God.
Hunonpa, the Bear God.
Tatetob, the Four Winds.
Yummi, the Whirlwind.

The individuals of the Gods-like:--

Nagi, the Spirit.
Niya, the Ghost.
Nagila, the Spirit-like.
Sicun, the imparted Supernatural Potency.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Chief God:

The Sun.
The Moon.
The Buffalo.
The Spirit.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Great Spirit:--

The Sky.
The Wind.
The Bear.
The Ghost.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Creator God:

The Earth.
The Feminine.

The Four Winds.
The Spirit-like.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Executive God:--

The Rock.
The Winged.
The Whirlwind.
The Potency.

The following are but as one, and that One is Wakan Tanka, the Great Mysterious:--

The Chief God.
The Great Spirit.
The Creator.
The Executive.

The individualities of the Great Mysterious have properties that may be described as follows:--

Except for the Four Winds, They had no beginning, though some were before others and some bear the relation of parent and offspring. This is *akan*, for no one of mankind can comprehend it. They will have no end.

The Sun is a material God whose substance is always visible and He ranks first among the Superior Gods, though the other three were before He was. He may be addressed as the Great God, the Revered One, or Our Father. His domain is the spirit world and the regions under the world. His will prevails though the Wind thwart his purposes. The Sky gave Him His power and can withhold it, but he is more powerful than the Sky. Daily He makes His journey above the domain of the Sky and at night He rests with His people in the regions under the World and there communes with his comrade, the Buffalo. He is the patron of the four great virtues, but is indifferent to small affairs. His favor may be secured by appropriate offerings and ceremonies and He may grant a communication to one who dances the Sun Dance. His potency abides in fire and cannot be imparted to any other thing. His symbolic color is red and because He is the Chief of the Gods, red is the sacred color.

The Sky is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible. He ranks second among the Superior Gods. His titles given by the people are *Taku Skan-skan* and *Nagi Tanka*, or the Great Spirit, and those given by the Shamans are *Skan* and *To*, or blue. The concept expressed by the term *Taku Skan-skan* is that which gives motion to anything that moves. That expressed by the Shamans by the word, *Skan*, is a vague concept of force or energy and by the word, *To*, is the immaterial blue of the sky which symbolizes the presence of the Great Spirit. His domain is all above the world beginning at the ground. He is the source of all power and motion and is the patron of directions and trails and of encampment. He imparts to each of mankind at birth a spirit, a ghost, and a sicun, and at the death of each of mankind He hears the testimony of the ghost and adjudges the spirit. He may sit in judgment on other Gods. His word is unalterable, except by Himself. He only can undo that which is done. His people are the stars and the Feminine is His daughter. His potency can be imparted only to mysterious things and by much ceremony correctly performed by wise Shamans. The Fetish that has His potency can prevail in all things. Only Shamans may have such a Fetish. His symbolic color is blue.

The Earth is a material God, whose substance is always visible. She ranks third of the Superior Gods, though she existed next after the first in existence. She is most often addressed as the All-mother, for She is an ancestor of all material things, except the Rock. Her domain is the world and She is the patron of all things that grow from the ground, of drink and food, and the tipi. Her potency may be imparted to anything that has grown from the ground. Her symbolic color is green.

The Rock is a material God whose substance may always be seen. He ranks fourth of the Superior Gods, but existed first of all. He is most often addressed as the All-father, for He is the ancestor of all things and all the Gods. The All-father and the All-mother never were related as husband and wife and neither has a child by the other. The Rock is the father of *Iktomi*, whose other parent is the Winged God, and the father of *Iya*, or *Ibom*, the Great God of Evil, whose other parent is an *Unktehi*, or one of the Monsters.

The domain of the Rock is the mountains; but His authority extends through all the domain of the Earth. He is the patron of authority and vengeance, of construction and destruction, and of implements and utensils. His potency can be imparted to anything that is hard as stone. His symbolic color is yellow.

The symbolic colors of the four Superior Gods, red, blue, green, and yellow, are sacred, when applied by a Shaman with ceremony and each symbolizes the God to which it pertains. If red alone is ceremonially applied, it signifies consecration. Black is also a ceremonial color, its significance being intensity of emotion or firmness of purpose.

The Moon is a material God whose substance is visible or partly invisible, as She wills. She governs the third time, which is a moon, and combats *Anog Ite*, the double-woman, who incites contention. She has no domain and Her potency cannot be imparted to anything. She fixes the time for the more important undertakings of mankind but She is indifferent to ceremonies and cannot be influenced by them.

Tate is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible, for He is as a Spirit. He is the father of the Four Winds whose mother is *Anog Ite*. He governs the fourth time, which is a year, and the coming and going of the four seasons. He abides at the entrance of the spirit trail and hides it from mankind. He admits or excludes spirits from this entrance, according to the judgment of the Great Spirit, *Skan*. He cannot be influenced by sacrifice or ceremony and His potency cannot be imparted to anything.

The Feminine is a material God whose substance may be visible or invisible as She wills. She is most often addressed as the Woman, the Beautiful One, or the Gracious One. She is the daughter of *Skan*, the Sky, and is of the star people. She abides in the tipi of *Okaga*, the South Wind, and is His associate. Her potency, which cannot be imparted to anything, is in the smoke of the pipe and the smoke of sweetgrass. Her functions are to harmonize and are effective when the pipe is smoked or sweetgrass burned. She is a mediator between the Gods, between the Gods and mankind, and between mankind. She is the protector of chastity and of little children and the patron of adornment and pleasure. She should be invoked in every ceremony and there has precedence over all the Gods.

Wakinyan is a material God whose substance is visible only when He so wills. His properties are akan and anti-natural. He abides in his lodge on the top of the mountain at the edge of the world where the Sun goes down to the regions under the world. He is many, but they are as only one; he is shapeless, but has wings with four joints each; he has no feet, yet he has huge talons; he has no head, yet has a huge beak with rows of teeth in it, like the teeth of the wolf; his voice is the thunder clap and

rolling thunder is caused by the beating of His wings on the clouds; he has an eye, and its glance is lightning. In a great cedar tree beside His lodge He has His nest made of dry bones, and in it is an enormous egg from which His young continuously issue. He devours His young and they each become one of His many selves. He had issue by the Rock and it was *Iktomi*, the oldest son of the Rock. He flies through all the domain of the Sky, hidden in a robe of clouds, and if one of mankind sees His substance he is thereby made a *heyoka*, and must ever afterwards speak and act clownishly in an anti-natural manner. Yet, if He so wills, He may appear to mankind in the form of a giant man, and if so, He is then the God, Heyoka. One who looks upon the God, Heyoka, is not thereby made a heyoka. The potency of the Winged God cannot be imparted to anything. His functions are to cleanse the world from filth and to fight the Monsters who defile the waters and to cause all increase by growth from the ground.

The acceptable manner of addressing Him is by taunt and villification, the opposite of the intent of the address. He may be visualized as a bird whose wings have four joints. His symbol is a zigzag red line forked at each end. His *akicita* are the dog, swallow, snowbird, night hawk, lizard, frog, and dragon fly, and if either of these is seen in a vision the one to whom it appears is thereby made a *heyoka*.

The Buffalo is a material God whose substance is visible only when He so wills. His form is that of a great beast, but he may appear to mankind as a man. He abides with the buffalo people in the regions under the world, and roams throughout all the domain of the Earth. He is the patron of sexual relations, generosity, industry, fecundity, and ceremonies. He is the protector of maidens and of the very old. He is the comrade of the Sun and in ceremonies pertaining to the Sun, His potency prevails. He controls the chase and gives or withholds success to hunters. His potency abides in the skull of the animal buffalo and can be imparted to anything that has been a part of a buffalo.

The Bear is a material God, whose substance is invisible at His will. He may appear to mankind as a huge bear, or as a very old man. He is the patron of wisdom, medicine, and magic. Those who would know the lore of the Lakota should have His aid. His potency can be imparted to anything that is strange or unusual.

The Four Winds is an immaterial God, whose substance is never visible. He is *akan* and therefore no one of mankind can comprehend him. While He is one God, He is four individuals:--

He may be addressed as the Four, or, the Four Quarters, or, as the Wind of the Four Directions, or as the Sons. They are the sons of *Tate* and their mother is *Anog Ite*. They were born at one birth, but *Yata* came first. *Eya*, the second-born, displaced *Yata* and holds the birthright of the firstborn. *Yanpa* was third born and *Okaga* the last-born son. They have their tipis at the edge of the world, that of *Eya* on the mountain beside the lodge of the Winged God; that of *Yata* under the stars that never come down to the edge of the world; that of *Yanpa* where the Sun begins His daily journey over the world; that of *Okaga* is under where the Sun pauses at midday when His journey is half done. They do not abide in these tipis, for they are continually traveling on the trail that circles the edge of the world, and where they are, or whence they may come, no man can tell. In ceremonies, they should be addressed as the one God, the Four Winds, and have precedence over all the Gods, except *Wohpe*, the Feminine. They are jealous of their precedence and of that among themselves. In every ceremony of importance they should be invoked after the Feminine, in the following manner:--

1. *Eya*, the West Wind.
2. *Yata*, the North Wind.
3. *Yanpa*, the Wind.
4. *Okaga*, the South Wind.

The lighted pipe should be elevated with its mouthpiece toward the tipi of *Eya* and carried so that the mouthpiece, pointing toward the edge of the world, circles until it points toward the tipi of *Yata*, where it should be held for an instant, then carried in the same manner until it points toward the tipi of *Yanpa*, and held there an instant; then it should be carried in the same manner and held an instant toward the tipi of *Okaga*; thence in the same manner until it returns toward the tipi of *Yata*. Thus, the potency of the Feminine is tendered in the proper order of precedence to each and all of the Four Winds. While the Four travels continually on the trail around the edge of the world, when He comes on the world, that individual of himself that prevails will give the direction from which He comes. As the four sons of *Tate*, the Wind, they established the four directions on the world and then, by the decree of Their father, were to travel forever on the trail around at the edge of the world. Each such completion from beginning to end is the fourth time, or, a year. Therefore, a circle is an emblem of all four of the units of

time, each of which, day, night, moon, and year, goes in a circle. While they are one as a God, as the sons of *Tate*, they are four individuals. The personality of these individuals differs each from the other. *Eya* is a burly, boisterous God. He is the associate of the Winged God and accompanies Him when He flies through the domain of the Sky and aids Him in cleansing the world. *Eya* is reckless and often does His work harshly, when He prevails and sweeps the world. His *akicita* is the hawk. *Yata* is a strong, cold, and surly God. He is forever contesting with *Okaga*, because He desired to have *Wohpe*, the Feminine, as His own, but *Okaga* won Her as His companion. Because of His surly selfishness He was deposed from the birthright of the first-born son and it was given to *Eya*. His *akicita* is the magpie. *Yanpa* is an indolent God whose *akicita* is the crow. *Okaga* is a pleasing God and when He prevails all things rejoice. The Feminine, *Wohpe*, dwells in His tipi and is His companion, often traveling with Him. The little son of *Tate*, the Whirlwind, also dwells in the tipi of *Okaga*, and comes forth only when *Okaga* prevails, for He fears *Yata*. The *akicita* of *Okaga* are all the waterfowls. The functions of the God, the Four Winds, are to be the messengers of *Skan*, the Great Spirit, and of *Tate*, their father, and to control the weather.

Yummi is a merry God. He is the little son of *Tate* and his mother is *Anog Ite*, but because of a curse placed upon her, he was not born as other children are, and for this reason He remains little, and is not counted with the other sons of *Tate*, who are counted as His four sons and *Yummi* as His little son. *Wohpe* taught *Yummi* all the sports and games and gave him control over them, so that He is the patron of all gambling, friendly contests, sports, games, and courtship. He has no *akicita* and never appears in a vision. His potency may be imparted to any implements for sport or games and to philters by *wicasa hmunga*, or wizards.

The *Wakanlapi* are immaterial Gods that abide or have abided in material things. While there are four kinds there are many of each kind. But all of each kind should be considered as only one when considering them as Gods.

Nagi, the Spirit, is an immaterial God whose substance may be visible at its will and who can communicate with mankind, directly or through the medium of a Shaman. *Skan* imparts a spirit to each of mankind at birth. It abides with its recipient until death, controlling the disposition and actions of the person. At death, it leaves the body, but lingers near the haunts of the person, awaiting its endowment for the spirit world. When it is thus endowed it appears before *Skan* for judgment, and, if

adjudged worthy, *Tate* admits it through the entrance to the spirit trail, on which it travels to the spirit world. When it is there it is allotted a place according to its endowment and then it becomes the Spirit.

A spirit is endowed with the *nagila*, or spirit-like, of things in the following manner:--One who wishes to contribute to the endowment abandons the thing to be contributed, in the name of the deceased, when the spirit-like of the thing becomes the possession of the spirit. The material of the things thus abandoned is taboo to those who abandon them and becomes the property of any others who may take them. Thus, the family of a deceased man may abandon all their possessions, endowing his spirit with them, for by so doing, the spirit-like of these things is taken by his spirit to the spirit land, and if the spirits of those who contribute arrive there, they will enjoy these things in the spirit world. If the deceased has killed an enemy and taken his scalp, he has thereby gained control of the spirit of the enemy whose spirit cannot enter on the spirit trail until the one who controls it does so and even then it must serve the controlling spirit to the end of the trail. If a spirit is adjudged by *Skan* as unworthy to go on the spirit trail, it thereby becomes a *sicun*, or wandering spirit, and must wander over the world until *Tate* deems it fitted, when He may permit it to pass through the entrance. Such wandering spirits can communicate with mankind, but their communications are uncertain and not to be relied upon. They often serve *Anog Ite*, whisper malicious things to tattling women, or excite men to jealousy. They may become the familiars of the very old and do their bidding.

The *Niya* is an immaterial god whose substance is visible when It so wills. A *niya* is imparted by *Skan* to each of mankind at birth and abides with the person like a shadow until death, when it lingers with the spirit until the latter goes before *Skan* for judgment. Then it appears to testify regarding the conduct of the spirit and upon its testimony the spirit is adjudged. When *Skan* has given judgment, the ghost returns whence it came and is no more. Its functions during the life of the person are to cause vitality, to forewarn of good and evil, and to give the power to influence others. When it departs from the body, this is death, though it may depart and return again if the spirit has not left the body.

The *Nagiya* is an immaterial God whose substance may at will be seen in any form it chooses to appear. As separate individuals they are the immaterial selves of material things other than mankind. A *nagiya* is imparted by *Skan* to each thing at its beginning, remains with it until it

ceases to be, and then returns whence it came. It can be with the thing and separate from it at the same time, as for instance, when it is with the thing it may at the same time have been given in the endowment of a spirit and taken to the spirit world. It may possess any other thing; for instance, the *nagiya* of the wolf may possess a tree, when the tree will have the nature of a wolf; or, it may possess one of mankind, for example, the *nagiya* of a bear may possess a man when the man will have the nature of a bear. By proper ceremony, its potency can be imparted to inanimate things, as, the potency of the *nagiya* of a poison herb may be imparted to powdered clay, or, the potency of a medicinal thing may be imparted to one of mankind. A thing may be caused by its *nagiya* to speak or act in a supernatural manner and to communicate with mankind.

The *Sicun* is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible. It is the potency of mankind and the emitted potency of the Gods. Considered relative to mankind It is many, but apart from mankind It is one. *Skan* imparts a *sicun* to each of mankind at birth. It remains with the person until death, when it returns whence it came. Its functions are to enable its possessor to do those things which the beasts cannot do and to give courage and fortitude. It may be pleased or displeased with its possessor and may be operative or inoperative according to its pleasure. It may be invoked by ceremony or prayer, but it cannot be imparted to any other person or thing. Most of the Gods can emit their potencies and when so emitted their potencies become *sicunpi*. Such a *sicun* can be imparted to material things by a proper ceremony correctly performed by a Shaman.

A *sicun* so imparted must be clothed by proper wrappings about the material It pervades. The wrappings may be in the form of a pouch, bag, bundle, or any receptacle that will cover and hide the material. The wrapping, the material, and the *sicun*, all together make a *wasicun*. A *sicun* is operative only when It is a part of a *wasicun*. The Oglala concept of a *wasicun* is most nearly expressed in English by the word Fetish, and this word will be so used hereinafter. While a Fetish may be operative

independent of the source of its potency It must be treated with the veneration due to the God that emits its *Sicun*, for in all Its properties It is as that God. Thus, while the *sicun* ranks lowest among the Gods, a Fetish may have the potency of any God, except that of *Skan*, the Great Spirit, and of the Sun, the Chief of the Gods. A Fetish whose *sicun* is a *nagila*, or spirit-like, is potent only to remedy wounds or diseases, or to impose disorders on mankind. Such a Fetish is called *piyaha*, or a

medicine bag. The contents of a medicine bag may be either the material, the spirit-like of which is the potency, or material to which potency has been imparted.

Any Oglala who is eligible for conducting a ceremony may choose and have a Shaman prepare for him a Fetish whose potency is commensurable with the ceremonies he may perform. As only Shamans should undertake to conduct ceremonies that pertain to the Superior Gods, so should they only choose Fetishes having the higher potencies. If the potency of any God abides in anything that thing should be the material enclosed in the wrapping of the Fetish pertaining to that God. As the potency of the Sun abides in fire and cannot be imparted to any other thing and as fire cannot be clothed with wrappings, a Fetish having the potency of the Sun cannot be prepared. As the Great Spirit is the source of all power, a Fetish having His potency is not permissible to mankind. The functions of a Fetish are to serve Its possessor with Its supernatural powers which are effective when properly invoked. When preparing a Fetish, the Shaman devises a formula which must be repeated to invoke Its powers.

Other sicun are the dissociated spirits that wander over the world; but they are classed with the Malevolent Gods. The Malevolent Gods are dissociated, but rank as follows:--

Iya or *Ibom* is a material God whose substance is visible only at his will. His form is that of an enormous giant man and his predominant property is his appetite. He is the last born son of the Rock and his mother is an *Unktehi* or monster. He has no abiding place and wanders over the world seeking to devour all that he gets into his power, He can swallow at one gulp a host of people or a herd of animals. His breath is a miasma and the cause of many diseases. He is stupid and frequently the butt of pranks by his older brother, *Iktomi*. As *Iya*, he is Lord over other malevolent Gods and shares in the evils that they devise; as *Ibom* he is a destructive cyclone. He abhors ceremony, fears fire, and flies from an incense of sage or sweetgrass. The smoke of the pipe is repugnant to him.

Gnaski, the Demon, is a material God, whose substance is visible at his will. His form is that of the bull buffalo, like that of the Buffalo God. The people call him the crazy buffalo. He is fierce and cruel, but he may appear as if he were the Buffalo God and thus for the purpose of inciting to crime or cruelty. He may possess a person and if he controls

the spirit, the person is insane; or, if he controls the ghost, the person is paralyzed. He may be exorcised by the incense of sage and sweetgrass and can be controlled by the Fetish of a Shaman.

The *Unktehi* or Monsters, are material gods, whose substance is visible, but they hide under the deep waters. Their forms are those of huge reptiles with horns that can be projected to the Clouds and tails that beat down forests. They tear the ground with their claws and make deep ravines; they defile waters and make them unfit for use by mankind; they lurk near shore to capture children, and in deep waters to take adults. These they hold in bondage under the waters or transmogrify them to water animals. The Winged God is forever at war with them and in battle with them they gore the ground making the bad lands, where may be seen the bones of *Unktehi* that were slain. A Shaman whose fetish is of the highest potency can subdue the *Unktehi* and drive them away and can undo their magic deeds.

The *Mini Watu* or Water Sprites are material beings whose substance is visible, except when too small to be seen. Their form is that of maggots and they cause things to rot. They ever seek entrance into the bodies of mankind and lurk in the waters to do so. When in the body they pinch the bowels, or pull the cords of the joints, or beat upon the brain, for they delight in the suffering of mankind. They ever war against the *niya*, or ghost, and if they prevail, the ghost leaves the body. But they may be exorcised in a vitalizing lodge by a Shaman or a medicineman.

The *Can Oti* or Forest Dwellers are elves who wander in lonely places and bewilder mankind so that directions and locations are not recognized. These elves can assume the forms of beasts or birds for the purpose of enticing mankind into their power. The smoke of the pipe or the potency of the Four Winds, can defeat their purposes.

The *Ungla* are goblins who haunt deserted places and lurk at night near tipis where they may appear like gibbering ghosts. They frighten timid people and children and cause distressing dreams. They fear the potency of the Sun and fly from it as it is shown in the light from a fire.

The *Gica* are cunning and malicious manikins who are visible or invisible at their will. They, cause accidents and mishaps and prowl at night to do mysterious provoking things. The potency of the Buffalo, or of the Bear, can ward off their activities.

The *nagilapi* of noxious things are classed with the Malevolent Gods.

The potency of a Malignant God can be imparted to a material by a *wicasa hmunga*, or wizard. The material thing is thereby made potent to do that which the God can do and is subservient to its possessor. A Shaman can invoke the potency of either, or of all the Malevolent Gods, and make it operative or impotent. The being other than the Gods, with whom a Shaman may have to deal and whose activities the powers of a Fetish can control are as follows:--

Iktomi, the first-born son of the Rock was a God until the Great Spirit dissociated him from the Gods and condemned him to wander forever over the world without friend or associate. He is a material being whose substance is visible or invisible at his will. Because his other parent is the shapeless Winged God, his normal shape is queer, but he may appear as a handsome young man. He has the potencies of a God, but is a misanthropic being, and delights in making others the butts of ridicule. He is crafty and cruel, but is often the victim of his own schemes. He invented languages and gave common names to all things. He can converse with mankind and with the *nagilapi*, but he talks more often with other things. He is often with *Iya*, his younger brother, and then he exercises his birthright of the first-born son, demands obedience of *Iya* and causes him to do ridiculous things. If *Iktomi* is present during a ceremony, he will scheme to make it ridiculous and an offense to the Gods, for he is an imp of mischief. In whatsoever form he may appear, a Shaman can detect him and by the aid of the Fetish restore him to his normal shape and drive him away.

Waziya is the Old Man, the Wizard, who received from *Iktomi* the potencies of a God; because of this the Great Spirit decreed that his ghost should remain with him forever and that he should dwell alone on the world. He is the husband of *Kanka* and the father of *Anog Ite*, and thus the grandfather of the Four Winds. His tipi is the same as that of *Yata*, the North Wind, but *Yata* does not abide in it. He is always seen coming from the direction of his tipi and can enter a tipi or lodge only when the door opens toward the north. In summer and winter he is heavily clothed with furs, for he is cold and his presence causes chilliness. His presence at a ceremony will chill the rites and make the Gods indifferent to them. He is an irascible being and quick to vent his anger, but he may be kind and helpful to one who pleases him. The wandering spirits are his familiars and they do his bidding. He is the adversary of the Shamans and interferes with their works. Sage is

repugnant to him and he will not come near it and will leave whenever incense is made of it.

Wakanka is the Old Woman, the Witch, the wife of *Wazi*, and the mother of *Anog Ite*, and so, the grandmother of the Four Winds. She is a seer and because of this she induced her husband to purloin the potency of a God and incited her daughter to profane the disposition of the Sun. She schemed with *Iktomi* to accomplish these things. Because of this the Great Spirit doomed her forever to dwell alone in the world. Her tipi is old, smoky, and ragged, and is where she places it. She appears to young men and young women as a decrepit woman in want of something, and begs of them for what she wants. According to the disposition that they manifest in their treatment of her, she foretells their good or evil fortune, and may give that which will make her prediction true. If her purposes be evil, a Shaman by the aid of his fetich can thwart her.

Anog Ite is the daughter of *Wazi* and *Kanka*. She was the wife of *Tate* and gave Him four sons at one birth. She was the most beautiful of womankind, but was vain. When she was again with child she was incited by the scheming of her mother and *Iktomi*, to attempt an intrigue with the Sun; and thus desecrated the seat of the Moon and brought shame upon *Tate*. Because of this the Great Spirit doomed her to abide on the world forever and to have two faces, one enticingly beautiful, the other so horrible that one seeing it would either flee from her or go mad; to give forth heir child without birth, so that it would always be little; and that her children should know her no more as a mother. Having sat in the seat of a God she thereby gained occult powers and so abides on the world. She became ruthless and vindictive and vents her spite on mankind. With her beautiful face she lures men to embrace her and then shows them her horrid features and drives them to distraction. She foments scandal and jealousies and torments pregnant women; she plagues babes with pains and fears; she promotes illicit love affairs and adultery; she is afraid of old men and old women and abhors the bark and twigs of the cottonwood, for they will fend against her scheming. The Shamans should oppose her, for with the aid of their Fetishes they can overcome her and her works.

The Stars are a supernatural people, the people of the Sky. They are indifferent to the affairs of mankind, but they may come down to the world and mingle with the people, and some of them have married among the Lakota. They are beyond the province of a Shaman, for they are the people of the Great Spirit, who controls them.

The Buffalo People are those who dwell in the regions under the world, and are the people of the Sun. *Waziya* was their chief, but when he was deposed they chose the Buffalo God to be their chief and He is so. They have the power to transmogrify and may appear on the world as animals or as of mankind, and may mingle with the Lakota and become their spouses. They can transmogrify their spouses and take them to the regions under the world.

The offspring of a buffalo person and a Lakota has the powers of its buffalo parent and controls its other parent. A Lakota espoused to a buffalo person, or having buffalo children, can be freed from their control only by a Shaman whose fetish has the potency of the Buffalo God.

A very old man, or a very old woman, because of age and experience may have supernatural powers which they can use for good or evil, and only a Shaman can defeat their harmful purposes.

A woman, during her menstrual flow, is susceptible to control by *Gnaski* and *Anog Ite* and is an easy dupe of *Iktomi*. During this time she should live alone and a Shaman should not permit her presence during a Ceremony.

To have game animals submit to their fate and become food for mankind, a Shaman should explain to a captured one that this is its destiny, then decorate it as a mark of friendship, and, freeing it, bid it tell its kind what he said and did to it. A man may so offend game animals that they will escape from hunters, and if so a Shaman should penalize the offending one by making taboo to him some portion of the offended animals.

A Shaman should receive an honorarium for whatsoever he says or does for the benefit of others. The practices of a Shaman must be learned by association with other Shamans.

REGALIA OF THE CANDIDATE.

The Mentor should instruct until he is satisfied that the Candidate understands what the authority, powers, functions, and emoluments of a Shaman are and then he should make sure that the Candidate is provided with the required regalia, which are:--

A red skirt made of soft tanned deerskin.
 A cape made of otterskin tanned with the fur on.
 Two armlets made of hair shed from a buffalo.
 Two anklets made of rabbitskin tanned with the fur
 on.
 A whistle made from the ulnar bone of in eagle wing.
 A hoop made of a willow withe.

The Candidate should not be permitted to enter the Sacred Lodge in the ceremonial camp without these regalia, which may be ornamented in any manner the Mentor may permit. The Candidate may also provide himself with such insignia as he is entitled to wear, take them with him into the Sacred Lodge, and wear them while dancing the Sun Dance. He should also be provided with a pipe and sufficient tobacco to last through four days, from the time he enters the Sacred Lodge until the completion of the dance.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CEREMONY.

When these provisions are made, the Mentor should instruct the Candidate relative to his conduct while in the Sacred Lodge, as follows:-

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Before entering the Sacred Lodge a Candidate should strip and wear only a breechclout and moccasins. While in the Lodge he must wear no other clothing, though his attendant may provide him with a robe to wrap about himself to lie upon. After entering the Lodge, he should not leave it until he goes on the trail of the Sun. His attendant should provide the food and drink that he will be permitted to take and should care for his other necessities. While in the lodge he should converse with no one other than the occupants of the lodge; the Mentors, and attendants. He should meditate continually on his undertaking and talk little of other things. He may smoke the pipe and make incense with sage or sweetgrass as often as he pleases. While he is in the Sacred Lodge is a fit time for him to compose a song that will be known as his song. Then, if he becomes a person of distinction the women will sing his song to honor him. He must fast and take no drink from the beginning of the last day lie occupies the Sacred Lodge until he has danced the Sun Dance. Only a Shaman can release him from any of the requirements for his conduct while in the Sacred Lodge.

The Mentor, having instructed the Candidate relative to his correct behavior in the Sacred Lodge, should then inform him of the tortures inflicted as part of the rites of the Sun Dance. Such torture should cause the blood to flow, for when the blood flows as a token, it is the surest guarantee of sincerity, and without such a guarantee the people or the Sun may doubt the professed purposes of the dancer. They should cause pain, for to endure pain willingly for the accomplishment of a purpose proves fortitude, the greatest virtue that he must manifest when in the presence of the people he appears before the face of the Sun. The first great virtue, bravery, is made most manifest by enduring the greatest flow of blood and the most suffering that the rites of the Sun Dance demand.

A dancer should endure the torture of gazing at the Sun while dancing, so that no one can say that he did not dare to look into the face of the Sun when making a request of Him. One who endures the tortures to the uttermost of the demand of the rites of the ceremony performs his part in a manner acceptable to the Gods and can expect a communication from them. He is thereby fitted for the accomplishment of the purposes of his dance. These instructions should be continued until the Candidate becomes a dancer in the Dance Lodge, when his formal relation with his Mentor ceases.

DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE.

In the meantime, the people should do their part of the first condition for the ceremony. In addition to providing for the feasts, offerings, and presents, they should provide the necessary equipment. Thus, there should be provided for each Candidate who is to dance the second, third, or fourth form of the dance:--

- A robe.
- A dried buffalo tail attached to a long wooden handle.
- Two or four strong thongs.
- Two or four sharp-pointed sticks made of ash.

The thongs and sticks should be such as will sustain the weight of the Candidate. There should also be provided:

- A new tipi and new poles.
- A dried untanned buffalo skin with the hair on.
- A portion of dried untanned buffalo skin with the

hair removed.
 A dried buffalo penis.
 A sufficient supply of buffalo chips.
 A sufficient supply of red, blue, green, and yellow
 paints.
 A sufficient supply of fat from the loins and heart of a
 buffalo.
 A chopper.
 A wooden digging implement.
 A red banner.
 A drum and drumsticks.
 Two or more rattles.
 Sixteen stakes of peeled ash.
 A head of a buffalo recently taken from the carcass.
 As many heads of buffalo recently taken from the
 carcasses as there are candidates to dance the second
 form.
 The material necessary for the erection of the Sun
 Dance lodge.

The articles of the equipment may be provided at any time before they are required for use. When they are provided they may be consecrated by Shamans with such ceremony as they deem proper. An article thus consecrated is thereby made taboo to the one who provides it and becomes the property of the first who takes it.

THE JOURNEY OF THE BANDS TO THE SUN DANCE SITE.

The location of the ceremonial camp circle is selected by common consent. The requisites are promixity to water, growing cottonwood, and sufficient wood. The site for the circle should be nearly level so that there will be no obstructions to the rites. It should be chosen and announced in time for all bands that are to attend the ceremony to journey to it in a leisurely fashion.

Each band should canvas this journey so that the magistrate may know its pleasure in regard to the movement. He should appoint the marshals and scouts of the movement and the day for the beginning of the journey, so that it will be completed not less than four days before the ceremonial camp ought to be established. From the time this journey begins, until the band locates its camp after leaving the place where the ceremony is performed, each day is a holiday for the band. Then the

potency of the Whirlwind pervades the movements and encampments and all are bent on pleasure. The people jest and have sports that all may be merry; the old men sound their rattles to ward against *Iktomi* and his pranks; the young men woo; and the old women make incense of twigs or bark of cottonwood to foil *Anog Ite*.

Before beginning each day's journey, the magistrate, the marshals of movement, and the scouts should go apart from the people, and the magistrate should offer smoke to the Four Winds and pray to him for good weather; and to the Sky and pray for His care while the band is moving. When all are ready, the magistrate should send the scouts ahead on the route he has chosen and the marshals of the movement back to the people. Then the ordinary organization of the camp is in abeyance until the people are again encamped. The magistrate should lead the movement of the band and the marshals should maintain compliant with the Oglala customs that govern such movements. The movement of the band should not be faster than the slowest member of the band can travel and it may be as leisurely as the distance will permit. At the end of each fourth of the distance to be traveled in a day the magistrate should sit and light his pipe. This is the signal for all to unburden for rest and refreshment. When the fourth signal is given the people should encamp. When the tipis are set up, the ordinary organization of the camp is resumed.

The band should journey in this manner each day until it arrives at the place for the ceremonial camp. If two bands come together on their journey they should coalesce, according to the customs of the Oglala; but as bands, they may each contend with the other in friendly contests and games.

During the journey and until they enter the Sacred Lodge, the Candidates should keep aloof from the people and have no part in their levities. All who intend to participate in the ceremony should complete this journey so as to coalesce with the other bands on the day when the Moon is four hands' breadth above the edge of the world, when the Sun goes down out of sight, for on that day the preliminary Sun Dance camp should be established, its council lodge erected, and a council fire built. The preliminary camp is for the purpose of completing the organization to take effect at dawn of the day when the ceremonial camp is to be established. The duration of the preliminary camp should be four days preceding the establishment of the ceremonial camp and during these four days the people may spend their time in social intercourse and merry-making. Then young women should seek spears of grama grass

that bear four heads, for their possession insures good luck in love affairs.

THE FIRST DAY'S CEREMONY.

On the first day, soon after the council fire is made, the Mentors and Candidates should assemble in the council lodge and the Mentor of the Candidate who first announced his candidacy should fill and light a pipe and all should smoke in communion. When all have been thus harmonized, the seat at the place of honor in the lodge should be occupied in the following manner:--

If the Mentor of the Candidate who first announced his candidacy is a Shaman he should occupy this seat. If he is not a Shaman, or declines to occupy the seat, then the Mentors should choose a Shaman, one of the Mentors if practicable, to occupy the seat. The one who occupies this seat thereby becomes the Superior of the ceremony and as the head of the organization for the ceremonial camp will have supervision over all that occurs in that camp.

The other Mentors are the councilors of the camp. The Superior should appoint all who are to participate in the ceremonies to be performed in the Dance Lodge other than those who are entitled to so participate. At this assembly he should appoint a herald and marshals of the ceremony and paint on the cheek of each, the insignum of his office with an additional red stripe to indicate that he is an officer of a sacred ceremony. Then the assembly may discuss matters pertaining to the ceremony and adjourn. This completes the formalities for the first day of the preliminary camp.

THE SECOND DAY.

Early on the second day the council of the Bear God should assemble at the council lodge. This council is composed of the Superior, the Mentors, the Candidates, and such Shamans, chiefs, and councilors as may wish to take part in their deliberations. The Superior should fill and light a pipe, offer it to the Four Winds and ask a blue day of Him, and then to the Bear God and pray Him for wisdom to control the deliberations of the council. Then he should again fill and light the pipe and pass it so that all may smoke in communion. While they are smoking he should incense with sweetgrass. When all are thus harmonized and the potency of the Mediator made effective, the

mothers who wish to have their babes' ears pierced should announce the fact and the names of those they have chosen to fulfil this rite. Next, the parents who wish to place their children in the procession to the Sacred Tree should announce their names. Then the maidens who wish to be appointed as female attendants for the dancers should announce their desires. Then the women who wish to chop the Sacred Tree should announce the reasons for their eligibility. Then anyone may propose another for appointment to any of these offices. When these matters have been placed before the council it should deliberate upon them. Then the council should partake of the Feast of the Bear God which should be provided by the women who appeared before the council. The principal food of this feast should be the flesh of the dog. This feast completes the formalities of the second day of the preliminary camp. The red-striped marshals should urge that every article of the equipment for the performance of the ceremony be provided before the establishment of the ceremonial camp.

THE THIRD DAY.

Early on the third day the herald of the camp should proclaim that the Superior is about to announce the names of those appointed as the hunter (scout), the digger, the escort, and the musicians. The people should assemble about the council lodge, where the Superior should make these announcements. As each announcement is made, the red-striped herald should loudly proclaim it and the one so appointed should present himself so that the Superior may apply the insignum of his office. For the hunter, this should be a circle of red paint around his right eye; for the digger, a stripe of red paint horizontally applied to his right cheek and red paint applied to the palms of his hands; for the musicians, a circle of red paint applied around the mouth; for the escort, a horizontal stripe of red paint applied across the forehead. The functions of the hunter are to find and mark the Sacred Tree; of the digger, to dig the hole for the erection of the Sacred Tree and the space for the altar in the Dance Lodge. There should be four drummers, four rattlers, and a choir of as many men and women as the Superior sees fit to appoint. The escort should be as many reputable brave men as the Superior chooses to appoint; preferably, they should be members of the various societies represented in the camp. Their functions are to escort the Superior and Mentors when they go in procession to perform rites pertaining to the ceremony and to lead in the battles against the Malevolent Gods and beings to be fought on the site of the ceremonial camp.

When these appointments have been made the Superior, in the presence of the people, decorates the buffalo head, and invokes the potency of the Buffalo God to prevail in the ceremonial camp. He should do this in the following manner:--

The buffalo head which was previously provided should be placed near the council lodge so that it faces the Sun. A fire of buffalo chips should be made beside it. The Superior should sit before it while the Mentors sit in a circle around it. The women who color the parting of their hair red to signify that they have had the Buffalo Ceremony performed for their benefit should sit in a circle about the Mentors and the people should form the outer circle. The Superior should fill and light a pipe from the fire of chips and blow smoke into the nostrils of the buffalo head and then, with the fire of chips, he should make an incense of sweetgrass and while it smokes the women seated in the circle should contribute ornaments. The Superior should attach these ornaments to the horns of the buffalo head and then address the potency of the Buffalo God that abides in the head, telling it that the ornaments are tokens of the esteem of the people for the Buffalo God and praying it to pervade the ceremonial camp. When he has made this address he should give the buffalo head into the keeping of the red-striped marshals and instruct them to produce it when the Sacred Lodge is erected.

Then the herald of the camp should proclaim that the feast of buffalo tongues is ready to be served and invite all to partake of it. This feast should be provided by the bands of the Candidates, each band vying to produce the most abundant supply of fresh or dried buffalo tongues. The feast should be prepared and served by the women of the bands that make the provision. It should be served so that each one present may have at least a bit of buffalo tongue, for the feast is in honor of and a propitiation to the Buffalo God who is the patron of generosity and hospitality. This is the last feast that the Candidates should be permitted to attend until after they have danced the Sun Dance and therefore they should be served with an abundance of food, not less than an entire buffalo tongue for each. This feast completes the formalities of the third day of the ceremonial camp and may be prolonged far in the night.

THE FOURTH DAY.

Early in the morning of the fourth day the marshal of the camp should summon the people to assemble and bear the will of the Superior. When

the people are assembled, the Superior should announce the names of the women appointed to chop the Sacred Tree and the name of the woman who is to fell it. These women should be mothers noted for their industry and hospitality, preferably such as have had kindred slain in war. To be appointed to chop the Sacred Tree is a lasting honor and to fell it entitles the woman to wear a stripe of red paint across her forehead, for she thereby becomes, *Ina*, or *Mama*, to all the *hunkaya* of the people. The *hunkaya* are those who are held in such esteem that they are addressed as adopted relatives. The functions of these women are to chop the Sacred Tree until it is about to fall and then the one who is to fell it should strike the last blows that cut it down. When the announcement of the appointment of these women is made, the camp herald should loudly proclaim it so that all may hear.

Then the Superior should announce the names of female relatives of the Candidates who will be permitted in the Dance Lodge to sing and shout encouragement to the dancers and to give them such assistance or relief as will be permitted. These names the herald should loudly proclaim. When these appointments are made the maidens to be appointed as female attendants should be tested. The Superior should sit with the maidens desiring appointment in a circle around him and the people should assemble about this circle. Then the herald should loudly call the name of each maiden who when called should stand and declare that she has never had carnal intercourse with a man. Anyone may challenge her declaration. If she is challenged and remains silent, it is considered that she is not a maiden. But she may stand and repeat the declaration and bite a snakeskin, or the effigy of a snake. If her challenger is then silent, her declaration is considered true. If the challenge is repeated, the challenger must also bite the snake, but if he does not, it is considered that his challenge is a slander. If he does, then a decision should be held in abeyance until a snake decides by biting the one who gave false testimony, as a snake will surely do.

When the maidens have made their declarations, the Superior should appoint as female attendants of the dancers those whose declarations have not been challenged, or who have freed themselves from accusation by biting the snake. The names of those thus appointed should be loudly proclaimed by the camp marshal. Then the feast of the maidens should be given by the relatives and friends of the appointees. Only women should partake of this feast, but when it is over, the women's dance may be danced; each woman who dances chooses a man to dance beside her. This festivity should cease when the setting Sun is a hand's breadth above the edge of the world. Then the Superior

and the Mentors should go together to the top of a nearby hill and there the Superior should fill and light a pipe, and offer it to the Four Winds and pray Him to give blue days for the ceremony. Then, as the Sun disappears from sight he should extend the mouthpiece of the pipe toward Him, and pray Him to look with favor on the ceremonial camp, so that the people may be happy and perform their part of the ceremony in an acceptable manner.

At dusk that day all should retire to their tipis and then-re should be no games or merry-making. That night no one other than the marshals should go abroad in the camp; but those whose faces are, painted black may go outside the camp and on the hills wail songs to the spirits of those they mourn.

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THE SECOND FOUR DAY PERIOD.

The next four days, when the final ceremonial camp should be maintained, are the four holy days of midsummer, when it is meet to perform ceremonies that pertain to the Gods. Then the Earth has caused the ground to bring forth the grass to fatten the buffalo and the fruits for the benefit of mankind and all things that grow from the ground. The Winged God has caused these things to grow and ripen. *Skan, Tate,* and *Okaga* pervade all above the world, and *Wi* smiles upon all. Therefore,

the Oglala should rejoice and show happiness by having ceremonies in honor of the Gods.

When the first holy day dawns, the red herald should proclaim through the preliminary camp that the Superior has authority over all, and that one who will not submit to his authority should take no further part in the Sun Dance ceremony. He should also proclaim that one knowing himself to be unworthy to appear before the face of the Sun should not enter the ceremonial camp circle, because if such a one appears in the ceremonial camp the Sun will hide His face with a veil of clouds until the offending one withdraws, or until the Winged God sweeps or washes away the offense.

When the red herald has made these proclamations the people should quickly prepare for the rites to be performed on this day and the Superior, Mentors, and Candidates should go in procession so as to be on top of a nearby hill when the Sun begins His daily journey. If His face is hidden they should return to the people and the red herald should proclaim the command of the Superior that the unworthy withdraw from the camp. The red marshals should seek the cause of offense and if they find it, they should expel it from the camp. Then the Superior should offer the lighted pipe to the Four Winds and pray Him to give a blue day, that is, a day of sunshine that is neither too cold nor too hot for comfort. When this is done all should wait until the Sun shows His face. When He does so, the Superior in the presence of the Mentors and the Candidates; should extend the mouthpiece of a lighted pipe toward Him, and pray the *Wakan Tanka* through Their chief, the Sun, to be gracious and grant the people Their favor, and an effectual performance of the Sun Dance to the Candidates.

When this rite is over the Superior should command the escort to fight the Malevolent Gods and beings and drive them from the site of the ceremonial camp. Then the escort and such others as wish to aid them should charge upon the site as if against an enemy, and shouting war cries, strike, thrust, and shoot arrows as if fighting a visible foe. This they should do back and forth, all about the site, and the evil ones will be driven from it. When this rite is completed, the red herald should proclaim the site freed from harmful things and that the Superior will then locate the Sacred Spot. Then the Superior, Mentors, and Candidates should form a procession, accompanied by the escort, and followed by the people. This procession should circle the site, spirally approaching the center, and as they near it, the Superior with his Fetish in hand should scan the ground for an indication of the Sacred Spot,

and when he sees it he should extend his Fetish which will draw his hands to the spot. The digger should drive a stake in the ground at the Sacred Spot to mark its location. The Superior should make a great smoke from buffalo chips, as an incense to propitiate the Buffalo God. When this is done the red herald should proclaim that the Sacred Spot is located and the site made ready to be occupied. Then the people should shout and sing joyfully, the women ululate, and all should hasten to erect their tipis in the ceremonial camp circle that should have the Sacred Spot for its center, and its entrance toward the east. The tipi of the Superior should be placed at the chief place of the circle and the council lodge on the area near it.

While the people are establishing the ceremonial camp circle the Superior should locate the Sacred Lodge in the following manner. He should begin at the Sacred Spot and walk four paces toward the entrance of the camp circle and there pause. The digger should drive into the ground where the Superior paused one of the stakes provided with the equipment. Then the Superior should go four paces in the same direction, and again pause. There the digger should drive another stake. This should be repeated until the digger has driven all sixteen of the stakes provided with the equipment, so that they will be on a straight line from the Sacred Spot to the entrance. These stakes mark the Sun Trail of the camp. When the trail is so marked no one should walk on or across it, except when necessary in the performance of duties. The last stake driven locates the door of the Sacred Lodge which should open toward the south.

SACRED LODGE ERECTED.

When this location is established the Sacred Lodge should be erected in the following manner. It should be the new tipi and poles provided with the equipment. The women who are to chop the Sacred Tree should erect these poles and then the Superior should paint a dab of red on the inner side of each pole and paint red on the ears and door flap of the covering. When this is done the women should place and pin the covering.

When this lodge is thus erected the mentors should prepare it for occupation by the Candidates by each making a bed of sage in it for his Candidate and the Superior should prepare in it an altar between the fireplace and the place of honor. Then he should place beside the altar

the ornamented buffalo head, so that it will face toward the place of honor.

When the Sacred Lodge is thus prepared the Candidates should enter it. They should be conducted through the door and to their beds by their Mentors. The first to enter the lodge should be the one who first announced his candidacy, but if he has declined this honor the Candidates should choose another to take it. The first who enters should be conducted to the place of honor and seated there. He is thereby made the leader of the Sun Dance. When all the Candidates have entered the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should fill and light a pipe, and pass it so that all in the lodge may smoke in communion. When all have been thus harmonized, the Mentors should give such instructions as they deem necessary, and then depart. After this, the attendants may come and go into the Sacred Lodge as the wants of the Candidates may demand; but only the Mentors and the attendants should come near the Sacred Lodge or attempt to talk with its occupants. Soon after the Candidates occupy the lodge the attendants should bring them the robes that have been provided.

SCOUTING FOR THE TREE

During the erection of the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should order the hunter, or scout, to go and search for game, and if he should see signs of an enemy, to return and report to him. The hunter should go, prepared as if for hunting, and when he comes to growing cottonwood, he should select a growing cottonwood tree, the butt of which should not be less than two spans in circumference. The tree should be straight, and forked at a height of about four times the distance from hand to hand when the arms are outstretched. He should mark this tree with circles of red paint, on the west, north, east, and south sides. This tree is thereby made the Sacred Tree and its *nagila* endowed with extraordinary potency so that it can bring disaster on anyone who profanes it by treating it as other trees are treated. Having so marked this tree, the hunter should return to the camp and privately report to the Superior that he has found an enemy near the camp.

BUILDING THE SUN LODGE.

As soon as the tipis are set up to form the ceremonial camp circle, the bands should detail a number of men as workmen who should immediately begin the erection of the Dance Lodge and work at it

continuously until it is completed, which should be not later than midday of the third holy day. The people should bring the material provided for the erection of the Dance Lodge and help the workmen. The red marshals should supervise the erection of the lodge and have it made large enough to accommodate all who may participate in the ceremonies to be performed in it. It should be circular in form with the Sacred Spot as its center. It should enclose a covered space that surrounds an uncovered space with an uncovered entrance toward the south.

The covered space should be made by placing two rows of forked posts upright in the ground, the rows four arms' length apart and the posts so placed that poles can be laid from the fork of one to the fork of another and so that the poles on the outer row of posts will be as high as a short man can reach and the poles on the inner row as high as a tall man can reach. Poles should be laid from post to post and other poles on these, so as to form a support for leafy branches that should be placed so as to form a sheltering cover. Poles should be tied from post to post of the outer row, so as to make a support for leafy branches that should be attached so as to form an outer wall for the lodge.

While the workmen erect the Dance Lodge, the digger should dig the Sacred Spot with his wooden digging implement and there make a hole in which the Sacred Pole should be erected. Then he should make a large altar near this hole, between it and the place of honor in the Dance Lodge.

During the time of the erection and preparation of the Dance Lodge, no one should loiter in or about it.

The various societies represented in the ceremonial camp may erect their lodges anywhere on the area, except at the entrance, the chief place, or the places for the Sacred and Dance Lodges.

THE BUFFALO FEAST.

When the Candidates have occupied the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should order the red herald to proclaim that the buffalo Procession will be formed. It should be formed near the council lodge with the Superior and Mentors at the head, followed by the escort, and then by all the people who are not otherwise occupied in preparation for the ceremony. The procession should move four times around the inside of

the camp circle. This is to propitiate the Buffalo God and the Whirlwind God, for it is meet to please these Gods on the first holy day, because They are the patrons of domestic affairs and of love-making. Therefore, families march together in this procession, though young men and young women may walk side by side. The people should shout and sing in praise of these Gods and call aloud sentiments appropriate to the occasion. The young men and young women may make love and if one of them has a four-headed spear of grama grass it should be openly shown while marching. When the procession arrives at the council lodge the fourth time it should disperse.

Then the women should hasten to prepare food for the buffalo feast and when it is ready the red herald should proclaim an invitation for the old, the poor, and the needy to partake of it. These should assemble in a circle on the area, with the people about them. The women should place the food in the midst of the guests. A Shaman should dance the buffalo dance and in the meantime he should dedicate the food in each vessel with his Fetish, to the God of generosity, the Buffalo God. Then the women should select titbits which the attendants carry to the Candidates; next, they should serve the guests, that is, the old, the poor, and the needy; and finally, they should serve the people.

The festivities may be prolonged until the Sun is about half a hand breadth above the edge of the world, when all should solemnly wait while the Superior and Mentors go to the top of a nearby hill, and there, as the Sun disappears from sight, offer Him smoke, and pray Him to heed the words of the Buffalo which He will speak that night in commendation of the people.

At dusk the young men may sound the flute and young women go to trysting places, while the old men shake their rattles and the old women make incense of the bark or twigs of cottonwood. When it is dark the Superior and Mentors carrying their Fetishes should go around outside the camp circle and drive away such evil beings as may lurk near the camp. Then they should visit the Candidates to instruct or admonish them. Tins con eludes the formalities of the first holy day.

Far into the night there may be social gatherings on the area and in the tipis. Men and women should treat each other on terms of equality and with friendly hilarity.

GREETING THE SUN.

When the second holy day dawns the red herald should proclaim that *Anp*, the forerunner of the Sun announces that it will be a blue day, or if the dawn indicates that clouds will hide the face of the Sun when He begins His daily journey, then the herald should proclaim that the forerunner, *Anp*, tells that the Sun will hide His face because of some offense in the camp. Then the escort, and such others as wish to join them, should immediately do battle on the area and about the tipis against the *Can Oti*, *Ungla*, and *Gica*, and other malevolent beings that may chance to lurk in or about the camp. While they are doing so the Superior and Mentors, each carrying his Fetish in his hand, should march in procession, accompanied by the red herald and red marshals, around inside the camp circle, and each should invoke his Fetish to remove from the camp all causes of offense to the Sun. The herald should proclaim that if anyone knows himself to be unworthy to appear before the Sun, he must withdraw from the camp. If the marshals know of one whose reputation is such as to be offensive to the Sun they should expel him from the camp. These things should be done each morning of the holy days. When they are done all should await the pleasure of the Sun which He will manifest by showing His face. If on any day He should not show His face then that day is not counted as a holy day, but enough days are so counted as to make four. Each holy day when the Sun first shows His face the Superior and Mentors should formally greet Him and beg His favor for that day.

CAPTURE OF THE TREE.

On the second holy day, after the escort has driven evil beings from the camp and the Superior has formally greeted the Sun, the red herald should proclaim that the people form for the procession of the Bear God. Then a procession should form and march as on the previous day, but it should be done without levity. When the procession disperses, the Superior should command the red herald to proclaim that the hunter has reported that an enemy is near the camp. He then should command the escort to go in search of the enemy and if found take him captive. The escort, and those who wish to join them, should search all about in the vicinity of the camp, as if looking for signs of an enemy. Soon they should return and report to the Superior that no signs of an enemy have been found. The Superior should command them to go and search again, and they should do as before. This is repeated until the fourth time, when the escort finds the Sacred Tree. They should surround it, jeering and taunting it, and then rush upon it, strike it, and bind a thong about it.

When they have done this they should return to the camp singing a victory song and shouting like victorious returning warriors. The people should greet their return with songs and shouts of joy and the women should ululate shrilly. The escort should report to the Superior that the enemy has been found and made captive and the herald should proclaim this to the people who should rejoice and shout and sing warrior songs. The Superior should then command the red herald to proclaim the formation of the procession that is to bring the enemy into the camp. The procession should be formed with the Superior and Mentors leading, followed by the escort, the mothers bearing babes whose ears are to be pierced, the children whose parents wish thus to honor them, the women who are to chop the Sacred Tree, and finally, the people. The procession should go, if practicable, so as to cross running water at its second pause. At about one fourth the distance to the Sacred Tree, the Superior should halt and light a pipe and all should wait until he has smoked a few whiffs. Then the procession should move on until one half the distance is covered; there again the Superior should halt as before, and if there is running water there he should strike it four times with his Fetish, to drive from it the *Mini Watu*, or evil water creatures that can infect the people. Again, at three fourths the distance all should halt as before. Then the procession should go to the tree and surround it. Now the Superior may harangue the people and should proclaim aloud four times the name of some reputable man, preferably one who is renowned for war deeds. The one so named should come forward and take the chopper and may recite the deeds that make him eligible to strike the Sacred Tree. When he has done so, he should strike the Sacred Tree on the west side four times with the chopper, and if he can do so, leave the chopper sticking in the tree. This should be repeated until four men have struck the tree, each four times, first on the west, then the north, then the east, and then on the south. The *nagila* of the tree is thus subdued and made subservient to the people.

When this is done, the children who are to be honored are placed in line, and the herald, beginning at one end of the line should call the names of the children successively as they stand, and when a name is so called those wishing to honor the child should come forward and give it presents. When this is done, the Superior should command that the Sacred Tree be felled. Then the women appointed to chop the Sacred Tree should do so, relieving each other so that all may have a chance. When the tree is about to fall the woman chosen to fell it should strike the last blows that cut it down. As the tree falls, the people should sing and shout and ululate for joy because it is now their servant. To ululate

one should utter a prolonged sound in high or falsetto key, patting the lips with the fingers while doing so. This is an expression of intensity of emotion.

When the tree is down it should be trimmed and the bark peeled from it to its smaller end. The bark should be left on the fork at the smaller end. This is the Sacred Pole. Pregnant women, and women who have young babes will eagerly gather the twigs that are trimmed from the tree, for they are powerfully effective against *Anog Ite*.

After the Superior pronounces the pole Sacred, it should not be touched by hands that are not painted red. Then it should be carried to the camp in the following manner:--A sufficient number of carrying sticks should be placed under it and the carriers should lift it on these without touching it with their hands and carry it, butt forward, toward the camp. When about one fourth the distance to be carried, the carriers should halt and lay the Sacred Pole on the ground. Then they should howl like wolves, for this is the cry of returning warriors who come bringing a captive. Then another relay of carriers should lift and carry the pole in the same manner to half the distance, where they should lay it down and howl as did the first relay. Then another relay should carry it in the same manner as before, to three fourths the distance, where they should lay it down and howl.

Then the messenger race should be run in this manner:--The young men who desire to run this race should stand side by side in a line at the Sacred Pole, and starting at a signal should race for the Sacred Spot. The first to place his hand on the Sacred Spot; or in the hole for the erection of the Sacred Pole is thereby entitled to carry a red coup stick, or a banner of feathers. A runner in this race should obstruct his competitors in any manner he can. Thus a runner in this race may be seriously injured by a blow or a fall.

After the race of the messengers the fourth relay of carriers should lift and carry the pole as before, taking it through the entrance to the camp circle and into the Dance Lodge, where they should lay it down with the forked end toward the east and the butt at the hole prepared for its erection. It should be so placed that when it is erected it will follow the course of the Sun. When the Sacred Pole is laid in the Dance Lodge the people may disperse, but the Superior and Mentors should then mix the paints and fats supplied with the equipment, and they, or others, whose

hands are painted red, should paint the Sacred Pole, so that its west side will be red, its north blue, its east green, and its south side yellow.

The fork of the pole should not be painted and the paint should be so applied to the body of the pole that when erect the opening of the fork will be toward the west and east. While others are painting the Sacred Pole one of the Mentors should cut from the dried buffalo skins without hair, provided with the equipment, the figures of a bull buffalo and of a man, each with exaggerated genitals, and painted black. When the Sacred Pole is painted, all but the Superior, Mentors, and Shamans should be excluded from the Dance Lodge. Those remaining should sit in a circle around the black images, and by incantation, impart to the image of a man the potency of *Iya*, the patron God of libertinism, and to the image of the buffalo the potency of *Gnaski*, the Crazy Buffalo, the patron God of licentiousness. When thus prepared, these images should be carefully wrapped and bound so as to restrain them until they are elevated.

When the people disperse from the Dance Lodge the societies may give feasts, one or more at the same time, but all should unite in feasting. During this feast, each society should be grouped, and each served by its women folks before the people are served. After feasting, each society may dance its dances and such others as the regulations of the society will permit, may dance with them. These festivities may continue far into the night, but they should cease while the Superior greets the Sun as He disappears from sight.

When it is dark that night the Superior and Mentors should again go in procession about the camp for the same purposes as on the previous night, and then visit the Candidates in the Sacred Lodge. This completes the formalities of the second holy day.

THE PROCESSION OF SEX.

From dawn on the third holy day until the Sun shows His face, the same rites should be performed as on the preceding day. Then the herald should call the people to form the procession of sex in which children take no part. It should form near the council lodge, the women in front and the men behind, with an interval between the sexes. This procession should march around inside the camp circle four times, the women with song and speech lauding the Earth and the Feminine, while the men in the same manner laud the Sky and the Wind. When this procession

returns to the starting place the fourth time, it should disperse, and then the Superior and Mentors should go to the Sacred Lodge, and remind the Candidates that they may drink, but take no food on that day.

RAISING THE SUN POLE.

They should then go in procession on the Sun Trail to the Dance Lodge and enter it. There the Superior should prepare the Fetish of the Sun Dance, making it of four times four wands of chokecherry wood and enclosing in it a wisp of sage, one of sweetgrass, and a tuft of shed buffalo hair. He may also enclose in it such trinkets or ornaments as the people give for that purpose. When this bundle is securely bound, the Superior, assisted by such Shamans as he may select, should, with the aid of his Fetish and by proper ceremony, impart to it the potency of the Buffalo God so that when it is elevated the Buffalo God will prevail in the camp.

Then he should securely bind this Fetish to one fork of the Sacred Pole. When he has done this, he should prepare the banner of the Shamans, making it of some red material that will wave. It should be four arms' length long and four hands' breadth wide, with a wand at one end to keep it spread. This end of the banner should be securely fastened to the fork of the Sacred Pole other than that to which the Fetish is bound. The Fetish and banner should be so securely fastened that they will not be loosened by blows or shooting with arrows.

While the Superior is preparing the Fetish and banner, men whose hands are painted red should prepare the Sacred Pole for erection by tying to it thongs with which to pull it erect. Then a heyoka to whom the Winged God has granted a communication should loosely tie to each fork of the Sacred Pole the black images of a man and a buffalo, so that when the pole is erect they will be above the Fetish and the banner, and so that they can be brought down by blows or shooting with arrows.

Then at the command of the Superior the men with red hands should lift the Sacred Pole to about one fourth the distance to the perpendicular and pause, holding it there while the herald proclaims that the Sacred Pole is going up. The people should assemble about the Dance Lodge, men and women grouped apart. At the command of the Superior the men with red hands should lift the pole half way to the perpendicular and pause. During this pause those who wish to do so should make

offerings to the Earth by placing the articles offered in the hole at the Sacred Spot. When these offerings are made the Superior should again command the red-handed men to lift the pole and they should raise it to about three-fourths of perpendicular and there pause. Then the herald should proclaim that the Gods elevated on the Sacred Pole must prevail in the camp. Then the Superior should command the men to raise the Sacred Pole erect and they should lift and pull it so with its butt in the hole at the Sacred Spot. When the pole is erect the digger should replace the dirt taken from the hole and tamp it about the pole so that it will stand firmly when bearing the weight of a struggling man.

Then the people may shout the names of *Iya* and *Gnaski* and protest that these Gods prevail in the camp. Immediately, men and women commingle and then follows a period of license when they banter each other and jest of sexual things. At that time a man or a woman may be familiar with one of the opposite sex in a manner that would be an indignity at other times, and the ribald merriment may become boisterous.

When the Superior sees fit, he should command the herald to proclaim that the escort and the warriors come and dance the war dance and drive the obscene Gods from the camp. Those thus called should equip themselves as if for battle and come into the Dance Lodge. There they should dance the war dance on the uncovered space, hooting the obscene Gods hung on the Sacred Pole and shooting and throwing and striking at them until they fall. When these obscene Gods fall, the warriors should strike and trample them as they dance the victory dance and the women should shout their approval and ululate for joy. The Superior should quickly make an incense of buffalo chips on the altar, to appease the elevated Fetish and when the chips have burned to coals he should scorch the fallen images on these coals and thereby destroy their potency for evil. Then he should lean the dried buffalo penis against the Sacred Pole with a pipe beside it, thus making effective the potency of the Fetish to maintain decency in the camp. He should then sprinkle a covering of cedar leaves and twigs over the altar, for these are potent to ward against the anti-natural conduct of the Winged God and of the *heyoka*. The warriors should continue to dance the victory dance, stamping and striking uneven places on the uncovered space until it is made sufficiently level to dance upon easily.

In the meantime, the Mentors and attendants should prepare the Dance Lodge for the forms of the Sun Dance that their Candidates are to dance. For those who are to dance the second form, the buffalo heads

should be placed beside the Sacred Pole; for those to dance the third form, the stakes should be fixed upright firmly in the ground of the uncovered space; for those to dance the fourth form, the thongs should be fixed to the Sacred Pole, and for those to dance the fourth form actually suspended, the thongs should be passed through the fork of the Sacred Pole.

When the warriors stop dancing they should leave the Dance Lodge. Then the musicians should bring a dance drum and fix it on its supports not far from the entrance on the covered space at the left of the Dance Lodge, and they should place four or eight rattles beside the drum. The attendants should bring the dried buffalo hide with the hair on and the buffalo tails attached to handles, and place them next to the drum toward the honor place in the lodge. The mothers who intend to have their babes' ears pierced should make a bed of sage for each babe, placing them at the inner edge of the covered space, between the articles already placed and the uncovered space.

When these things are done, the Dance Lodge is prepared for the Sun Dance and all should go from it and none enter it until after the Candidates enter to dance. In the meantime, the women should prepare the feast of the Shamans and when all come from the Dance Lodge it should be served, first to the Shamans, who should sit near the council lodge and then to the people, who should sit about the Shamans. During this feast the Shamans may intone addresses to the Gods, or either of Them, but all others should eat in silence. As the Sun is almost disappearing from sight the Shamans should first offer smoke to the Four Winds and then to the Sun and invoke His approbation of what has been done and what is to be done and the people should respond by shouting, "*Nunwe*," which means, "May it be so."

At dusk all the people should go to their tipis and remain quietly there until the morrow. When it is dark the Superior and Mentors should go in procession to drive away the evil beings, as they did on the previous night. Then they should visit the Candidates to give them the last aid and instructions they will receive in the Sacred Lodge. This will complete the formalities of the third holy day.

GREETING THE SUN ON THE FOURTH, OR MID-YEAR DAY.

The Oglala regard the fourth holy day above all other days, for it is the mid-year day. They anticipate a joyful time on that day, whether on

their part it is devoted to ceremonies or spent as a mere holiday. There fore, they are apt to be astir before dawn. Just before dawn, the herald should make a proclamation that the people prepare themselves to appear before the face of the Sun and all should bedeck themselves with their best attire and ornaments and wear or carry such insignia as they are entitled to have. As the Sun appears, the Shamans, Superior, and Mentors should be at the top of a nearby hill and greet Him as on previous mornings. Then a Shaman should invoke the Sky to give strength and endurance to the Candidates so that they all may dance the Sun Dance to its completion. Another Shaman should invoke the Bear God to give wisdom to the Superior and the Mentors, so that the ceremony held that day may be acceptable to the Gods.

They should then return to the camp and the Superior and Mentors should assemble in the council lodge to deliberate relative to the proceedings on that day. While they are deliberating, the vows of the young braves should be made in the following manner:--Young men who take part in this charge thereby obligate themselves in the presence of the Sun, each to do his duty as a warrior against an enemy of the people. The braves should form in line near the chief place of the camp and at a signal run to, and four times around, the Dance Lodge. They should repeat this from the north, east, and south sides of the areas. Then the people should assemble on both sides of the Sun Trail and the Superior and Mentors should go in procession from the council lodge to the Sacred Lodge, each intoning prayers to his Fetish as he marches.

PREPARATION OF THE CANDIDATES.

When they arrive at the Sacred Lodge they should go around it four times, enter, and array the Candidates for the dance. Each Mentor should paint his candidate's feet and hands red: Then he should place the symbolic color of the Sky on him so as to indicate the form of the dance lie is to do. If lie is to dance the second form, a stripe of blue should be painted across his shoulders; if the third form, across his shoulders and chest; if the fourth form, across his chest and forehead. Then he should paint on the person of the Candidate the design he devised to be the Candidate's totem. Then he should fasten about the Candidate's waist the red skirt, place around his shoulders the otterskin cape, oil his arms the buffalo hair armlets, around his ankles the rabbitskin anklets, and then place such insignia as the Candidate is entitled to wear. He should then place on the Candidate's head, a wreath of sage and in his, right hand a wisp of sage.

When all the Candidates are arrayed, the leader should lift the ornamented buffalo head and carry it as if it were looking in the direction he moves. Then the Candidates and Mentors should come out of the Sacred Lodge, the leader first. They should form for a procession, the Superior in front, next after him the leader, and then the other Candidates and Mentors, side by side. When they come out of the Sacred Lodge, the attendants should immediately take it down, and carrying the robes of the Candidates, follow ill the procession. The procession should move on the trail of the Sun, on the south side of the stakes. As they approach a stake anyone wishing to make an offering to the Sun may place it on the stake and anyone who wishes to do so may take the offering, when it becomes the property of the one who takes it. When he arrives at a stake he should pause a moment and after the Candidates pass a stake the attendants should immediately pull it from the ground. Thus, the Sacred Lodge and the Sun trail are demolished as soon as the Candidates have used them, so that no one can profane them. While marching on the Sun Trail the Candidates should wail as if mourning, and the Mentors should intone prayers to their Fetishes.

When the procession arrives at the Dance Lodge it should pause at the entrance and the Candidates should face the Sun and wail. Then the procession should pass four times around the Dance Lodge, pausing each time it comes to the entrance, and each time the Candidates should wail as before. Then the procession should enter the Dance Lodge and go on the left side to the place of honor. The leader should make three feints at placing the ornamented buffalo head on the altar, and at the fourth, should place it there so that it will face the Sacred Pole. The attendants should place the robes of the Candidates, that of the leader beside the place of honor, and the others toward the entrance on the left covered space.

Then the Candidates with the Mentor beside each, should recline on his robe and the Superior should seat himself at the place of honor. When the Mentors and Candidates are placed, the others who are entitled to occupy the Dance Lodge should enter and take their places; the musicians grouped about the drum; the female attendants near them; the women who chopped the Sacred Tree between them and the entrance; the mothers whose babes' ears are to be pierced beside the sage beds they have prepared.

Then such people as wish to occupy the Dance Lodge may enter and take places in the right covered space; these usually are those who have previously danced the Sun Dance; those who are to dance the first form;

and men prominent in the various bands. A woman seldom occupies a place on the right covered space. If a stranger, or a very old person is seen in the Dance Lodge at any time, the red marshals should investigate him, and if he cannot satisfactorily explain his presence they should expel him from the lodge, for *Waziya*, the wizard, may thus attempt to be present. A strange young man should be treated in like manner, so that *Iktomi* may not play his tricks during the ceremony.

INSTALLATION OF THE DANCERS.

When the Dance Lodge is occupied, the Superior may harangue concerning the Sun Dance and then he should fill and light a pipe and pass it so that all in the lodge may smoke in communion, and while doing so, the attendants should make a fire of buffalo chips on the altar. The Superior should make an abundant incense of sweetgrass on this fire. Thus, all will be harmonized with the potency of the Buffalo God that should prevail during the ceremony. Then the Superior should command the Candidates to stand and be made dancers. They should stand, and the Mentors should each give the whistle to his Candidate and tell him that when he is dancing he must continually sound the whistle and gaze at the Sun. If the Candidate is to dance the fourth form for the purpose of becoming a Shaman, his Mentor should place in his right hand a small hoop that should be bound with thongs so as to divide its enclosure into four equal parts and it may be ornamented in any manner. The Mentor should inform the Candidate in a harangue that the people can hear that this hoop is an emblem of the Sky, of the Four Winds, of time, of all things that grow, and of all things that the Lakota make that are circular; that only those who are renowned are entitled to wear, or place the hoops on their tipis; and that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to this insignum.

When these things are done the Superior should announce and the red herald should proclaim that the Candidates are now the dancers. The people ought to cheer with shouts of approbation and laud the dancers.

With this announcement the ceremonial relation of Mentor and Candidate ceases and those who were Mentors should take places with the people in the right covered space, except that the Superior continues as such and is entitled to sit at the place of honor in the Dance Lodge, but has only supervisory authority over the rites that are to be held in the lodge. From this time until the dance is completed the leader should conduct the ceremony.

THE BUFFALO DANCE.

The remaining rites are the dances, of which there must be two, though there may be others. These two are the Buffalo Dance and the Sun-Gazing Dance. These dances are divided into periods. The Buffalo Dance has four periods and the Sun-Gazing Dance must have four and may have an indefinite number of periods. A period consists of the dance proper and the intermission. The (lancing must take place while the music is sounded; an intermission is the interval between the (lancing. The leader should give the signal for the musicians to begin sounding the music for each period and the musicians should repeat the song for each period four times.

The Buffalo Dance should be danced only by those who are to dance the second, third, or the fourth form of the Sun Dance and by those who have danced this dance on some former occasion. It is danced as follows:--The leader should go to the altar and feign three times to lift the ornamented buffalo head; the fourth time he should lift it and place it on the uncovered space so that the dancers can surround it. The dancers should form in a circle about this head when the leader should signal for the music to begin and when it does, the dancers should dance the step of the Buffalo Dance. This step should be synchronous with the beat of the drum, each second beat being emphatic; at the emphatic beat the feet are alternately brought to the ground with a scraping motion. This is done to imitate the pawing of a buffalo bull in rage or defiance and to manifest a defiant bravery of the dancers equal to that of the buffalo bull. During this dance those who are to dance the Sun Dance must keep the whistles in their mouths, but should not sound them. While dancing they must gaze continually at the ornamented buffalo head. The red marshals should watch them, and if one of them ceases to gaze at this head they should admonish him; and if he persists in looking away from it they should conduct him to his robe. One thus removed from this dance loses the privilege of becoming a buffalo man. Those who dance the four periods of this dance become buffalo men. The red herald should proclaim that they are buffalo men and the people should shout and sing, lauding them with such praises as these:--"You now belong to the people of the Sun; you now will not have to pay the price when you take a woman for your wife; you now will have many children who will honor you; you now may receive a communication from the Sun."

The attendants should then each give to his dancer one of the buffalo tails attached to a handle and the buffalo men should sit about the dried buffalo skin and when they sing should drum on it with the tails.

PIERCING CHILDREN'S EARS.

During the next rite the musicians should remain silent and the buffalo men should sing and drum as often and when the leader deems fit. When the Buffalo men are seated about the buffalo skin the mothers should place the babes whose ears are to be pierced on the beds of sage they have prepared, and standing, should announce the names of those they have chosen to pierce the ears. Those thus named should come and stand beside the women who have chosen them. They should each have a piercing implement and a suitable block of wood. First each should harangue, reciting the deeds he has done that make him eligible to perform this rite. During this harangue the father of the babe should come and stand beside its mother and when the speech is finished the piercer should exhort the parents, telling them that this rite obligates the parents to rear the babe so that it will conform to the laws and customs of the Oglala and that the ears thus pierced signify a loyalty to these laws and customs. He should then kneel at the head of the babe and place the block under the lobe of one ear and quickly pierce it with his sharp-pointed implement. Then he should pierce the other ear in a like manner. The parents should not heed the cries of the babe until its ears have been pierced and then the mother should take it and comfort it. The mothers should announce the names of the piercers in rapid succession and they should come forward and begin their duties at once. Thus, this rite may be performed by a number simultaneously and the harangues, cries of the babes, and songs of the buffalo men, may make an exciting hubbub to which the people may add in their enthusiasm.

THE SUN-GAZE DANCE.

When this rite is over, the fourth intermission of the Buffalo Dance is completed and the buffalo men should return to their robes. The Sun-Gaze Dance should immediately follow. There are four acts in this dance: the capture, the torture, the captivity, and the escape, which should be performed in the order named. The leader should give the signal for the beginning of the first act, when the buffalo men should stand, and in rapid succession announce the name of those chosen to be captors. When practicable, the one so chosen should be a buffalo man

and be notified in advance so that he may be prepared to do his part. When his name is announced he should stand beside the one who chose him and relate the deeds that make him eligible. Thus, at one time there may be several captors haranguing, creating or augmenting the enthusiasm of the people. When the harangues are over the captors should come together a short distance from the dancers and feign discovery of the dancers as enemies. They should shout the war cry and rush upon the dancers, each grasp his dancer about the waist, wrestle with him, throw him prone, and loudly announce that he has captured an enemy. When all the dancers are thus made captive, their captors should feign to consult together, and determine to torture the captives. This ends the first act.

In the second act, the captors should each pierce the flesh of his captive and make wounds sufficient to accomplish the form of the Sun-Gaze Dance he is to dance. If he is to dance the second form, the captor should turn his captive's body face down and then grasp the skin and flesh of his back at one side of the spine, draw them out as far as possible, and pierce crosswise through the flesh with a sharp-pointed implement, so as to make a wound that the sharp-pointed stick provided may pass through; then the captor should make a like wound on the other side of the spine. If the captive is to dance the third form, his captor should grasp the skin and flesh of the captive's breast, draw them out as far as possible, and pierce through the flesh, making a wound that will permit the sharp-pointed stick to pass through it; then he should make a like wound through the flesh of the captive's other breast; then he should turn the captive so that he will be face down and make like wounds on the back over each shoulder blade. If he is to dance the fourth form, the Captor should in like manner make wounds through each of the captive's breasts. When the wounds have been made, the captors should thrust through each wound one of the pointed sticks provided with the equipment and this concludes the second act. During this act, the maidens should stand beside the captives and encourage them to bear the torture without flinching and to smile and sing a song of defiance.

The maidens may wipe the blood that flows from the wounds with wisps of sweetgrass, for the incense made of sweetgrass with such blood on it is potent to insure constancy and reciprocity in love. While the tortures are inflicted, the musicians drum, rattle, and sing a war song. The female relatives of the captives should wail as in bereavement. The captors should sing victory songs and the people may

shout or sing or ululate, so that the emotions may be wrought to a high pitch when the third act begins.

The act of captivity opens the Sun-Gaze Dance which begins with the binding of the captives, each according to the form he is to dance. If for the first form, the captor should bind to the sticks through the wounds with strong thongs as many of the buffalo heads provided as the captives chooses; if for the third form, the captor should bind to the sticks thrust through the wounds four strong thongs securely fastened to four posts, so that the dancer will be in the midst of the posts; if for the fourth form, the captor should bind the sticks through the wounds with strong thongs that are securely fastened to the Sacred Pole; or if the dancer is to dance actually suspended, the thongs bound to the sticks should pass through the fork of the Sacred Pole so that the dancer can be drawn from the ground or lowered to it. The thongs should be those provided with the equipment and should be so securely fastened that the most violent movement of the dancers will not loosen them, for if they become loosened while the dancers are dancing it is a sign that *Iktomi* has played his tricks to make the ceremony ridiculous.

There are twenty-four songs for the Sun-Gazing Dance, each of which, except the first and last, may be repeated as often as necessary to supply music for the periods. The first is the song of the captive and should be sung in slow measure, and low plaintive tones, the drum and rattles sounding gently. The last is a song of victory that should be sung only when the dance is completed and then in loud and joyous tones, the drum and rattles sounding vigorously.

When the captives are all bound, the leader should give the signal for the dance to begin and then the dancers who are to dance the first form should come upon the uncovered space and those who are to dance the fourth form actually suspended should be hoisted by the thongs until they cannot touch the ground with their feet. Then the leader should signal the musicians and they should sing the first song. The dancers should dance during the first period with a slow and gentle step, the captives, except those suspended, feigning to try their bonds. The female relatives may wail and ululate and the people may shout and encourage them to attempt an escape.

Each period, when the intermission begins, the dancers should sit or recline to rest, the suspended ones being lowered to the ground for this purpose. Then the attendants, the maidens, and the female attendants

should give the dancers such refreshment as the rite will permit. If the dancers perspire, the attendants should wipe the perspiration away with wisps of sage. If one dances far into the night, a woman who loves him may chew a little bark of the cottonwood, and mingle it with water, and in a surreptitious manner give him of this to drink and this will be connived at by the Superior.

At the signal of the leader to begin the second period, the attendants should place the buffalo tails in the hands of the captives, and the captors should feign to discover that the captives are buffalo men whom they should befriend. Then they should rush to the captives and protest that they are friends who will help them to escape from captivity. After this they are called the friends and each should remain by his dancer while he dances and should give him such aid to free him from his bonds as the rite will permit. At the signal of the leader the musicians should begin the second song and the dancers should dance as they did during the first period, but more vigorously. But they should not attempt to free themselves from their bonds until during, or after, the fourth period. The music and dancing should increase in vigor with each period and the enthusiasm of the people will probably increase in proportion until it becomes tumultuous.

The third period should be similar to the second, and the fourth similar to the third, except that while dancing during the fourth period the dancers should pull and jerk violently against their bonds and try to tear themselves free. During each of the following periods, the dancing should be similar to that during the fourth period. During each intermission, the attendants, the maidens, and the female attendants should minister to the comfort of the dancers. A dancer should dance during each period until he escapes captivity which is accomplished by being freed from his bonds. If he escapes by tearing the sticks from the wounds, he has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in the most effective manner. But a dancer may swoon before he escapes, and if he does so his friend should unfasten his bonds and take the sticks from his wounds, and then it is considered that he has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in the least effective manner. Or, a dancer may become so exhausted that he cannot make a strong effort to free himself; if so, his female relatives may throw weighty things on the thongs that bind him to tear them loose. If this does not do so, they may offer the friend a valuable present if he will aid the dancer to escape.

Then the friend may grasp the dancer about the waist and add his strength to the effort to tear the sticks from the wounds. If they succeed,

it is considered that the dancer has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in a less effective manner than if the sticks had been torn from the wounds by the dancer unaided. It is most meritorious to dance until the sticks are torn from the wounds or until the leader announces that the Sun Dance is finished.

Each dancer escapes from captivity when he is freed from his bonds and his freedom should be celebrated by the people of his band accompanying him from the Dance Lodge to his tipi, his attendant, and a maiden supporting him as he goes there.

THE SCALP-STAFF DANCE.

During any period anyone who has danced the Sun Dance to its completion may cause blood to flow from a wound on his person, lay a suitable offering to the Sun on the altar and join the dancers, dancing the first form for as many periods as he wishes. Anyone may join the singing of the songs by the musicians. During the intermission the Superior may permit haranguing, or the performance of anything not inconsistent with the Sun Dance. During the fourth intermission the Scalp-Staff dance should be given in the following manner:--Only tried warriors should dance this dance and it should be conducted by one who carries a scalp-staff. The dancers should form side by side in line from near the entrance of the Dance Lodge, across the left side of the uncovered space toward the place of honor, with the conductor nearest the entrance. The musicians should sing a scalp song, sounding the drum and rattles in time to it, and the warriors should dance without moving from the place where they stand, except that the conductor should dance from his position and along in front of the line, waving the scalp on his staff down and up in front of each warrior and then dance behind the line back to his position, waving the scalp up and down behind each warrior. Then each warrior who carries a scalp-staff should dance along the line in a like manner. While dancing, the warriors may utter the cry of "U-hu-hu-hu," as it is uttered to express intense satisfaction. They may utter it repeatedly. When all who carry scalp-staffs have danced along the line this dance is completed.

During an intermission the woman's dance ought to be danced in the following manner:--The women who wish to dance should form side by side in a line or lines where the warriors formed and the musicians should sing a woman's dance song, sounding the drum and rattles in unison with it. The women should dance the woman's step without

moving from the place where they stand. While dancing they may sing, or utter the cry of "U-wu-wu-wu," as it is uttered by women to express pleasure. When the song is sung four times this dance is finished.

COMPLETION OF THE CEREMONY.

The Sun-Gazing dance should continue until all the captives have escaped, or until the next day has dawned, when, if they have not escaped, they should be freed from their bonds and the sticks removed from their wounds, and it will be considered that they have been rescued, which is as meritorious as an escape. When all have escaped or been rescued from captivity, the leader should stand at the entrance of the Dance Lodge and announce that the Sun Dance is finished. The red herald should proclaim this announcement throughout the camp and immediately all should come out of the Dance Lodge and the organization of the ceremonial camp is terminated and the ordinary organization of the camps revived.

The marshals of the camps should require that the tipis and lodges, except the Dance Lodge, be quickly taken down and moved from the ceremonial camp circle. They may permit the people to take such parts of the Dance Lodge as they wish, but they should not permit any one to disturb the Sacred Pole. It should be left to stand with the Fetish and banner of the Shamans at its top until the Four Winds or the Winged God cast it down. When the tipis are moved from the ceremonial camp circle, each band should go its way and resume its ordinary vocations, but the individuals who have danced the Sun Dance may expect a vision in which there will be a communication from the Sun. This may be granted at any place or time before the dispersion of the next winter camp. One who danced the Sun Dance for the purpose of becoming a Shaman should choose a Shaman for his tutor and should be that Shaman's pupil until he pronounces him to be fit to have the Fetish and exercise the functions of a Shaman. Those who have danced the Sun Dance for other purposes should fit themselves for such purposes

A Shaman may alter or forbid any rite or custom pertaining to the Sun Dance, to effect either or all of the constituents. In fact, the form of the ceremony rests with the Shamans, they being the sole authority.

THE HUNKA CEREMONY.

The *Hunka* ceremony is a Lakota ceremony in which two persons adopt the *Hunka* relationship toward each other and thereby both assume a more restricted relationship with all for whom the ceremony has been performed. The term, *Hunka*,¹ expresses the relationship of each of the two persons to the other, while the term, *Hunkaya*, expresses their relationship to all others for whom the ceremony has been performed. The term, *Hunkayapi*, designates the persons for whom the ceremony has been performed.

The relationship of *Hunka* is difficult to define, for it is neither of the nature of a brotherhood, nor of kindred. It binds each to his *Hunka* by ties of fidelity stronger than friendship, brotherhood, or family. The relationship of *Hunkaya* is similar to that which the members of a society bear toward each other, but the *Hunkayapi* have no organization as a society and recognize no distinction among themselves as *Hunkaya*. *Hunka* may be a relationship somewhat like that of parent and child, when one is much older or more experienced than the other. In such case, the older is *Hunka Ate* to the younger, while the younger is simply *Hunka* to the older. If a *Hunka Ate* has the confidence of the people, they, whether *Hunkayapi* or not, may title him *Mihunka*, which indicates reverential respect.

The practice of assuming the *Hunka* relationship has existed among the Lakota since ancient times. It is probable that at first there was little ceremony other than an agreement between two persons; but that when the practice became more common the Shamans assumed control, adding rites until the ceremony assumed its present form. The most common designation of the ceremony is, "They Waved Horse-tails over Each Other." This appears to fix the time when the ceremony was given its present form, for it alludes to a prominent rite of the ceremony. According to the Oglala calendar a certain year is designated as "When They Waved Horse-tails over Each Other." The Lakota custom was to name each year according to some event that was peculiar to, or first noticeable, during that year. Therefore, it is probable that the year "When They Waved Horse-tails over Each Other" was the year when the *Hunka* ceremony was first performed with the rite of waving horse-tails over each other, or, at least, the year when this rite was first noticeable. This year corresponds to A.D. 1805. Perhaps at that time the horse was a rare animal to the Lakota and as its tail was the most noticeable feature, the Lakota considered it sacred, with the potency of sacred things, in the same manner as they considered sacred the tail of a buffalo. The old Lakota still so consider horse-tails and wave them over others to cause an amicable influence. 1

Any two persons may become *Hunka*, provided a Shaman will perform the ceremony. This proviso makes it difficult for a white man to become a *Hunka*, for the Shamans are reluctant to perform the ceremony in such cases. Any two Oglala may become *Hunka*, provided one who is entitled to paint his hands red will perform the ceremony, but the ceremony is most esteemed when it is performed by a Shaman. One who wishes to become *Hunka* should first consult with the one with whom he desires to form that relationship; or, if he wishes to become *Hunka* with a child, he should consult with the parent, or the one who controls the child. If the consultants do not agree the matter should be abandoned. If they agree, they may proceed, and, in case one of them represents a child, he should represent it during the ceremony, except in the rite of placing the mark or badge of a *Hunka*, which should be placed on the person of the child to become a *Hunka*. Having agreed to become *Hunka* they should agree as to who shall perform the ceremony. He must be either a Shaman, or one who is entitled to paint his hands red and should know the rites and how and when to perform them.

He should be notified in sufficient time to enable him to prepare for the ceremony, or if he should refuse, to choose another. When this is done, then suitable provision for the ceremony should be made. When two adults are to become *Hunka* it is expected that they will share alike in making the provision, but if an older person desires to become *Hunka* with a child, he should provide most for the occasion. The requirements are sufficient food for the feasts, articles for presents, and the material and implements used in the rites. Those who are to provide should give as liberally as is within their power, even to the extent of impoverishing themselves. Their kindred and friends should aid them, for the degree of the ceremony and the notability of the occasion is in proportion to the feasts and presents expected.

Footnotes

122:1 According to the late Rev. W. J. Cleveland, the term *hunka*, while conforming to Dakota phonetics appears to be a foreign word. This opinion of Rev. Cleveland deserves serious consideration because of his perfect familiarity with the language. The Oglala conception of the term is a kind of relation like that of a brother, father, mother, sister, or child and parent. The relationship is not exactly such as we consider fraternal, but was looked upon by the Dakota as approximately the same as blood kin. In fact, the *hunka* relationship often takes precedence over blood relationship. Now, if it turns out that Rev. Cleveland's theory is correct, then we may suspect that there is some relation between this term and

the Pawnee term, *hako*, which has been used by Miss Fletcher as the name for a similar ceremony. As just stated, there are historical reasons for believing that the Pawnee are chiefly responsible for the introduction of this ceremony to the other tribes of the Plains--Editor.

123:1 This ceremony is essentially the same as the Hako of the Pawnee of which we have a published account. It also appears to be a form of the ceremony known to early explorers as the "Waving the Calumet," though not necessarily identical with it. If 1805 is really the date for its introduction to the Oglala, then they can make no claims to its origination, except in so far as they may have modified the ritual to bring it into harmony with their own ceremonial concepts. Further, since an important part of the *Hunka* wand stick is the horse's tail and since the ceremony is sometimes spoken of as the "waving of horses' tails over one," we must infer that the ceremony took its present form since the introduction of the horse.--Editor.

EQUIPMENT FOR THE CEREMONY.

The implements required for the rites are:--

1. To be provided by the participants:
 - 2 *Hunka* wands
 - 2 rattles
 - 1 ear of corn
 - 1 fire carrier
 - 1 counting rod
 - 1 scaffold
 - 1 drum
2. To be provided by the conductor:
 - 1 ceremonial pipe
 - 1 buffalo skull with the horns attached
 - 1 fetish, or ceremonial bag

The materials to be used in the rites are:--

1. To be supplied by the participants:
 - Meat, both fat and lean
 - Sweetgrass
 - Sage
2. To be supplied by the conductor:

Cansasa, or smoking material
 Paints, red, blue, yellow, and green

The *Hunka* wands are often called the Horse-tails. Each of them should be a wooden rod about four spans long, round and tapering from the size of a man's great toe at the larger end to the size of a man's little finger at the smaller end. About one third the length from the larger end, six quills from the tail of the golden eagle should be loosely attached by their calami and shafts in such manner that when the rod is held horizontally, the quills radiate from the wand with the webs pointing from the larger end. About one third the length of the rod from the smaller end, a bunch of hair from a horse-tail should be attached, making a tassel. A similar tassel should be attached to the smaller end by binding it to the rod with buffalo hair. The rod should be painted red and may be ornamented in any additional manner.

The rattles should be globular receptacles made of rawhide about the size of a man's fist. They should contain something that will make a rattling noise when shaken, such as small pebbles, and should be attached to handles about a span long. Opposite each handle which should be wrapped with buffalo hair, an eagle plume should be attached. The handles and receptacles should be painted red.

The ear of corn should be perfect, with the husk removed, and should be rigidly bound to a wooden rod. The rod should be about three spans long, round, and about as thick as a man's little finger, one end to which an eagle plume should be attached, should project about a hand breadth beyond the tip of the ear of corn. The rod should be painted red and the ear of corn should be painted with four stripes, one each of red, blue, yellow, and green.

The fire-carrier should be a wooden rod about four spans long, round, and as thick as a man's great toe. It should be split at one end and the split held apart by a wooden wedge to make a fork with which burning coals can be lifted and carried. It should be painted red.

The counting rod should be a round wooden rod, about as long as the height of a short woman. It should be a little larger around than a man's thumb. One end should be curved through about a quarter of a circle a span in diameter and on the opposite side at the beginning of this curve there should be a protuberance of about a thumb breadth in height. The rod should be painted red.

The scaffold should consist of three round wooden rods, each about as large around as a man's finger. One should be about three spans in length and each of the others about two spans. The two shorter should each be pointed at one end and forked at the other, so that when thrust into the ground they may support the longer rod. All three rods should be painted red.

These are all the implements that are peculiar to the *Hunka* ceremony; all the other implements and materials have been described in the section on the Sun dance.

There are several essential rites peculiar to the *Hunka* ceremony. These consist of the formal uses of the wands, rattles, ear of corn, and scaffold to induce the *Hunkaya*, or *Hunka*, relationship. The other rites are common to other ceremonies. These rites, which have all been explained in connection with the Sun dance, are smoking the pipe in communion, making incense, offering the pipe to the Gods, and invoking the potency of the Buffalo God.

The conductor of the *Hunka* ceremony may add to the above-mentioned rites as many appropriate rites as he deems fitting for the occasion. Thus, the *Hunka* ceremony may range from a very simple affair to an elaborate event.

ORDER OF CEREMONY.

The following is a description of an elaborate performance of the ceremony observed by the author. Fortunately, the interpreter at the ceremony was Bruce Means, who was able to interpret the old forms of Lakota speech. One of those made *Hunka* at this ceremony gave the information relative to the preliminaries, thus enabling the author to give quotations. The informant desired to be *Hunka* with a much older and experienced man in order that the latter might be his *Hunka Ate*, therefore he proceeded in the following formal manner. He chose two friends, gave them a feast, and requested them to convey his proposition to the man he wished as his *Hunka*. He gave them presents which they took to the man, telling him what their friend wished. He accepted the presents which was the equivalent of an agreement with the desires of their friend. Then the young man gave a feast and invited his two friends and the older man to partake of it with him. After the feast, they sat in a tipi around a fire of burning coals and the older man, being a Shaman, filled and lighted a pipe in a formal manner, moving it

in circles four times over the fire and said, "Spirit Pipe we smoke this pipe to you. Let your power come to it so that the spirit in the smoke may go to the *Taku Wakan*." First he, and then the others, smoked in communion, each before smoking, moving the pipe in a circle four times over the fire, and invoking one or another of the Four Winds to grant a good day for the *Hunka* ceremony. Then the Shaman moved the mouthpiece in a circle, first pointing towards the west, then the north, east, south, and back towards the west again, and then upwards, said, "*Tate*, we offered smoke to your sons. Command them to give us a good day for the *Hunka* ceremony." The four then agreed upon the time and place for the performance of the ceremony and chose an old Shaman to conduct it.

A short time after this, the four went to the tipi of the old Shaman and there agreed upon the following organization for the ceremony. The old Shaman, by virtue of their choice, became the *Walowan*, or Conductor. He appointed a *Wowasi*, or Assistant, a *Patapaowa*, or Register, and the four agreed upon two men to have charge of the wands, two to have charge of the rattles, one to have charge of the ear of corn, and a drummer. They discussed as to whom invitation wands should be sent and such other matters relative to the ceremony as occurred to them. Soon thereafter the younger man sent invitation wands to such as were to be considered honored guests. All who wished might attend such ceremonies and would be welcomed, but only such as had received wands would be considered invited guests. In this case, the older man had little means, so the younger man and his kindred, supplied most of the provisions for the occasion. He borrowed old wands, rattles, rod, and scaffold, for old implements of this kind were considered more efficacious than new ones.

The day before the ceremony was to be performed the author went to the place where it was to be held and found many people already there, their tipis placed so as to form a camp circle. Others continued to arrive that day, and all placed their tipis in the circle. A festive spirit prevailed and that evening the people grouped according to their inclinations, some to talk, some to sing, and some to play games. After dark, an old woman went to the top of a hill and chanted a warning to the wolf to stay away from the camp, and tell its master, *Wazi*, to do so. Then she ululated shrilly several times.

THE CEREMONY.

At dawn of the next day the people were astir, preparing the morning meal, and for the ceremony of the day. As the sun appeared over the horizon, the Conductor faced it and chanted an invocation to *Wi*, invoking that God to speak for the people to *Taku Wakan*, the Gods of the weather. While he was doing so the people remained in a reverential attitude. Immediately after his invocation, women erected a large tipi to be used as the ceremonial lodge with its door toward the entrance of the camp circle, that is, toward the east. Near the south side of the area, with its door toward the south, they erected a smaller tipi to be used as the preparation tipi. On the previous day, the Conductor had appointed an *akicita*, or marshal, of the camp, and he now appeared, with three black stripes painted perpendicularly on his right cheek as the insignum of his office.

Soon after the Conductor returned to his tipi he began chanting and drumming in a low tone and continued so for some time. Then the people began to appear in gala attire, painted and decorated according to their fancies, and wearing such insignia as they were entitled to have: the *Hunkayapi*, with the red stripes on their foreheads; the buffalo women with their hair partings marked in red. When the Conductor came from his tipi his hands and body were painted red and his face was striped in red; red zigzag lines decorated his arms. These decorations were all symbolical, as explained in the section on the Sun dance regalia as the Conductor consisted of a headdress or cap made of tanned skin, to which a small buffalo horn was attached at each side so as to stand out from the head as the horns do on a buffalo. The cap was further adorned with hawk quills and strips of white weaselskin. In his right hand he held the ceremonial pipe and in his left a hawkskin. The latter was his *wasicun*, or ceremonial pouch. As he came forth, he chanted a song, the substance of which was that he was wise and powerful and could communicate with the Gods. He ordered the Assistant and the Recorder to prepare the ceremonial lodge. This they did by smoothing and levelling the *catku* and preparing an altar between it and the fireplace. They placed a stone beside the altar and a buffalo skull on it. Then they erected the scaffold at the south side of the altar. The father of the younger man brought meat, both fat and lean, and hung it on the scaffold. A drum was placed inside at the left by the door of the lodge.

When this was done the Conductor inspected the lodge and then brought from his tipi the wands, rattles, and counting rod, and gave them to those chosen to take charge of them, the Assistant having the fire carrier and the Recorder the counting rod. The Conductor then

began chanting and marching around the area inside the camp circle, a procession forming and following him in this order: first, those who were to participate in the ceremony, then the *Hunkayapi*, and finally, the people. The procession marched four times around, some of the people soberly, and others jovially talking and laughing.

THE SYMBOLIC CAPTURE.

When the procession began, the younger man and his two friends entered the preparation tipi, pulling down and tying the flap. When the procession had gone the fourth time around the circle, the Conductor said, "My friends, we have gone around the world. *Yata* has closed the door on *Wakinyan*. *Iktomi* has gone to the home of *Iya*. *Tatanka* is in the lodge." This speech was a metaphor meaning that by the formal march in every direction immunity from lightning was secured; *Iktomi*, the imp of mischief and disturber of ceremonies, was driven away; and the Buffalo, the patron God of Ceremonies, prevailed in the camp. The Conductor then went to the preparation tipi and said, "The enemy is in this tipi. Who will help me take him?" The older man who was to be made *Hunka* said, "I will."

The Conductor asked him, "Are you *Hunka*?" He replied, "I am *Hunka*." Then the Conductor cried in a loud voice, "*Hunka* must die for each other." He then said, "We will capture the enemy." He rushed to the door of the tipi, cut the strings that tied the flap, and he and the older man went in hurriedly. In a few moments, they came out leading the younger man by the arms, the Conductor singing the song of a returning warrior. They led the younger man toward the ceremonial lodge, singing as they went. The people followed them, some joining in the song. When they came to the lodge the Conductor said, "We will kill the enemy but if anyone will take him for *Hunka* we will not kill him." The older man said, "I will take him for my *Hunka*. Take him into the lodge." The older man conducted the younger into the lodge and sat him between the altar and the fireplace, facing the altar.

As many as the lodge would accommodate then entered it and seated themselves in the following order: the Assistant at the right of the *catku* and the Recorder at the left of it; men *Hunkayapi* on the right side of the lodge and women *Hunkayapi* on the left; the drummer beside the drum and the bearers of the rattles in front of him. At the right of the Assistant, and in front of the women, were first, the bearer of the ear of corn and next at his right the bearers of the wands. The people who

could not have seats inside sat in a circle before the door of the lodge, the men together on the north side and the women on the south. While the people were arranging themselves, the Conductor stood beside the door and sang:--

"The meadow lark my cousin.
A voice is in the air."

He repeated this song four times. Like all the ceremonial songs of the shamans, this is figurative. It is explained as follows: To the Lakota, the meadow lark is the symbol of fidelity, just as among English-speaking people the dove is the symbol of peace. By claiming relationship to the lark the Shaman claimed power to influence for fidelity. By saying, "A voice is in the air," he implied that the influence for fidelity pervaded the camp. Such vague and indefinite expressions were common among the Lakota and though they are difficult of interpretation, they were comprehended by them.

INCENSE AND THE PIPE.

When the Conductor ceased singing this song he entered the lodge and sat at the *catku*. He then filled and lighted a pipe in the formal manner and handed it to the Assistant, who smoked and passed it to the younger man, who also smoked and passed the pipe. It was passed until all in the lodge had smoked in communion, the Conductor smoking last. He emptied the residuum in the pipe carefully beside the *catku* and said, "The grandfather, the father, and the sons are with us. The Earth and the Buffalo are in this lodge. We have smoked together as friends, and the spirit of the pipe has gone up to the Great Spirit. I will now make incense to drive away the evil powers." The meaning of this address is that all the Gods above the world were with them and that those on the world, the Earth and the Buffalo, were in the lodge; that the potency of the mediating God, *Wohpe*, which abides in the smoke of the pipe, had gone from all in the lodge to the Great Spirit and would propitiate Him. ,

The Conductor then handed the fire carrier to the Assistant and the counting rod to the Recorder, and commanded the Assistant to bring fire. He brought burning coals and placed them together on the fireplace, using the fire carrier to handle the fire. The Conductor then made incense by first sprinkling sage and then sweetgrass on the fire. While he was doing this, the Assistant arranged the buffalo skull on the

altar, propping it up with the stone that had been placed beside the altar, so that it faced the *catku*.. Then the Conductor filled the ceremonial pipe with *cansasa*, and the Assistant brought a burning coal on the fire carrier and held it so as to light the pipe. The ceremonial pipe is lighted in this formal manner in order that the potency of the sun, which abides in the fire, may be with the potency of the mediator, which abides in the smoke of the pipe. As the Conductor smoked the ceremonial pipe he said, "Grandmother, you have not taken the horns from this skull. The spirit of the buffalo still watches for *Anpeo*. We will honor these horns."

The Shamans usually addressed the Goddess, the Earth, as Grandmother, It was taught that when the horns fall from the dried skull of a buffalo this Goddess has taken them from it; that the spirit of the buffalo abides in the skull as long as the horns remain on it; that the spirit of the buffalo is as one with the God, the Buffalo; that the God, the Buffalo is the comrade of the God, the Sun, and is most pleased when in His light. *Anpeo* is the *akicita*, or forerunner, of the sun. It is the red aurora. With this explanation the allusive meaning of the address may be comprehended.

THE MEAT OFFERING.

While the Conductor was smoking, the Assistant arranged the meat on the scaffold, the lean meat at one end, the fat at the other. Then the Conductor addressed the skull and said, "*Hunka* of *Tatanka*, this meat was yours, but you gave it to me. If there is any part of it that you wish, tell us and we will give it to you." In this address it is assumed that the meat is the flesh and fat of a buffalo. The spirit in the skull is addressed as *Hunka* of *Tatanka*, the Buffalo God. The allusion is to the doctrine that the Buffalo God caused the spirits of the buffalo to give their meat to the Lakota; and that when a buffalo was killed for its meat, a portion should be left as an offering to propitiate the spirit.

The Conductor then sprinkled a powder on the meat and said, "My medicine is good. It will make this meat sacred." He then gave the Assistant sweetgrass and he made incense by sprinkling it on the fire. Over this incense the Conductor prayed as follows:--"Great Spirit be with us this day; West Wind, keep the Winged God in your tipi this day; Sun, we ask that You keep *Iktomi* and *Anog Ite* from this camp this day." The doctrine is that the God, the West Wind, is the comrade of and has controlling influence over the Winged God, whose voice is thunder, and the glance of whose eye is lightning; that *Iktomi* is an imp

of mischief who delights in making ceremonies of no effect and *Anog It* is a double, or two-faced woman who foments discord and licentiousness.

Then the Conductor addressed the people and said, "I am a Shaman. I know how to wave the horse-tails as did our grandfathers. I will do it that way now. The young people forget how to do this. Shamans will soon be cold and hungry. This young man wishes to be *Hunka*. I will make him *Hunka* as our grandfathers were made *Hunkayapi*. The Sun looks on us and the Wind is pleased. The Wolf has gone to the hills. The Earth and the Rock and the Buffalo are in this lodge. These Gods will help me make this young man *Hunka*."

It was taught that the wolf and coyote were the accomplices of *Iktomi* and *Wazi*, the wizard, and did their bidding. The allusive meaning of the latter part of the address is that the Chief of the Gods, the Sun is favorable; the principal God controlling the weather, the Wind; was propitiated; that the accomplices of the mischievous beings had fled from the camp; that the potencies of the Great God, the Earth, were in the altar, and that of the great God, the Rock in the stone on the altar, and that of the *Taku Wakan*, or Relative God, the Buffalo in the buffalo skull, were present in the lodge.

PRONOUNCING THEM HUNKA.

The Conductor then carefully emptied the ceremonial pipe on the chopping board which accompanies the ceremonial pipe and gave it to the Assistant, who put the residuum on the fire. This must be done in a formal manner whenever a ceremonial pipe is smoked, for it was considered a sacrilege to dispose of the residuum in a ceremonial pipe in such a manner that it might be trodden under foot. The Conductor then formally filled the pipe with *cansasa*, and lighted it as before, and standing in the door of the lodge, pointed the mouthpiece toward the sun, and said, "Grandfather, we will bring you a grandson this day." This alludes to the custom of the *Hunkayapi*, who often addressed the Great God, the Sun, as Grandfather, thus indicating that He is the patron God of the *Hunkaya* relationship; and the address meant that another *Hunka* would be made that day. The Conductor then sat at the *catku* and gave sweetgrass to the Assistant who made incense with it. The Conductor then addressed the younger man, saying, "I will now make you a *Hunka*. I will teach you how to live as a *Hunka*. These men

before you whose bodies are painted red are *Mihunkayapi*. They will be *Hunkayapi* to you. When they speak your ears should be open."

Then each of the seven *Mihunka* present made a speech, the substance of each speech being commendation of *Hunkaya*, or a statement of the obligation of a *Hunka* to his *Hunka* and to the *Hunkayapi*, the substance of the latter being that a *Hunka* should give preference to his *Hunka* above all others of mankind, and that they should be willing to give anything to, or do anything for, each other; that they should listen to the Shamans so that they may please all the Gods; that if the *Hunkayapi* do this it will please the Gods, and They will give success in forays against the enemy to get women or horses; that when they seek the enemy the women will sing their songs in their praise; that their offerings to the Rock will please the Earth and the Buffalo, and They will give industrious women who will bear many children; that the Great Spirit will direct their arrows, and harden their shields, and put breath in their horses when they are old; that the Buffalo will provide them with robes and moccasins, and a place of honor in their tipis and that their spirits shall not wander over the world.

An explanation of the allusive portions of these addresses is that before going on a foray each Lakota should compose a song which will be known as his song. If he does a notable thing, then the women will sing his song as a meed of praise for him; that before going on such a foray each one should make an offering to the Rock, the patron God of success in war, and this will propitiate the Earth, the patron God of fertility, and the Buffalo, the patron God of nuptials and fecundity; that the Great Spirit is the God that gives movement to anything that moves, and controls the direction of a movement, and He also gives vitality to everything that breathes. The Buffalo is also the patron God of the chase and of providing. The doctrine is, that the spirit of a man that is adjudged unworthy to go to the spirit world, is condemned to wander forever over the world.

During all these rites the people were quiet and attentive. When the *Mihunkayapi* ceased speaking there was an intermission of about half an hour, during which some of the women began preparation for the feast.

WAVING THE WANDS.

The Conductor reëntered the lodge and sitting at the *catku* sang this song:

"Kindred sacred are coming,
They come toward me.

Kindred sacred are coming,
They come from the west."

An interpretation of this song is that the influences of the relationship of *Hunkaya* were coming to the Shaman from the west. The doctrine is that quite all that are sacred come from the west. As he sang, most of the people resumed the places they had occupied during the preceding rites and then the Conductor filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before and the Assistant made incense of sweetgrass. When he had smoked and emptied the pipe the Conductor said, "The smoke of the pipe goes to our sacred brothers and they will carry it to the Buffalo God who will be pleased with the odor of the sweetgrass." The sacred brothers here spoken of are the Four Brothers, the Four Winds, who are the messengers of the Gods.

The Conductor then bade the bearers of the wands to stand and wave them over the younger man and as they did so he said, "These horse-tails are sacred. Our grandfathers made them. The influence of the Sun is in the eagle quills and of the Great Spirit is in the horsehair attached to them. When one is made *Hunka* these tails are waved over him. Their influence will do him good. It will cause him to remember his *Hunka* and the *Hunkayapi*. It will shield him from the Winged God so that he will not be made a *Heyoka*. The South Wind gave the horse-tails and He is pleased this day. I will wave the horse-tails over you." This address is in accordance with the doctrine that the *Hunka* ceremony is of ancient origin and has the approval of the Chief of the Gods and the Great Spirit so that They influence the relationship of *Hunkaya* and will shield a *Hunka* seeing the person of the Winged God and prevent his becoming a *heyoka* and forever after speak and act in an anti-natural manner: that the South Wind, Who is the prevailing God of good weather, shows His pleasure by granting a bright and pleasant day.

The Conductor then filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before, and standing between the fireplace and the altar, facing westward, he extended the mouthpiece toward the west, then holding it horizontally, he moved it in a circle until it was extended toward the north, where he paused for a moment; and in the same manner he moved the mouthpiece and extended it towards the east, the south, and the west again. He then bowed low and held the pipe with its mouthpiece

extended toward the sun and said, "Grandfather, we have offered the spirit of the smoke to Your messengers and to the West Wind by whose tipi You will go. . They will tell You that we will bring You a younger son this day." This address alludes to the doctrine that the West Wind has His tipi on the top of the high mountain at the edge of the world where the Sun passes when His daily journey is done.

The Conductor then took the wands and waved them over the young man. As he did so, he sang a song and the drummer sounded the drum in unison with the singing. Some of the people joined in singing the song. The substance of the song was that the influences in the wands would pass to the younger man and make him *Hunka*. The Conductor then sat at the *catku* and addressed the younger man as follows: "My grandson, these *Mihunkayapi* are painted red to please the powerful one, the Sun. They have told you how *Hunkayapi* should live. If you will do as they have done, the women will sing your song in praise of you. The *Hunkayapi* will be as brothers to you. Your robe will be good and your moccasins new. You will know what offerings to make to the Rock when you see the red stripe on a stone. The Gods will give you eagle quills. The Buffalo will cause your women to be industrious and to bear many children. The Gods will protect you in war. They will keep your women and children from the enemy. If you listen to the Buffalo He will aid you in the chase so that you will have plenty of meat and robes and so that the wolf will be afraid of you. I sought a vision and the Bear God spoke to me. This is what I saw:--A blue horse and eagle quills; women singing in a circle; the council lodge; a large robe with a buffalo cow painted on it. This is what the Bear said to me:--'The young man should have the horse-tails waved over him; he will provide for his women and children; he will be brave and truthful and the people will listen to him; he will have plenty and give freely; he shall never cut the nose of his woman. My grandson; I have prepared a fetish. I will give it to you. If you will be controlled by its potency, it will be thus with you. This fetish has the potency of the Bear. He told me how to make it. Then I asked the Bear what he would tell me. Standing like a man He said, '*Iya* and *Iktomi* are traveling.' I will explain this to you. If you are lazy or a coward you will sleep with the coyotes. You should not cut your woman's nose. No woman will gash her flesh for you. The buffalo will laugh at you. If you tell lies *Iktomi* will trick you. *Anog Ite* will show you both her faces. Your women will stiffer and your babes will have pains in their bowels. But if you listen to the Shamans the South Wind will stay with you. If you laugh at the Shamans, *Wazi* will stay with you. I will now wave the horsetails over you."

He waved the wands over the younger man and then over each one in the lodge. Then he took the rattles, one in each hand, and said, "These rattles are sacred. The color of the Sun is on them. The color of the Earth is on them. The influence of the Gods is in them. Their rattle calls the spirits. The plume makes them potent." He then sang a song without words, shaking the rattles in unison with the music. The drum was sounded in unison with the rattles and some of the people joined in singing. The Conductor shook the rattles, first over the younger man and then over each one in the lodge. He then sat at the *catku* and said, "The spirit of the buffalo is *Hunka* to all who are of the *Hunka* ceremony. It should now be pleased."

As are most formal speeches by the older Oglala, this address is largely figurative, so that to comprehend it one must understand something of the doctrines of the Lakota and be somewhat acquainted with their figures of speech. These doctrines hold that the color red is a symbol of both the chief of the Gods and of all things sacred and that it has in itself a potency which, when it is formally applied to anything, dedicates it to some good purpose. Applied to a person as a rite of a ceremony it devotes the person to the objects of the ceremony; applied to things connected with a ceremony it consecrates them to the ceremony. Thus, the *Mihunkayapi* whose bodies were painted red were devoted to the *Hunkaya* and their council could be relied upon. Red paint on a stone consecrates it and makes of it an altar on which may be placed offerings to the God, the Rock, which one should make when about to undertake some dangerous deed. The expression, "The Gods will give you eagle quills," alludes to the custom that if one is about to undertake some daring exploit he should provide himself with eagle quills, so that if he is successful in his undertaking, and it is such as will entitle him to wear eagle quills, he will possess them; the only way of honorably possessing eagle quills for this purpose is to pluck them from a living eagle. To do this required the aid of the Gods. These doctrines hold that Shamans are vicars of the Gods and can communicate with Them relative to any matter; that they can interpret communications from the Gods, which usually are in mystic form, and that their interpretation is authoritative.

The expression, "A blue horse and eagle quills" means a war horse with a decoration of eagle quills and it implies that if the one addressed goes to war he will have the success that will entitle him to wear eagle quills as an insignum. "Women singing in a circle" alludes to the custom of the women who stand in a circle when they sing a man's song in his praise, and implies that they will do so for the one addressed. The expression, "The council lodge" implies that the one addressed will be so honored

that he will be a councilor for his band. The expression, "A large robe with a buffalo cow painted on it" alluded to a custom of the women that when one had made an unusually large or fine robe she would seek a vision and then paint on the robe a device or figure to represent the communication she received in the vision, thereby imparting to the robe a potency agreeing with the vision. If the robe were given to another, and the secret of the communication told to the one receiving it, the potency remained operative in the robe. The figure of a buffalo cow thus painted on a robe indicates that the wearer, or the wearer's women will have offspring.

The implication is that the one addressed will be abundantly provided with clothing and his woman will bear children. The purport of the address is that the Bear God first showed to the Shaman that which indicated an honorable future and then told what must be done to attain this future, the last of which is, "He shall never cut the nose of his woman." This alludes to the Lakota custom which permitted a man to cut off the tip of the nose of his woman if she was unfaithful to him. The expression, "*Iya* and *Iktomi* are traveling" means that *Iya* the great God of evil, and *Iktomi*, the imp of mischief are continually going about seeking to incite mankind to deeds of evil or of shame. The term, "You will sleep with the coyotes" means you will be so impoverished that you will have no shelter to sleep in. "You should not cut your woman's nose" means that if you are in such a shameful condition you are not justified in shaming your woman. "No woman will gash her flesh for you" alludes to the custom of the woman who, when mourning for their dead, gashed their flesh so as to cause the blood to flow as a token of the sincerity of their mourning; hence, it means that if one is lazy and a coward, no woman will mourn for him when he dies. "The buffalo will laugh at you" means that a lazy one will have no success in hunting or the chase and will want for food. "*Iktomi* will trick you" and "*Anog Ite* will show you both her faces" mean that misfortune, shame, and despair will come upon the lazy one. "If you laugh at the Shamans, *Wazi* will stay with you" means that if one does not give due and proper respect to the Shamans that one will be accursed by the Gods.

rites of the buffalo skull.

When the Conductor had thus addressed the younger man he filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before, blew smoke from it into the nostril cavities of the buffalo skull on the altar, and then gave the pipe to the younger man, saying, "Smoke with the spirit of the buffalo, for

you are now as its brother. He will help you that you may have plenty of meat and hides."

As the younger man smoked the pipe, the Conductor removed the skull from the stone that supported it, placed a splotch of red paint on the stone, and then said, "We will smoke with the Rock." He took the pipe and blew smoke from it against the stone. He then gave the pipe to the younger man who also blew smoke on the stone. While he was doing so the Conductor said, "You have smoked with the Rock and He will make you strong so that you will not quickly grow weary." The Shaman then took the pipe and said, "We will smoke with our Grandmother." He then blew smoke from the pipe upon the altar and gave the pipe to the younger man who did likewise. The Conductor said, "We have smoked with the Earth and She will provide us with all things."

rites of the ear of corn.

He then emptied the pipe, putting the residuum on the fire, took the ear of corn, and thrust the rod to which it was attached, into the altar so that the rod stood upright. He said, "Our Grandmother gave us this corn. She sent it to the Lakota by the Buffalo woman. The South Wind came with her. The plume is the Buffalo. These embrace the Earth and her children are many. These things the Shaman can explain to you." He then sang this song:--

"Hunka, Hunka, Hunks, in the west.
The voice of Hunka, hear it."

An interpretation of this song is: the patron God of the ceremony in the west, the Buffalo, approves the performance of this ceremony, the younger man must heed that which is told to him and that the ceremony is to be continued.

Painting and exchanging clothing.

The Conductor then removed the ear of corn from the altar, giving it to the one who had charge of it and replaced the buffalo skull on the altar. He then took red paint from his pouch and said, "This paint is sacred for I prepared it ceremonially. Its potency is benevolent." He then gave the paint to the Recorder and told him to paint the skull. The Recorder painted a red stripe on the skull, from the right eye socket to the nasal cavity and then painted red the upper part of the stone that supported

the skull. The Conductor then gave him black paint with which he painted a black stripe parallel to and behind the red stripe on the skull. The Conductor explained that the red stripe signified that the spirit of the buffalo was *Hunka* to all *Hunkayapi* and the black stripe signified that the spirit of the buffalo was an authority among the *Hunkayapi*.

The Assistant made incense with sweetgrass and the Conductor took the lean meat from the scaffold and cutting it into bits gave it to the younger man, telling him to give it to the people, but to keep a bit for himself. He did so, and the Conductor did the same with the fat meat. When the younger man was seated after distributing the meat the Conductor bade all to eat. When the younger man had the meat in his mouth the Conductor said, "I am hungry. Give me some meat." The younger man said, "I have no meat." The Conductor said, "You have meat in your mouth. You should take it from your mouth and divide it with me." The younger man did so. Then the Conductor said, "My moccasins are old and my feet are sore." After a pause, as if waiting, he said to the young man, "You should give me your moccasins." The younger man did so. Then the Conductor said, "My body is naked and I am cold." The younger man took off his shirt and gave it to the Conductor who said, "My leggings are old and ragged." The younger man took off his leggings and gave them to the Conductor.

The Conductor then said, "My friends, this man has done as a *Hunka* should do. He has given of all that he had. He took the food from his mouth and divided it with me. He gave me his moccasins, his shirt, and his leggings, and now he is naked and has nothing. I will put the red stripe on his face for he is *Hunka*. I put this stripe on his face so that the people may see it and know that he has given all his possessions away, and know that they should give to him. I will put the stripe on his face and on the face of his *Hunka* so that they will remember this day, and when they see one in want they will give to that one."

THE SECRET CEREMONY.

He then directed that the older man who was to be the *Hunka* of the younger sit beside the younger. He did so and the Assistant and Recorder held a robe so that it hid the older and younger man from view. The Conductor took two small globular packages wrapped in deerskin, colored red, and with them in hand went under the cover. While there, he murmured something. The interpreter said that the

packages were talismans and that the Conductor was giving one to each of the *Hunka* and telling the secrets of their potency.

When the Conductor went under the cover the drummer sounded the drum and began singing in which the people joined. When this song was sung they sang another. When they ceased singing, the Assistant and Recorder removed the covering and the Conductor went and sat at the *catku*. When the two *Hunka* were exposed they were bound together with thongs, arm to arm, side to side, and leg to leg, and each had a stripe of red paint across his right cheek from forehead to chin, the older man having an additional red stripe parallel to the other, to indicate that the *Hunka* ceremony had been performed for him on a previous occasion.

The Conductor then said to the younger man, "You are bound to your *Hunka*, and he is as yourself. When you put the red stripe on your face remember this. What you have is his. What he has he will give you if you wish it. You must help him in time of need. If one harms him You should take revenge, for it is as if you had been harmed. If you have horses, or captive women, or robes, or meat, they are his as they are yours. His children will be as your children and your children will be as his. If he is killed in war you should not be satisfied until you have provided a companion for his spirit. If he takes the sweatbath or seeks a vision, you should aid him and help to pay the Shaman. If he is sick, you should make presents to the Shamans and to the medicinemen. The *Hunkayapi* are your people. If you are a true *Hunka*, they will not let you be in want. You should heed the words of your *Hunka* Ate. You should be as his son."

The Conductor arose and standing, said, "My friends, this young man is now *Hunka*."

This concluded the ceremony. The people first went from the lodge, then the two newly-made *Hunka*, bound together as they were, went to the preparation tipi and there clothed themselves in the ordinary manner. The Conductor remained alone in the lodge and through the door he was observed to wrap the implements used during the ceremony into a bundle; then he turned the buffalo skull with the horns down and pressed them into the ground; then carefully set the stone into the ground so that the painted portion was uppermost; then he destroyed the altar, extinguished the fire, and came from the lodge.

Soon the women took down the lodge, but left the skull and stone as the Conductor had placed them. These things were done because the people believed that when a tipi had been used as a ceremonial lodge, it should be used for no other purpose until after it has been taken down and set up again.

After the ceremony, there was a "give-away" of presents, with much enthusiasm, so that probably the new *Hunka* and his friends were recompensed for all they had given in preparation for the occasion. This was followed by a feast that continued far into the night.

The author was present at another performance of the ceremony when a man adopted a boy about twelve years of age. At this time no one other than the man and the boy took part in the ceremony. It was performed in a tipi erected for that purpose, in which were the altar, the buffalo skull, and the implements for the ceremony, but no stone. All told, there were eleven persons present. The man's hands were painted red and he performed the ceremony in a much abridged manner, himself doing all the rites, except that he did not hide the boy under cover, nor give him a talisman, nor bind him with thongs. The presents given were few, and the feast, small. In this case the man became *Hunka Ate* and the boy *Hunka*.

Short-bull, a Brulé chief of prominence among the Oglala, at one time waved a horse-tail over the author and placed a stripe of red paint on the author's forehead, and, with no further ceremony, declared the author his *Hunka*, and ever afterwards addressed him as such.

THE BUFFALO CEREMONY.

According to the former doctrine and practices of the Oglala, the influences that surround a young woman during her first menstrual flow will control her after life either for good or for evil, according to the preponderance of good or evil influences at this time. The Buffalo ceremony secures for the beneficiary the special care of the Buffalo God, the patron god of chastity, fecundity, industry, and hospitality, the virtues most to be desired of a woman. Therefore, it was given for a young woman soon after her first menstrual flow in order to aid the good influences that surrounded her at that time and to announce that she had arrived at woman's estate. One for whom this ceremony was performed was called a buffalo woman and had certain prestige in ceremonial and social affairs. One made a buffalo woman by this

ceremony was a very different person from a Buffalo Woman, one of the mythical people who dwell in the regions under the world.

The Buffalo ceremony is now almost obsolete among the Oglala, but certain rites relative to it are occasionally practised. It was a festal occasion similar in most details to the *Hunka* ceremony and differing from it in that a formal camp circle was not made and in the rites performed by the conductor. The father of the young woman, or, if he could not act, her nearest kinsman, supervised the preparation for the occasion and chose the one to conduct the ceremony. If he was entitled to paint his hands red he could act as Conductor, but it was preferable to have a Shaman, for the prestige of the young woman was in proportion to the notability of the ceremony and feasts. It might be either a very simple or a very elaborate occasion, depending on the ability and inclination of those having it done. The essentials of the ceremony are to invoke the spirit of the buffalo and through it secure the influence of the Buffalo God for the young woman; to impress her with the importance of resisting lasciviousness and practising hospitality. The occasion should also inculcate the virtue of liberality. The author observed the performance of this ceremony on several occasions and was permitted to be present with an interpreter and take notes at one of the more elaborate performances. The following is a description of the ceremony as it was given at that time, with explanations of some of the rites as made by the interpreter. [1](#)

Museum. In the main, the procedure was the same as stated here, but a few points of difference deserve notice. When the altar square was prepared the Shaman painted a number of red lines upon it, parallel to the north and south sides. He took up paint in his fingers and sifted it very skilfully, making a line by one movement of the hand. As he did so, he pronounced a formula, which he said signified that these were the paths of life for women. No women occupied the tipi, it being filled by men among whom the writer and his interpreter were given seats. At one point in the ceremony, the Shaman cast burrs out of the tipi, stating that thus might trouble fail these women, particularly those caused by jealousy and envy. Before the rites with the bowl and the rutting dance, the Shaman filled two handsome pipes and gave one to each girl. They left the tipi and each selected an elderly man to smoke for them. Upon their return the rutting dance and the procedure with the bowl occurred as given above. However, the girls did not remove any of their clothing and immediately upon their final withdrawal a feast of dog was brought in and served. The "canes" given the girls were painted red and tipped with buffalo wool.}

The young woman had her first menstrual flow on the fourth day of June and the ceremony was performed on the fourteenth day of the same month. Ample provision had been made for the feast and invitation wands sent to many people. The day before the ceremony many guests arrived and were camped in an irregular manner near by and others continued to come until nightfall. All were in a jovial mood, and there was visiting, games, singing, and dancing until late at night. The young woman abided alone in a large new tipi. The following paraphernalia had been provided for the ceremony:--

A buffalo skull with the horns attached.
 A new wooden bowl.
 A fire carrier.
 A drum.
 Two rattles.
 A supply of dried chokecherries.
 A supply of dried meat.
 A supply of sweetgrass.
 A supply of dried cottonwood.
 A clout and new dress for the young woman.
 An eagle plume with the quill wrapped with skin from the head of a mallard drake having the green feathers on it.

At dawn the next morning the people were astir and as the eastern sky grew red the shaman who was to conduct the ceremony came from his tipi and facing toward the east sang this song:--

"A voice, *Anpeo*, hear it.
 Speaks low, hear it."

According to the interpreter, *Anpeo* is the red aurora, the forerunner of the sun, a God who should be invoked by song to secure a pleasant day and this song was such an invocation.

Immediately, the people busied themselves with preparation for the occasion. Before the sun was up, the mother and some other women took down the tipi the young woman had occupied, but immediately set it up again. This was done because the tipi was to be used as a ceremonial lodge and no ceremony will be efficacious if a woman is present during her menstrual flow or if the influences that surround her at that time are present. Such influences remain about a tipi that a

woman has occupied during her period until it is taken down and again set up. Therefore, this tipi was taken down and the evil influences were thus driven from it and it was fit to be immediately set up and used for the ceremony.

When the mother began to take down the tipi the young woman took the bundle in which she had wrapped her menstrual discharge and went out alone and placed it in a plum tree. This was done as an offering to the Buffalo God which should be placed in a plum tree because it is the emblem of fruitfulness and hospitality preferred by the Buffalo God; also, if any person or thing should obtain possession of any portion of a woman's first menstrual discharge such a person or thing would thereby have an influence over the woman that might be exercised to cause her to do foolish or shameful things. The bundle should be so placed in a plum tree that the coyotes cannot get it, for they are often the emissaries of *Iktomi* and try to get such bundles for him so that he may have the power to make women ridiculous. Such bundles have a potency of their own and if disturbed may cause eruptive diseases of the skin and falling of the hair, in witness of which see young men with pimply faces and many coyotes without hair. Having deposited her bundle, the young woman returned to her father's cabin and remained there until she came from it for her part in the ceremony. The women set up the tipi with its door toward the east and the father of the young woman levelled the *catku* and made an altar between it and the fireplace. He then placed the buffalo skull on the altar and spread sagebrush around it and over the *catku*. Women built a fire of the cottonwood north of, but near the tipi, and this fire was kept replenished until the close of the ceremony. Cottonwood was used for this fire because this wood is repugnant to *Anog Ite*, the double or two-faced woman who incites to bickerings and licentiousness; the fire was built on the north side to ward against the approach of *Wazi*, the wizard, who might make the ceremony of no effect. While making the fire, the mother sang this song:--

"The spirit of the dry wood.
Those coming are pleased.

The spirit of the dry wood.
Wazi is going away."

The interpreter gave this as the meaning of this song:--A spirit fire made of dry cottonwood pleases the Gods. The spirit fire so made will drive

away the wizard, *Wazi*. This song was an invocation to have these things accomplished.

As the sky grew red before the rising sun, the Shaman stood facing east and said, "*Anpeo*, I am your friend. I have prepared the red paint you like best. I have mixed it with marrow fat. Tell this to *Wi* that He may be pleased. Give your potency to this paint." When the sun was rising he said, "Grandfather, look with favor on us. Command the Gods to do as we ask of Them. We will do nothing to displease You this day. Tell the West Wind that I am His friend so that He may keep the Winged God from the sky."

Then the father placed in the lodge a pipe and smoking material, the wooden bowl, chokecherries, sweetgrass and sage, the eagle plume, and the fire carrier. He then announced to the Shaman that the lodge was ready for the ceremony. The Shaman went into his tipi and donned his regalia. This was a headdress consisting of a cap made of buffalo skin with the long shaggy hair on it and a small buffalo horn attached to each side so that it would stand out from the head as buffalo horns do; from each side hung a pendant made of white weaselskins and hawk quills. From the rear hung a strip of buffalo skin with the hair on and a buffalo tail attached to it so as to come below his knees when standing. This was the formal regalia of a buffalo medicineman. His only clothing was a breechclout, leggings, and moccasins. His hands, body, and face were painted red, symbolizing his sacred powers as a Shaman; there were three perpendicular black stripes painted on his right cheek, this being the sign of his authority on this occasion. When he came from his tipi he held in his right hand his Fetish and two small wands, each having a small globular package wrapped in soft tanned deerskin attached near the smaller end; in his left hand he carried his ceremonial pipe and a staff made of chokecherry wood. He faced the sun and sang this song:--

"The Sun is going.
The Sun is going.
Traveling they go.

My kinsman is going.
My kinsman is going.
I do this thing."

The interpretation of this song was that the Sun on His daily journey dispersed the evil beings that lurk about at night and that on this journey He confirmed the mystic power of the Shaman to do his mystic work. As he chanted the song, the people gathered about and stood in respectful attitude and then he harangued them, lauding the young woman and her father, and his own proficiency as a Shaman. He then announced that the ceremony would soon begin.

The people immediately assembled in and about the lodge. The father sat at the left of the *catku* with the men at his left against the wall of the lodge to the door. The mother sat at the left of the door and the women sat at her left against the wall of the lodge to the *catku*. Those who could not seat themselves thus in the lodge sat in a circle in front of the lodge door, the men together on the north side, the women on the south.

When the people had arranged themselves the Shaman walked with slow strides to the fire at the north side of the lodge and after inspecting it sprinkled sweetgrass on it. This he did to add the potency of sweetgrass to that of the cottonwood fire in order to still further please the Gods.

He then entered the lodge and passed slowly around on the south side, deliberately scanning each woman to discover if any were present during the menstrual flow. If he had found one such he would have ordered her to retire from the lodge. He returned to the door as he came from it, so as not to pass between the altar and the *catku*, for it is a sacrilege to pass between an altar and the *catku* of the lodge. He then carefully scanned the men on the north side and if he had found one unworthy he would have ordered him to retire from the lodge. He then sat at the *catku* and gave the fire carrier to the father, who brought burning coals from the cottonwood fire and placed them at the north side of the altar, making the spirit fire there.

While he was doing this, the Shaman arranged the sagebrush around the *catku* and altar, meanwhile intoning something in a low voice. It was explained that he did this to ward off evil beings and influences. He then filled his pipe in the ceremonial manner and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. He blew smoke from the pipe into the nostril cavities of the buffalo skull and then passed the pipe to the father, who smoked and passed it. The pipe was passed until all in the lodge had smoked in communion. While the people were smoking, the Shaman painted the right side of the forehead of the buffalo skull red and then

painted a red stripe from the occiput to the middle of the forehead. This is the symbol of the Buffalo ceremony. He then placed the skull on the altar with its nostril cavities towards the fireplace and then on each side of it thrust upright into the latter, one of the small wands he had brought into the lodge. Then he made incense by sprinkling sweetgrass on the spirit fire and in a formal manner filled his ceremonial pipe and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. He then invoked the God, the Four Winds, by pointing the mouthpiece of the pipe first toward the west, and carrying it horizontally in a circle, pausing a moment at the north, east, and south. This was done because in any ceremony pertaining to the Gods, after the smoke in communion and the incense of sweetgrass, the Four Winds have precedence before all other Gods and they should be so recognized in order to propitiate them.

The Shaman then said, "My friends, we have smoked with the spirit of the buffalo, and the influence of the Buffalo God will be in this lodge." He then sang this song:-

"Buffalo bull in the west lowing.
Buffalo bull in the west lowing.
Lowing he speaks."

The explanation of this song was: The Lakota designate the rutting time of the buffalo by the term, "The buffalo bull is lowing in the west" and that the ceremony represents the buffalo during the rutting time. The Shaman then laid a bit of cloth on the skull and said, "My oldest sister, I make an offering of this robe to you."

He then directed that the young woman be brought into the lodge. Her mother led her in and seated her between the altar and the fireplace. She sat with her legs crossed, as children and men sit. The Conductor, the Shaman, then sprinkled sage on the spirit fire and said, "*Iya*, go away from this place so that this may not be a lazy woman." Sprinkling more sage on the fire he said, "*Iktomi*, go away from this place so that this young woman may not do foolish things." Again sprinkling sage on the fire he said, "*Anog Ite* go away from this place so that this young woman may not do shameful things." The fourth time he sprinkled sage on the fire and said, "*Hohmogica* go away from this place so that this Young woman may not be troubled when she is a mother." He then made incense with sweetgrass on the spirit fire and said, "Bull buffalo I have painted your woman's forehead red and have given her a red robe. Her potency is in her horns. Command her to give her influence to this young woman so that she may be a true buffalo woman and bear many

children." He then said to the young woman, "You have abided alone for the first time. The influence of the lower Gods has possessed you. You are now a woman and should be ashamed to sit as a child. You should sit as a woman sits." The young woman's mother then came and arranged the young woman so that she sat with her feet and limbs together, sidewise, as women sit.

The Conductor then said to her, "You should always sit as women sit. If you sit as men sit, your mother will be ashamed of you. Young men will say that a coyote has taken your bundle." The explanation given of this address is: if an Oglala woman sits with her legs crossed as men sit, this indicates that she is a lewd woman; and if it is said of a woman that a coyote has taken her bundle, it is equivalent to saying that she is considered a lewd woman. The Conductor then arose and walked slowly four times around the young woman, scanning her closely. Then he sat at the *catku* and said, "I sought a vision and saw the messenger of the white buffalo cow. I sang this song:--

The messenger of the buffalo in the west.
The messenger of the buffalo in the west.
I will give you a robe."

"Then the messenger said: 'A spider; a turtle; the voice of a lark; a brave man; children; a tipi smoking.' I have spoken with the Gods and I will tell you what these things mean. The spider is an industrious woman. She builds a tipi for her children. She gives them plenty of food. The turtle is a wise woman. She hears many things and says nothing. Her skin is a shield. An arrow cannot wound her. The lark is a cheerful woman. She brings pleasant weather. She does not scold. She is always happy. If a brave man takes you for his woman you may sing his scalp song and you may dance his scalp dance. He will kill plenty of game. You will have plenty of meat and skins. You will bear him many children and you will be happy. There will always be a fire in your tipi and you will have food for your people. If you are industrious like the spider; if you are wise like the turtle; if you are cheerful like the lark, then you will be chosen by a brave man, and you will have plenty and never be ashamed. These things I saw in the vision: A coyote; worn moccasins; and I heard a voice in mourning. The Buffalo God sends this message to you. If you listen to *Iktomi*, or to *Iya*, or to *Anog Ite*, then you will be lazy and lewd and poor and miserable. A brave man or a good hunter will not give a dog for you. Your robe will be old and ragged. Your moccasins will be worn and without color on them. The buffalo horns are on my head and I speak for the Buffalo God. The buffalo tail is

behind me and this makes my word sacred. I am now the buffalo bull and you are a young buffalo cow. I will show you what the bad influences would have you do. I will show you what the good influence would have you do."

He then formally filled his ceremonial pipe and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. While he smoked it the people sang a wordless song in unison with the sounding of the drum and rattles. Then the conductor formally emptied the residuum from the pipe on the spirit fire and sang this song:--

A man from the north, gave me a cane.
I told this Young woman.

She will live to be old.
Her tribe will live."

The given explanation of this song is: The man from the north is. *Wazi*, the wizard, who appears as a very old man. So when the Oglala say of a man that he is a man from the north, they mean that he is a very old man who needs help. To give a cane to an old person indicates a willingness to give such aid as may be needed. The expression, "I told this young woman" means that the Shaman has formally stated to her the rules that should govern her conduct in life. The second stanza implies that if she will observe the rules that have been explained to her, she and her offspring will live long.

Then the drum and rattles were sounded and the people began to sing a wordless song in unison with the beating of the drum. The conductor went to the door and stood a moment facing out, then he turned and began to dance toward the girl, stepping in time with the drum, and repeatedly uttering a guttural cry something like "Uh-hu-hu-ah." He danced up to and beside the young woman and back to the door. Then he danced up to the other side of the young woman in the same manner. He repeated this at each side of the young woman, the music and his step becoming more vigorous, so that at the last he was dancing in a frantic manner. Then he went outside the door and getting on his hands and knees, bellowed and pawed the ground as a bull does, then lifted his head and sniffed in different directions as if trying to locate something by scent. Then he came on his hands and knees into the lodge, lowing as he came. In this manner, he sidled against the young woman, when her mother placed a wisp of sagebrush under her arm and threw some sage in her lap. The Conductor then sidled against the other side of the young woman and the mother placed sage in a like manner under her arm on that side and threw more sage in her lap.

Then the Conductor sat at the *catku* and said to the young woman, "That is the manner in which the Crazy Buffalo will approach you to tempt you to do things

that will make you ashamed and will make your people ashamed of you. Your mother showed you in what manner you can drive away the evil things that would harm you. She will teach you how to do this. If you remember this a man will pay the price for you and you will be proud of your children. According to the interpreter, the price of a woman was the equivalent of six good buffalo robes and it was an honorable and desirable distinction for a young woman if, when a man chose her he would give this price for her. She could afterwards proudly make the boast that her man had paid the price for her.

The Conductor then took the wooden bowl and putting into it chokecherries and water, mingled them, intoning a song in a low voice as he did so. He placed the bowl on the ground and said to the young woman, "We are buffalo on the plains and this is a water-hole. The water in it is red for it is sacred and made so by the Buffalo God and it is for buffalo women. Drink from it." The young woman stooped and drank from the bowl in the manner that the buffalo drink. Then the Conductor went on his hands and knees and drank from the bowl in the same manner. Then he took the bowl in his hands and said, "My friends, this young woman gives you this red water so that you may drink of it and be her friends. Let all who are her friends drink of it." He then passed the bowl and it was passed from one to another until all had sipped from it.

Then the Conductor directed the young woman to stand and take off her dress, which she did, handing the dress to him. He spread the dress over the buffalo skull saying as he did so, "This young woman gives her dress to the buffalo women. One who needs it, may take it." After a pause, a woman from outside the lodge came and took the dress. Then the Conductor gave the young woman a bit of sage and told her to eat it; as she chewed it, he said to her, "Sage is bitter, but your mother has shown you how to use it." He then gave her a bit of sweetgrass, and bade her eat it. While she was chewing it he said, "Sweetgrass is good. It pleases the Gods. You should remember these things." He then took the wands from beside the buffalo skull and handing them to her said, "These are your Buffalo charms. You should keep them for they will keep bad influences away from you. They have the potency of the Buffalo God and of the spirit of the buffalo. They will keep the two-faced woman, *Anog Ite*, from you. They will bring you many children." He then directed the mother to arrange the young woman's hair, which she did, parting it carefully in the middle, and braiding it into two strands which she brought over her shoulders so that they would hang in front as women wear their hair, instead of behind, as a girl's hair is worn.

Then the Conductor painted red the right side of the young woman's forehead and a red stripe at the parting of her hair, and while doing so he said, "You see your oldest sister on the altar. Her forehead is painted red. This is to show that she is sacred. Red is a sacred color. Your first menstrual flow was red. Then you were sacred. You have taken of the red water this day. This is to show that you are akin to the Buffalo God and are His woman. The Buffalo God is pleased with an industrious woman. He is pleased with those who give food to the hungry. He will cause a brave man to desire her, so that he will pay the price for her. She may choose the man she desires. If he has other wives she will sit next to the

catku. They will carry wood while she mends moccasins. You are now a buffalo woman. You are entitled to paint your face in this manner."

He then tied the eagle plume at the crown of her head and said, "The spirit of the eagle and the duck will be with you. They will give you the influence of the Sun and the South Wind. They will give you many children." He then handed her a staff of cherry wood and said, "This staff is of the sacred cherry wood. It will aid you in finding plums and choke-cherries, so that you may make plenty of pemmican." He then directed the mother to remove the clout from the young woman, which she did, handing it to the Conductor, who handed it to the father, and said, "You are now a woman. The buffalo woman is your oldest sister. Go out of this lodge." He then began to intone a song without words and the young woman arose and looked confusedly about, then went from the lodge. After she had passed from the door, all the inmates of the lodge, except the Conductor, arose and went from the lodge. All assembled outside the lodge and went from it. Then the Conductor took the buffalo skull from the altar and turned it upside down, and destroyed the altar. He then took his paraphernalia and went to his tipi, removed his regalia, and then joined the people. The father harangued the people and gave a horse to the Conductor, and after this there was a general giving of presents, the presents being grouped on the ground, and the people standing in a circle about them. Each person who gave a present either harangued, or employed someone to harangue for him, calling the name of the one to receive the present, who came and took it. A number were haranguing at the same time and the people were shouting, singing, and joking, so that there was a jovial hubbub. After this there was a feast, the principal dish of which was dog meat. This feast continued until far into the night. The next forenoon the guests began their departure, but it was not considered good form for anyone to go immediately after the feast, so some lingered a day or two.

Songs for the Buffalo Ceremony.

Number 1.

A man coming from the north.
Give me a cane.
So I told this girl
She will live to be old.
And the whole tribe will live.

Number 2.

A man scratched himself beside a bank.
He proved to be a buffalo.
He said, "Young man take care for yourself.

Young man try to be straight.
It will be to your good."

Number 3.

From the rising sun I heard many voices.
And they were traveling west.
Ahead came an old man with white hair and a cane.
He said, "Good men be good.
And you will live long.
I will give a cane to the aged, and to this young
woman."

Number 4.

Where the sun goes down I saw many animals
They said to me to prepare this place.
So you will see it and live long.

The above is Antoin Herman's translation, but as the songs are in the ceremonial language of the Shamans, it is probable that a much better interpretation could be given. For instance, a better interpretation of the first line of the first song would be: "*Wazi* inspires this ceremony." In the language of the Shamans, "A man coming from the north" means the wizard, *Wazi*, who, according to their mythology, taught many ceremonies to the Lakota. All these songs are related to the Buffalo ceremony, and it requires a liberal interpretation of the concepts they express to comprehend them. In the original, the meter is adapted to the music of the Lakota.

Footnotes

141:1 in 1902 the Editor was present at a ceremony performed by a different Shaman in which there were two girls. The essential equipment for the ceremony was secured for the footnote p. 142

TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS.

In the following will be found close renderings of texts and conversations upon important concepts referred to in the preceding discussions. The author has prepared for publication a number of texts with both literal and free translations which it is hoped may, be printed

in the near future. These all deal with ceremonies and mythical concepts.

WAKAN.

(By Sword, Translated by Burt Means.)

Wakan means very many things. The Lakota understands what it means from the things that are considered *wakan*; yet sometimes its meaning must be explained to him. It is something that is hard to understand. Thus *wasica wakan*, means a white man medicineman; but a Lakota medicineman is called *pejuta wacasa*. *Wicasa wakan* is the term for a Lakota priest of the old religion. The white people call our *wicasa wakan*, medicineman, which is a mistake. Again, they say a *wicasa wakan* is making medicine when he is performing ceremonies. This is also a mistake. The Lakota call a thing a medicine only when it is used to cure the sick or the wounded, the proper term being *pejuta*. When a priest uses any object in performing a ceremony that object becomes endowed with a spirit, not exactly a spirit, but something like one, the priests call it *tonwan* or *ton*. Now anything that thus acquires *ton* is *wakan*, because it is the power of the spirit or quality that has been put into it. A *wicasa wakan* has the power of the *wakan* beings.

The roots of certain plants are *wakan* because they are poisonous. Likewise some reptiles are *wakan* because if they bite they would kill. Again, some birds are *wakan* because they do very strange things and some animals are *wakan* because the *wakan* beings make them so. In other words, anything may be *wakan* if a *wakan* spirit goes into it. Thus a crazy man is *wakan* because the bad spirit has gone into him.

Again, if a person does something that cannot be understood, that is also *wakan*. Drinks that make one drunk are *wakan* because they make one crazy.

Every object in the world has a spirit and that spirit is *wakan*. Thus the spirit of the tree or things of that kind, while not like the spirit of man, are also *wakan*.

Wakan comes from the *wakan* beings. These *wakan* beings are greater than mankind in the same way that mankind is greater than animals. They are never born and never die. They can do many things that mankind cannot do. Mankind can pray to the *wakan* beings for help.

There are many of these beings but all are of four kinds. The word *Wakan Tanka* means all of the *wakan* beings because they are all as if one. *Wakan Tanka Kin* signifies the chief or leading *Wakan* being which is the Sun. However, the most powerful of the *Wakan* beings is *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit who is also *Taku Skanskan*; *Taku Skanskan* signifies the Blue, in other words, the Sky.

Iya is a *Wakan Tanka*, but he is an evil *Wakan Tanka*. Mankind is permitted to pray to the *Wakan* beings. If their prayer is directed to all the good *Wakan* beings they should pray to *Wakan Tanka*; but if the prayer is offered only to one of these beings, then the one addressed should be named.

Wakan Tanka is pleased with music. He likes to hear the drums and the rattles. When any of the *Wakan* beings hear the drum and the rattles they always give attention. He is also fond of the smoke of sweetgrass and evil *Wakan* beings are afraid of the smoke of sage. All of the *Wakan* both the good and evil, are pleased with the smoke of the pipe.

The *Wicasa Wakan* or priests, speak for all the *Wakan* beings. *Wakan Tanka* gives them the power that makes them *Wakan* and by which they can put *ton* into anything. Each priest has an object for himself into which *ton* has been put. This is called a *Wasicun*. A *Wasicun* is one of the *Wakan* beings. It is the least of them, but if its *ton* is from a powerful being it may be more powerful than many of the *Wakan* beings. This *Wasicun* is what the priests do their work with, but the white people call it the medicine bag, which is a mistake, for there are no medicines in it. A medicine bag is a bag that doctors have their medicines in. If a man has a *Wasicun* he may pray to it, for it is the same as the *Wakan* being whose *ton* (*wan*) is in it.

The earth and the rock and the mountains pertain to the chief *Wakan*. We do not see the real earth and the rock, but only their *tonwanpi*.

When a Lakota prays to *Wakan Tanka* he prays to the earth and to the rock and all the other good *Wakan* beings. If a man wishes to do evil things he may pray to the evil *Wakan*.

WAKAN TANKA.

(By Sword.)

When *Wakan Tanka* wishes one of mankind to do something he makes his wishes known either in a vision or through a shaman. . . . The shaman addresses *Wakan Tanka* as *Tobto Kin*. This is part of the secret language of the shamans. . . . *Tobto Kin* are four times four gods while *Tob Kin* is only the four winds. The four winds is a god and is the *akicita* or messenger of all the other gods. The four times four are: *Wikan and Hanwikan; Taku Skanskan and Tatekan and Tob Kin and Yumnikan; Makakan and Wohpe; Inyankan and Wakinyan; Tatankakan; Hunonpakan; Wanagi; Waniya; Nagila; and Wasicunpi*. These are the names of the good Gods as they are known to the people.

Wakan Tanka is like sixteen different persons; but each person is *kan*. Therefore, they are all only the same as one All the God persons have *ton*. *Ton* is the power to do supernatural things Half of the good Gods are *ton ton* (have physical properties) and half are *ton ton sni* (have no physical properties). Half of those who are *ton ton* are *ton ton yan* (visible), and half of those who are *ton ton sni* are *ton ton yan sni* (Invisible). All the other Gods are visible or invisible as they choose to be All the evil Gods are visible or invisible as they choose to be The invisible Gods never appear in a vision except to a Shaman Except for the Sun dance, the ceremonies for the visible and the invisible Gods differ. The Sun dance is a ceremony the same as if *Wikan* were both visible and invisible. This is because *Wi* is the chief of the Gods. . . .

CONCEPTION OF ENERGY.

(The following is a literal transcript of a conversation with Finger, a distinguished shaman, March 25, 1914.)

I heard you exclaim when a meteorite fell and heard you address the people immediately afterwards. Then I saw you burning sweetgrass. Will you tell me why you did this? You are a white man's medicineman and you want to know the mysteries of the Lakota. Why do you want to know these things?

The old Indians who know these things will soon be dead and gone and as the younger Indians do now know them they will be lost. I wish to write them so they will be preserved and your people can read them in years to come. Will you tell them to me? My father was a shaman and he taught me the mysteries of the shamans and I will tell them to you. What is it you want to know?

When the meteor fell you cried in a loud voice, "*Wohpa. Wohpe-e-e-e.*"
Why did you do this? Because that is *wakan*.

What is *wohpa*? It is what you saw. It is one of the stars falling.

What causes the stars to fall? *Taku Skanskan*.

Why does *Taku Skanskan* cause the stars to fall? Because He causes everything that falls to fall and he causes everything to move that moves.

When you move what is it that causes you to move? *Skán*.

If an arrow is shot from a bow what causes it to move through the air.
Skán.

What causes a stone to fall to the ground when I drop it? *Skán*.

If I lift a stone from the ground what causes the movement? *Skán*. He gives you power to lift the stone and it is He that causes all movement of any kind.

Has the bow anything to do with the movement of an arrow shot from it? *Taku Skanskan* gives the spirit to the bow and he causes it to send the arrow from it.

What causes smoke to go upward? *Taku Skanskan*.

What causes water to flow in a river? *Skán*.

What causes the clouds to move over the world? *Skán*.

Are *Taku Skán* and *Skán* one and the same? Yes. When the people speak to Him, they say *Taku Skanskan*. When a shaman speaks of Him, he says *Skán*. *Skán* belongs to the *wakan* speech used by the shamans.

Is *Skán, Wakan Tanka*? Yes.

Is he *Wakan Tanka Kin*? No. That is *Wi*, the Sun.

Are *Wi* and *Skán* one and the same? No. *Wi* is *Wakan Tanka Kin* and *Skán* is *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit.

Are they both *Wakan Tanka*? Yes.

Are there any other *wakan* that are *Wakan Tanka*? Yes. *Inyan*, the Rock and *Maka*, the Earth.

Are there any others? Yes. *Wi Han*, the Moon; *Tate*, the wind; *Wakinyan*, the Winged; and *Wohpe*, the Beautiful Woman.

Are there any others that are *Wakan Tanka*? No.

Then there are eight *Wakan Tanka*, are there? No, there is but one.

You have named eight and say there is but one. How can this be? That is right. I have named eight. There are four, *Wi*, *Skán*, *Inyan*, and *Maka*. These are the *Wakan Tanka*.

You named four others, the Moon, the Wind, the Winged, and the Beautiful Woman and said they were *Wakan Tanka*, did you not? Yes. But these four are the same as the *Wakan Tanka*. The Sun and the Moon are the same, the *Skán* and the Wind are the same, the Rock and the Winged are the same, and the Earth and the Beautiful Woman are the same. These eight are only one. The shamans know how this is, but the people do not know. It is *wakan* (a mystery).

Did the *Wakan Tanka* always exist? Yes, the Rock is the oldest. He is grandfather of all things.

Which is the next oldest? The earth. She is grandmother of all things.

Which is next oldest? *Skán*. He gives life and motion to all things.

Which is the next oldest after *Skán*? The Sun. But He is above all things and above all *Wakan Tanka*.

Lakota have told me that the Sun and *Taku Skánskan* are one and the same. Is that true? No. Many of the people believe that it is so, but the

shamans know that it is not so. The Sun is in the sky only half the time and *Skan* is there all the time.

Lakota have told me the *Skan* is the sky. Is that so? Yes. *Skan* is a Spirit and all that mankind can see of Him is the blue of the sky. But He is everywhere.

Do you pray to *Wakan Tanka*? Yes, very often.

To which of the eight you have named do you pray? When I pray I smoke the pipe and burn sweetgrass and *Wohpe* carries my prayer to the *Wakan Tanka*. If the prayer is about things of great importance, it is carried to the Sun; if about my health or my strength it goes to *Skan*; if about my implements, to *Inyan*; if about food or clothing and such things, to the Earth.

Are such prayers ever carried to the Moon, or the Wind, or the Winged, or to *Wohpe*? They may be carried to the Moon and to the Wind; but this is the same as if to the Sun or *Skan*. Lakota do not pray to the Winged. They defy Him. They do not pray to *Wohpe*, for She carries all prayers. The Lakota may pray to any *Wakan*, but if to a *Wakan* that is below *Wakan Tanka*, such must be named in the prayer and it will be carried to the one named.

You say *wohpa* is a falling star. Is *Wohpe* in any way related to a falling star? She first came like a falling star.

Where did she come from. From, the stars.

What are the stars? *Waniya*.

What are *waniya*? They are ghosts. *Skan* takes from the stars a ghost and gives it to each babe at the time of its birth and when the babe dies the ghost returns to the stars.

Is *Wohpe* a ghost? She is *Wakan Tanka*. A ghost is *Wakan*, but it is not *Wakan Tanka*.

Has a Lakota ever seen *Wohpe*? Yes. When She gave the pipe to the Lakota She was in their camp for many days.

How did she appear at that time? Like a very beautiful young woman. For this reason the people speak of Her as the Beautiful Woman. The people do not speak of Her as *Wohpe*. Only the shamans call her that.

Lakota have told me that Her *ton* is in the pipe and in the smoke of the sweetgrass. Is that true? It was a shaman who told you that. When the people say *ton*, they mean something that comes from a living thing, such as the birth of anything or the discharge from a wound or a sore or the growth from a seed. Only shamans speak of the *ton* of the Wakan. Such *ton* is *wakan* and the shamans only know about it. The people are afraid to talk of such *ton* because it is *wakan*. The people smoke the pipe and burn sweetgrass because *Wohpe* will do no harm to anyone.

You say the Rock is the grandfather of all things and the Earth the grandmother of all things. Are the Rock and the Earth as a man and wife? Some Shamans think they are, and some think they are not.

Who were the father and mother of all things? The, *Wakan* have no father or mother. Anything that has a birth will have a death. The *Wakan* were not born and they will not die.

Is anything about a Lakota *wakan*? Yes. The spirit, the ghost, and the *sicun*. Do these die? No. They are *wakan*.

What becomes of them when the body dies? The spirit goes to the spirit world, the ghost goes to where *Skan* got it, and the *sicun* returns to the *Wakan* it belongs to.

What is the *sicun*? It is the *ton* of a *Wakan*. *Skans* gives it at the time of the birth.

What are its functions? It remains with the body during life, to guard it from danger and help it in a *wakan* manner.

How does the spirit get to the spirit world? It goes on the spirit trail.

Where is the spirit trail? It can be seen in the sky at night. It is a white trail across the sky.

Is it made of stars? No. It is like the clouds, so that nothing but *wakan* can travel on it. No man knows where it begins or where it ends. The

Wind alone knows where it begins. It moves about. Sometimes it is in one direction and sometimes in another.

How does the ghost go to the place where *Skan* got it? The ghost is like smoke and it goes upward until it arrives at the stars.

What becomes of the body when it dies? It rots and becomes nothing.

THE CONCEPT NI.

(By Sword.)

A man's *Ni* is his life. It is the same as his breath and that which gives him his strength. It is the *Ni* which keeps the inside of a man clean. If the *Ni* is weak, he cannot perform this office and if it goes away the man dies. *Niya* is the ghost or spirit which is given to a man at birth and is that which causes the *Ni*. The Lakota have a ceremony which they call *Ini kaga* or *Inipi*. The white people call it taking a sweat bath. The idea of the Lakota is that the *Inipi* makes man's spirit strong so that it may cleanse all within the body and so that the *Ni* may drive from his body all that makes him tired or that causes disease or that causes him to have evil thoughts. The ceremony must be performed in a *ini ti* or what the white people call a sweatlodge. The *ini ti* must be made according to Lakota custom; otherwise, the ceremony would be of no avail.

Wowihanble is the name for a supernatural communication. It is what the white people call a holy dream or vision. In former times, if a man wished to know the will of his god he sought a vision. The term for this is *ihanblapi*. To seek such a vision a Lakota must think about it all the time, but first strengthen his spirit by the *inikaga*.

INVOCATION BY A SHAMAN.

The invocation and its explanation were given in Lakota by Sword and interpreted by Thomas Mills.

Before a Shaman can perform a ceremony in which mysterious beings or things have a part, he should fill and light a pipe and say:--

"Friend of *Wakinyan*, I pass the pipe to you first. Circling I pass to you who dwell with the Father. Circling pass to beginning day. Circling

pass to the beautiful one. Circling I complete the four quarters and the time. I pass the pipe to the Father with the Sky. I smoke with the Great Spirit. Let us have a blue day."

The pipe is used because the smoke from the pipe smoked in communion has the potency of the feminine god who mediates between godkind and mankind, and propitiates the godkind. When a Shaman offers the pipe to a god, the god smokes it and is propitiated. In this invocation, when the Shaman has filled and lighted the pipe he should point the mouthpiece toward the west and say, "Friend of *Wakinyan*, I pass the pipe to you first." Thus, he offers the pipe to the West Wind, for the West Wind dwells in the lodge of *Wakinyan* and is his friend. The pipe should be offered to the West Wind first, because the birthright of precedence of the oldest was taken from the first born, the North Wind, and given to the second born, the West Wind, and the gods are very jealous of the order of their precedence.

When he has made this offering the Shaman should move the pipe toward his right hand, the mouthpiece pointing toward the horizon, until it points toward the north. Then he should say, "Circling, I pass to you who dwells with the grandfather." Thus, he offers the pipe to the North Wind, for because of an offence against the feminine god, the Great Spirit condemned the North Wind to dwell forever with his grandfather, who is *Wazi*, the wizard. Then the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner, until the mouthpiece points toward the east and should say, "Circling pass to beginning day." This is an offering to the East Wind, for his lodge is where the day begins and he may be addressed as the "beginning day." Then the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner until the mouthpiece points toward the south, and say, "Circling, pass to the beautiful one." This is an offering to the South Wind, for the "beautiful one" is the feminine god who is the companion of the South Wind and dwells in his lodge, which is under the sun at midday. It pleases the South Wind to be addressed through his companion rather than directly.

The Four Winds are the *akicita* or messengers of the gods and in all ceremonies they have precedence over all other gods and for this reason should be the first addressed.

When the offering has been made to the South Wind the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner until the mouthpiece again points toward the west, and say, "Circling I complete the four quarters and the

time." He should do this because the Four Winds are the four quarters of the circle and mankind knows not where they may be or whence they may come and the pipe should be offered directly toward them. The four quarters embrace all that are on the world and all that are in the sky. Therefore, by circling the pipe, the offering is made to all the gods. The circle is the symbol of time, for the daytime, the night time, and the moon time are circles above the world, and the year time is a circle around the border of the world. Therefore, the lighted pipe moved in a complete circle is an offering to all the times.

When the Shaman has completed the four quarters and the time he should point the mouthpiece of the pipe toward the sky and say, "I pass the pipe to the father with the sky." This is an offering to the Wind, for when the Four Winds left the lodge of their father, the Wind, he went from it. and dwells with the sky. He controls the seasons and the weather, and he should be propitiated when good weather is desired,

Then the Shaman should smoke the pipe and while doing so, should say, "I smoke with the Great Spirit. Let us have a blue day."

To smoke with the Great Spirit means that the one smoking is in communion with the Great Spirit. Then he may make a prayer. The prayer here is for a blue day. Ordinarily, a blue day means a cloudless or successful day. When a Shaman formally prays for a blue day, it means an enjoyable day and an effective performance of a ceremony.

SICUN.

(By Sword.)

The word *Sicun* is from the sacred language of the shamans. It signifies the spirit of a man. This spirit is given to him at birth to guard him against the evil spirits and at death it conducts him to the land of the spirits, but does not go there itself. In the course of his life a man may choose other *Sicun*. He may choose as many as he wishes but such *Sicun* do not accompany him after death; if he has led an evil life no *Sicun* will accompany him.

A shaman should direct a person in the choice of his *Sicun*. When the Lakota chooses a *Sicun* such is the *Ton* of a *Wakan* or it may be the *Ton* of anything. When one chooses a *Sicun* he should give a feast and have a shaman to conduct the ceremony, for no one can have the knowledge

necessary to conduct his own ceremony unless he has learned it in a vision. One's *Sicun* may be in any object as in a weapon or even in things to gamble with or in a medicine. But the *Sicun* that a man receives at birth is never found in anything but his body. This *Sicun* is like one's shadow.

No one ever had the *Ton* of the Sun for a *Sicun*, for the Sun will not be a *Sicun* for anyone. On the other hand, the *Ton* of the Sky, while a very powerful *Sicun*, may be secured through old and wise shamans. The *Sicun* of the earth is the next most powerful and next in rank is the *Sicun* of the rock. The *Sicuns* of the bear and the buffalo are often chosen; but that of the bear more frequently. A Shaman's *Wakan* bag is his *Sicun* and all *Sicun* are considered *Wakan*. A doctor's medicine is his *Sicun* and the implements used by a shaman in any ceremony are the *Sicun* of that shaman. Implements that are in such *Sicun* will not be appropriate in a ceremony. A person may lend his *Sicun* to another. The term *Wasicun* is applied to any object used as a *Sicun* or it may represent anything which is *Wakan*. If a ceremony by which one gets a *Wasicun* is performed in the most acceptable manner that *Wasicun* will be the same in essence as the *Wakan* thing it represents. An evil man cannot secure a good *Sicun*, but may secure an evil one. If the ceremony be performed, a *Sicun* is secured. Then that *Sicun* must do as it is directed to do by the one who chooses it; but the chooser must know the songs that belong to it.

SICUN.

(As explained by One-star, July 8th, 1897 and interpreted by Elmer Red-eyes.)

A *Sicun* is like a spirit. It is the *ton-ton sni*, that is, it is immortal and cannot die. A Lakota may have many *Sicunpi*, but he always has one. It is *Wakan*, that is, it is like *Wakan Tanka*. It may be the spirit of anything. A Shaman puts the spirit in a *Sicun*. The Bear taught the shamans how to do this. A Lakota should know the songs and if he sings them his *sicun* will do as he wishes. One *Sicun* may be more powerful than another. The *Sicun* may be of the Great Spirit. If it is opposed by

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the *Sicun* of herbs it is the most powerful. The *Sicun* of a good spirit is more powerful than the *Sicun* of a bad spirit. The power of sweetgrass is always the spirit of the spirit that is with the south wind. This is always

pleasing to the good spirits. The bad spirits do not like the smoke of the sweetgrass. The smoke of sage will drive bad spirits away. A medicineman knows the songs of his medicines and they are his *Sicun*. The *Sicun* that has the power of the spirit should be colored. Red is the color of the sun; blue, the color of the moving spirit; green the color of the spirit of the earth; and yellow is the color of the spirit of the rock. These colors are also for other spirits. Blue is the color of the wind; red is the color of all spirits. The colors are the same for the friends of the Great Spirits. Black is the color of the bad spirits. A man who paints red is pleasing to the spirits. A *Sicun* is a man's spirit. A man's real spirit is different from his *Sicun* spirit. *Ni* is also like a spirit. It is a man's breath. It is the spirit of smoke. It is the spirit of steam. It is the spirit of the sweatlodge. It purifies the body. The bear taught these things to the shamans.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTE BY SWORD.

At the time of his death Sword was writing an autobiography from which the following has been translated.

When I believed the Oglala *Wakan Tanka* was right I served him with all my powers. I became a *Wicasa Wakan* (Shaman) and conducted all the ceremonies of the Lakota, even the Sun dance, which is the greatest ceremony of the Oglala. I danced the Sun dance to become a Shaman and because of the scars on my chest no Oglala will deny my word. I was a *pejuta wicasa* (medicineman) and belonged to the Matopi (Bears, a cult or society of medicinemen) and the Bears have all the ceremonies of other medicinemen and much more. I was a Blotaunka (leader of war parties) and have fought according to Lakota customs against the enemy, both Indians and white people, so I know all the customs of war that the Oglala practised. I was *Wakiconze* (civil magistrate) and thus know all the customs of the Oglala. I was eligible to chieftainship. In war with the white people I found their *Wakan Tanka* the Superior, I then took the name of Sword and have served *Wakan Tanka* according to the white people's manner and with all my power. I became the chief of the United States Indian Police and held the office until there was no trouble between the Oglala and the white people. I joined the church and am a deacon in it and shall be until I die. I have done all I was able to do to persuade my people to live according to the teachings of the Christian ministers.

I still have my *Wasicun* (ceremonial pouch or bundle of a Shaman) and I am afraid to offend it, because the spirit of an Oglala may go to the spirit land of the Lakota.

THE NUMBER FOUR.

(By Tyon.)

In former times the Lakota grouped all their activities by four's. This was because they recognized four directions: the west, the north, the east, and the south; four divisions of time: the day, the night, the moon, and the year; four parts to everything that grows from the ground: the roots, the stem, the leaves, and the fruit; four kinds of things that breathe: those that crawl, those that fly, those that walk on four legs, and those that walk on two legs; four things above the world: the sun, the moon, the sky, and the stars; four kinds of gods: the great, the associates of the great, the gods below them, and the spirit kind; four periods of human life: babyhood, childhood, adulthood, and old age; and finally, mankind had four fingers on each hand, four toes on each foot, and the thumbs and the great toes of each taken together are four. Since the Great Spirit caused everything to be in four's, mankind should do everything possible in four's.

THE CIRCLE.

(By Tyon.)

The Oglala believe the circle to be sacred because the Great Spirit caused everything in nature to be round except stone. Stone is the implement of destruction. The sun and the sky, the earth and the moon are round like a shield, though the sky is deep like a bowl. Everything that breathes is round like the body of a man. Everything that grows from the ground is round like the stem of a tree. Since the Great Spirit has caused everything to be round mankind should look upon the circle as sacred for it is the symbol of all things in nature except stone. It is also the symbol of the circle that marks the edge of the world and therefore of the four winds that travel there. Consequently, it is also the symbol of a year. The day, the night, and the moon go in a circle above the sky. Therefore the circle is a symbol of these divisions of time and hence the symbol of all time.

For these reasons the Oglala make their tipis circular, their camp circle circular, and sit in a circle in all ceremonies. The circle is also the symbol of the tipi and of shelter. If one makes a circle for an ornament and it is not divided in any way, it should be understood as the symbol of the world and of time. If, however, the circle be filled with red, it is the symbol of the sun; if filled with blue, it is the symbol of the sky. If the circle is divided into four parts, it is the symbol of the four winds; if it is divided into more than four parts, it is the symbol of a vision of some kind. If a half circle is filled with red it represents a day; filled with black, the night; filled with yellow, a moon or month. On the other hand, if a half circle is filled with many colors, it symbolizes a rainbow.

One may paint or otherwise represent a circle on his tipi or his shield or his robe. The mouth of a pipe should always be moved about in a circle before the pipe is formally smoked.

THE FOUR GREAT VIRTUES.

The four great virtues that all Lakota should practise are, bravery, generosity, truthfulness, and begetting children.

Bravery is the greatest virtue a Lakota can practise. If one is brave, he may transgress in many other things and still keep his tipi in the camp circle and sit in the council of the camp. A brave man is eligible to the positions of *blotaunka* (leader of a war party), *wakiconza* (magistrate or leader of civil matters), *mihunka* (elder or arbitrator) and *akicita* (marshal). His voice will be listened to with respect by everyone and all will do him honor. If he has earned the right to wear the quills of the eagle, he will be consulted in all matters relative to the common welfare, and if he may carry the scalp staff or coup stick, the women will sing songs in his praise.

Generosity is a virtue second only to bravery. A generous man will be forgiven all transgressions except that of being a coward or a liar. By giving of his possessions a man shows his generosity and by giving to the shamans he is sacrificing to the Gods and thereby gains their favor. A man who gives to the needy is respected by all. If he gives all his possessions he shows bravery and the Gods will not let him want. The Buffalo will provide for him and give him women and children and he will be successful in the chase. His spirit will go on the spirit trail endowed with many goods and he will enter the spirit world with honor and be esteemed there.

To be truthful to friends is the third great virtue that every Lakota should practise. If one is a liar his voice will not be listened to by anyone and he cannot lead in anything. Even the Gods will forsake him and the winds will hide the spirit trail from his spirit.

To beget children is a great virtue that every Lakota should practise. To have many children is pleasing to *Woniya Tanka, Skanskan*, who is the *Wanagi Tanka*. He gives the breath of life and the spirit to every child that is born alive and he judges the spirit upon the testimony given by the ghost after death. A Lakota's spirit is honored in the spirit world in proportion to the number of children he has, for he will be the chief of their spirits. The Buffalo god presides over love and the chastity and fecundity of women, and therefore a man should placate this god, and secure his favor, so that his women may bear him many children and be true to him. The Buffalo god also presides over generosity and the chase. One who has the favor of this god may have plenty of meat and robes and can be generous as well as have many children. A Lakota should beget children only with his own women, for if he violates the chastity of a woman who does not belong to him, or begets a child by such, the Buffalo god will plague him in this life and his ghost will bear testimony against him before the *Wanagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit, *Skanskan*.

THE CAUSES OF DISEASES

(Told by No-flesh)

My father was a medicine man and he knew all diseases. He knew what caused them. He could cure all diseases. He knew the best of medicines. When he was a very young man, he had a vision, in which the great bear took him to the region of the spirits. He joined the spirits in the mystery dance and they instructed him in regard to all diseases and the medicines good for them.

Sage drives away evil spirits. Sweetgrass pleases the good spirits. The influence (*Tonwan*) of the spirits is everywhere all the time. If the spirits cannot come when they are called their influence will act for them. In all sickness evil spirits should be driven away first. This may be done by making smoke with the sage. There are other things which will drive away certain kinds of evil spirits. Then when the evil spirits are driven away, the good spirits should be invoked. This may be done by singing songs. A medicineman will know What song to sing. He learns what

song to sing when he has his vision. It may be that he learns the song from someone else. It may be that his song is not good. If his song is not good, then another medicineman may be able to sing the right song. If medicinemen use the same medicines they should sing songs alike. Evil spirits cause all diseases. Good spirits do not cause diseases. The evil spirits may cause worms to enter the body. The evil spirits get into the body. They will squeeze the flesh and cause *kan-natipapi* (spasms).

Kan natipapi (Tendon drawn up) may pinch the points and cause *okihe yanzanpi* (rheumatism). *Okihe yazanpi* (joints pain) may pinch the bowels and cause *cenpi yazanpi* (colic). They may place worms in the bowels. These worms eat the bowels and this gives *kazopi* (diarrhoea). Some worms (*waglula*) do not eat the bowels. The bird medicinemen are best to treat for worms. Sometimes the evil spirits get in the head. This makes *nasu yazanpi* (brain pain, headache).

The menstrual flow of woman is very *wakan*. It will cause diseases of the skin and the genitals. Some medicinemen make medicines of this and if they invoke the right spirits it makes love medicine. The influence of menstruation will give *ticantatapi* (body numb, paralysis). The influence of the mole is bad. It gives scars and burrows under the skin (scrofula). It also causes lice.

Anog It causes pains in a man's testicles. She also gives pains to women when they are menstruating and when they are pregnant.

The *Unktehi* make boils and put bad humors about wounds. Iktomi was shooting Unktehi with a popgun when the Unktehi took an ash sprout and pushed the pith out so hard that it struck Iktomi and entered under the skin. This swelled and got hot and ached until it softened and ran out. This was the way boils first came. Since then when the Unktehi shoot anyone with the pith of an ash, it makes a boil.

Iya was very hungry because no one had died for a long time. He said to the dragonfly, "Give me something to eat for I am very hungry." The dragonfly told him to come with him, and he took him to a swampy place and said to him, "Here is where I get my food. Take what you want of it." So Iya began to catch mosquitoes and eat them. The mosquitoes said to the dragon fly, "Iya is very large and he will eat all mosquitoes and you will have no food left." Then the mosquitoes and the dragonfly said to Iya, "Come with us." He went with them down into the waters to the tip of the Unktehi and Iktomi went with them.

When they came to the tipi Iktomi said to Iya, "What would you like to eat?" Iktomi had deceived Iya so often that he said, "Now I will tell the opposite of what I mean." So he said, "I like meat best and fat meat better still, but I will starve if I have only ghosts to eat. So Iktomi said to the Unktehi, "We must play a joke on Iya. He says he likes meat the best and that he will starve on spirits of men. So we must make him believe that he will get meat and make it so that he will get ghosts only."

So the *Unktehi* and the dragon fly made a little worm, took it to Iya and told him to put it in the water. When anyone drank the water they would die and he would have plenty of meat. So Iya put the worm in the water and when anyone drank the water, the worm would go down the windpipe and into the lungs. It would draw all the fat from the body and eat it and one would cough and spit out the fat that the worm would not eat. When the worm had eaten all the fat then the person died, so that there was little meat or fat. This was what Iya wanted, for his favorite food was spirits. This was how consumption began.

Anog Itē entices persons to follow her and then she shows them her hideous face and this frightens them so that they lose their senses and become insane, or they jump and jerk their arms and legs about until they forget about seeing her (bring on chorea). She is fond of doing this to young girls just as they are about to menstruate for the first time.

Cause of Fever. The Hohnogica build spirit fires near sick people and this makes them very hot. They sometimes appear to babies and frighten them into spasms. When they rub their hair on one this makes sores and eruptive diseases.

When persons drink water from the streams, they are apt to suck in worms and swallow them. These worms scratch the bowels and gnaw the internal organs and make pains. One is apt to swallow snakes and frogs in the same way and these things live in such a one's belly and they must be fed or they will writhe about and cause pains.

Frost Bite. Waziya blows his breath on one and makes one cold even on a hot day. If Waziya touches one, the flesh that he touches dies.

If one kills a spider with the hands, then Iktomi will put sand in such a one's eyes and make them sore.

When one is wounded the *Unktehi* put their spittle into the wound which is the humor and they will shoot pith into the wound which makes the discharge.

If one has dedicated an animal or part of an animal according to his vision and then such a one should eat that animal or part of the animal before the dedication runs out, then the thing that it was dedicated to, will bring some kind of sickness upon such a one.

There are many things that are *ohhaka* (injurious as food). Some because they are poison and some because they are mysterious. All such things will cause diseases. All diseases are things which get into the body and do violence to it in some way. The thing to do is to get these things out of the body. May be it is the influence of a supernatural being (*Taku Wakan*). May be it is something like a worm. If it is an influence (*tonwan*), then the shamans (*Wicasa Wakan*) can cure the sick the best. If it is something else, then the medicinemen (*Pejuta wicasa*) can make the best cure. If the sickness is of long duration, then someone should seek a vision and learn what to do. It is always the best to *iwani* (take a vapor bath with ceremonies). It is best always to make smoke of sage and then smoke of sweetgrass. This will drive away the evil spirits and please the good spirits.

The shamans can make medicines that are very mysterious and powerful. Their incantations (*pikiyapi*) make it powerful. By their incantations they can cause diseases. These diseases are *tokeca* (different from the ordinary).

The medicinemen learn their medicines from the spirits in a vision. The spirits tell them what to use and how to use it. Their medicines are nearly always herbs (*wato*) or roots (*hutkan*). Therefore, all their medicines are called grass roots (*pezuta*). The medicines drive the disease out in the sweat, in the vomit, in the defecation, in the urine, and in the breath. To drive disease out in the sweat, is the best and easiest way; in the breath, is the next best and easiest way; in the defecation, is the next best way; in the urine is a good way; and in the vomit, is a very hard way, but some diseases will not come out in any other way.

WHEN THE PEOPLE LAUGHED AT HANWI.

Wazi was chief of the people who dwell under the world, and his woman, Kanka, was a seer. Their daughter, Ite, the wife of Tate, was the most beautiful of women. She gave birth -to four sons at one time which proved these children to be gods. Yet Wazi was not content, for he wished to have powers like a god. Iktomi knew this and he schemed to have Wazi play his pranks. He told Wazi that he should have the powers he wished for if he would help make others ridiculous. Wazi was afraid, but he told Kanka what Iktomi had said. She said that if they had the power of the gods no one could take it from them and then they could laugh at Iktomi. Iktomi, lurking near, heard her say this and smiled.

He went and sat in the tipi of Kanka. He told her that she was a wise woman and a seer and that for a long time he had thought she ought to have power to do as she liked. He said he would be pleased if he could help her get such power so that she could do much good for the people. He then talked of the beauty of her daughter, Ite. He said that because of her beauty she was the wife of a god and the mother of gods and therefore ought to have a seat with the gods. He talked much like this. Kanka asked him how he could help her get power to do as she wished to do. He said he would think about this and then tell her.

When Iktomi had gone, Wazi told Kanka that if she was not careful Iktomi would make the people laugh at her. Again, Iktomi came and told Kanka that if she would help him play his pranks he would give her power to do as the gods do. Kanka said that if he would first give her and Wazi such powers and they could prove that they had them, then they would help him to do what he wished. Iktomi agreed to this and gave them the powers they wished for. Then he talked of the beauty of their daughter until the night was almost gone.

Early the next morning he came and told Wazi and Kanka that they could prove their powers by making anyone more beautiful. He showed them how to make a charm that would make more beautiful anyone who would carry it on the body. He then went to the tipi of Ite and sat and talked with her. He told her that she was very industrious and modest, that she was as beautiful as Hanwi, and that if she were more beautiful she would be the most beautiful of all beings.

Ite told her mother what Iktomi had said and Kanka told her that she would sit with the gods. Again, Iktomi sat and talked with Ite. He told her that Wi, the chief of the gods, had noticed her beauty and had

spoken of it. Again, Ite told her mother what Iktomi had said, and Kanka said that Ite would sit with the chief of the gods. She gave her daughter the charm and bade her carry it on her body. Ite carried the charm and grew more beautiful each night. Iktomi told Wi that the wife of Tate was the most beautiful of all beings, that she was the wife of a god and the mother of gods, and that she ought to have a seat with the gods. He then sat and talked with Kanka and told her that it would please Wi to see Ite.

Wazi told Kanka to be careful or Iktomi would cause the people to laugh at her. She said that they could laugh at Iktomi, for he could not take from them the powers he had given them; that when the people that now lived were forgotten, people would speak of Wazi and Kanka because their daughter sat with the chief of the gods. Iktomi lurked near and heard her say this and he smiled.

Ite adorned herself, but there was no fire in her tipi, neither was there food nor drink, and her little sons cried because they were hungry. She walked with her father and mother, and they passed before the face of Wi. Wi saw that Ite was very beautiful and then he remembered what Iktomi had said to him. So he talked with her and invited her to sit at the feast of the gods.

Iktomi sat in the tipi of Ite and talked with her. He told her that Wi was tired of his companion, Hanwi, and wished for a younger and a more beautiful companion. Then Ite told him that Wi had invited her to sit at the feast of the gods. He told her that when all were seated at the feast, she must take the vacant seat. Kanka helped her daughter to adorn herself and foretold that Ite would live forever like the gods.

When the feast was ready, Iktomi was talking with Hanwi. He told her that Wi thought that a woman, Ite, was the most beautiful of all beings and had invited her to sit at the feast of the gods. So Hanwi stayed to adorn herself and came late to the feast. Ite came early and when all were seated, she saw a vacant seat beside Wi, and she took it. Wi did not frown. He smiled and talked with Ite. Hanwi came and saw a woman sitting on her seat. She covered her head with her robe and stood behind Ite. The people saw this, and they laughed at her. Iktomi laughed loudest and longest. Kanka sang a song of joy, but Wazi was afraid. Tate left the feast and went to the tipi of Ite. He painted his face and the faces of his little sons, black.

After the feast, Hanwi stood before Skan hiding her face with her robe. Skan asked her why she hid her face. She replied because she was shamed by Wi who had permitted a woman to sit in her place so the people laughed at her and Iktomi laughed loudest and longest.

Then Skan asked Wi why he had permitted a woman to sit on the seat of Hanwi. Wi replied that because of the beauty of the woman he had forgotten his companion, Hanwi.

Skan asked Ite why she sat on the seat of Hanwi. She replied that her mother foretold that she would sit beside the chief of the gods and had made her more beautiful, that Iktomi had told her that she was the most beautiful of all beings, that Wi was tired of Hanwi and wished for a younger and more beautiful companion, and that Wi invited her to sit at the feast of the gods, that she had seen the vacant seat beside him and sat on it.

Skan asked Kanka why she had schemed to have her daughter sit on the seat of Hanwi. She replied that as a seer she foresaw that Ite would sit beside the chief of the gods, and that she and Wazi had gotten from Iktomi the powers to do as the gods do. By these powers they had made their daughter more beautiful, so that Wi would not be ashamed of her when she sat beside him, and that Iktomi had told her that Wi was pleased to see Ite.

Skan asked Wazi why he had gotten the powers from Iktomi. He replied that he wished for the powers so that he could do more good.

Then Skan told Wi that the chief of the gods must not forget; that because he had permitted the beauty of a woman to cause him to forget his companion, she would be his companion no more, that she could go her own way and travel as she pleased; that he and she had ruled the two periods of time, day and night, but that forever after she would rule the third period, the interval between the time she went from him until she returned to him; that because he had caused her to hide her face for shame she would forever hide her face when near him, and only uncover it when she was far from him.

Skan told Ite that because she had forgotten her husband and little sons she would be with them no more; that her unborn child would come before its time and it would forever be a little child and abide with Tate; that because she was so vain of her beauty that she dared try to usurp

the place of Hanwi, she should go to the world and there live forever without friends; that she should keep her beautiful face forever, but she would have another face so horrid that those who looked upon it would fly from her or go mad; and that she would be known as Anog Ite, the Double-Woman, or the Two-Faced.

Skand told Kanka that because she had obtained the powers of a god by fraud she should go to the world and there live alone forever, until she could use her powers to help little children and young people, and that she would forever be known as Wakanka, the Old Woman, the Witch.

Skand told Wazi that because he had not used his powers to do good, but to cause shame for his kindred and the gods, he should live forever alone in the world until he could use his powers to help his grandsons and that he should forever be known as Wazi, the Old Man, the Wizard.

Then Iktomi laughed loud and long and taunted Wakanka, and said that she would have cheated him to get the powers of a god and then would have laughed at him, but that he had made her and her kindred ashamed.

Skand then asked Iktomi why he had schemed to make Wakanka and her kindred ashamed and to cause shame for Hanwi. Iktomi said that he was a god and the son of a god, that his father, the rock, was the oldest of the gods, that he had named all things that are named and made all languages that are spoken, that he had done much good and should be treated as a god; but because his other parent, the flying god, had no shape his form was queer and all laughed at him; that when he did good all laughed at him as if he were making sport, that because everyone laughed at him he would laugh at everyone; that he had made the chief of the gods and the most beautiful of the gods ashamed; that he had made the chief of the people and the most beautiful of women ashamed; and that he would make all the gods and all the people ashamed.

Then Skand told him that because he laughed when others were shamed or suffered and because he threatened the gods, he must go to the world and remain there forever without friends; that all of mankind would hate him, and all the gods despise him, and that the sound of the rattles would be torture to him.

Then Iktomi laughed loud and long. Skan asked him why he laughed. He replied that Skan had forgotten the birds and the beasts; that he would dwell with them and talk with each in its own language, and that he would have pleasure and would make fools of mankind.

Then Tate blackened his face and with his four sons sat before Skan. Skan called him his comrade and asked him what he wished. Tate told Skan to look upon his face and the faces of his little children that were blackened because their mother was taken from them forever. He said Ite was but a woman and that others stronger than she had caused her to forget the woman's place, that though his sons were gods, they were little children and wept for their mother's care. He begged Skan to let him bear the punishment of Ite and let her remain with her children.

Skan told Tate that because of his love for Anog Ite he could dwell near her until the fourth period of time and then he could do with the woman as he wished, that he could send a token to Tate and then Tate would send four sons to establish the directions on the world and they would make the fourth period of time.

Hanwi blackened her face and mourned with Tate and the people laughed at her no more.

WHEN THE WIZARD CAME.

The wizard was not permitted on the world, so he traveled around on the edge until he made a trail there. He spoke to the stars as they passed near him and asked each for permission to go to the world, but they never granted his request. He saw that some stars never came down to the edge of the world so he set up a lodge under them and dwelt in it so that he might be near if they should come down, for he thought that one of them might give him permission to go on the world. In this lodge a vision came to him in which he was told to go on the trail again where a message would come to him. He followed the trail around the edge of the world and a bright star spoke to him. It appeared in the form of a beautiful young woman who told him she was the daughter of the Sky and that her father had sent her with a message to him. She told him to return to his lodge and abide in it until the moon was again round and then go upon the world where he would find the sons of Tate. When he found them he must with his power as a wizard aid them in the work they were doing. When this work was done she told him to go to the

lodge of Tate, and then he could forever afterwards go upon the world as he wished.

He did as he was bidden. He found the sons of Tate camped for the night, for they were making a journey. He said, "Ho, my grandchildren," and asked permission to camp with them that night. Because Yata. was the first-born he was the leader of the party. He answered in a surly manner and turned his back towards the old man. But Okaga, the fourth-born spoke kindly and bade the wizard sit on his side of the campfire. When the brothers ate, the old man said he was hungry. Yata replied that he should not travel without food, for he had none to give away; but Okaga gave him some of his food which he kept in a little bag. The old man ate much of it, but when he returned the bag to Okaga it was full of food. Ever afterwards, it remained full of good food, though Okaga often ate from it until he was satisfied.

When they had eaten, the three older brothers wrapped their robes about them and lay down to sleep. Okaga gave his robe to the old man and it spread until it was so large that both Okaga and the old man could lie upon it and cover with it. So they slept together that night.

In the morning, the robe was small and light, but ever afterward it remained like new, and would stretch so that Okaga could lie upon it and cover with it at the same time. He asked the brothers where they wished to go. They told him that their father had sent them to make the four directions and put them on the edge of the world. He told them that he lived on the edge of the world, and could guide them, to it, and that if they would do as he bade them he could bring them there quickly.

They agreed to do as he would tell them. Then he gave each of them a pair of moccasins, for before this their feet had always been bare. He showed them how to put them on and bade them stand side by side with him. Then Yata said his direction should be the first because it was his birthright to be first in everything and that his father had told him that his direction must be on the edge of the world where the shadows are longest at midday. He ordered the old man to guide them to that place. Then the old man told them that with the aid of the moccasins they could step from hilltop to hilltop far away. He bade Yata step first; but he was afraid, and would not move. Then the old man bade Iya, the second born, to step, and he did so and was soon on a hilltop far away. Then Yata stepped forward and was beside Iya. Yanpa, the third born,

then stepped, and he too stood beside his brothers. When the three brothers had gone the old man asked Okaga to come with him; they stepped together and went far beyond the three brothers. He called them. When they came he told them that they could travel best under clouds and immediately it became so cloudy that neither the sun nor the sky could be seen. They traveled under the clouds more swiftly than the birds could fly and in the evening they came to a high mountain where the old man told them to camp that night. In the morning he told them to go over the mountain and there they would find the edge of the world. They did as he bade them. When they came to the edge of the world they set up a great heap of stones. This was the first direction.

When the first direction was made they saw the sun. They saw that the mountain stood where the sun went down at the close of the day's journey. When they saw this, Yata raged, for this was Iya's direction and it was first. The old man stood before the brothers and told Yata that because he was cruel and surly, and a coward afraid to step first in the work his father had sent him to do, his birthright had been taken from him and given to Iya and that Iya would forever be considered first in all things. Then Yata hid his face and wept.

Iroquois Book of Rites

BRINTON'S LIBRARY OF ABORIGINAL AMERICAN LITERATURE. NUMBER II., THE IROQUOIS BOOK OF RITES., EDITED BY HORATIO HALE, M.A., AUTHOR OF "THE ETHNOGRAPHY AND PHILOLOGY OF THE U. S. EXPLORING EXPEDITION," ETC. D. G. BRINTON. PHILADELPHIA., 1883.

CHAPTER III.

THE BOOK OF RITES.

For a proper appreciation of this peculiar composition, some further particulars respecting its origin and character will be needed. During my earlier visits to the Reserve of the Six Nations, near Brantford, I had heard of an Indian book which was used at their "Condoling Councils," the most important of their many public gatherings. But it was not until the month of September, 1879, that I had an opportunity of seeing the

work. At that time two copies of the book were brought to me by the official holders, two of the principal chiefs of the confederacy. One of these was Chief John "Smoke" Johnson, who for many years had held the high office of Speaker of the Great Council, though, of late, yielding to age and infirmity, he has withdrawn from the public performance of its duties. His second name is a rude rendering of his truly poetical Indian appellation, Sakayengwaraton, or "Disappearing Mist." It signifies properly, I was told, the haze which rises from the ground in an autumn morning and vanishes as the day advances. His English name, and, in part, his blood, Chief Johnson derives from no less distinguished an ancestor than Sir William Johnson, who played so notable a part in colonial history during the last century, and who exercised, perhaps, a greater influence on the destiny of the Iroquois than any other individual since the formation of their confederacy. To him, indeed, may be ascribed the distinction, such as it is, of destroying the work which Hiawatha and Dekanawidah had founded. But for the influence over the Indians which he had acquired, and was able to bequeath to others, it is probable that the Six Nations would have remained neutral during the Revolutionary War, and the disruption of their League would not have taken place. Yet there can be no doubt that he was sincerely attached to them, and desired their good. Unfortunately for them, they held, as was natural, only the second place in his affections. He was, by 4d option, an Iroquois chief, but his first allegiance was due to his native country, to whose interests, both in the war with France and in the separation which he foresaw between England and her colonies, he did not hesitate to sacrifice the welfare of his red brethren. Against his subtle arts and overmastering energy the wisest of their statesmen, worthy successors of the great founders of their constitution, strove in vain, on each occasion, to maintain that neutrality which was evidently the true policy of their people. 1

Sakayengwaraton is not an elected chief, nor does he bear one of the hereditary titles of the Great Council, in which he holds so distinguished a station. Indeed, his office is one unknown to the ancient constitution of the Kanonsionni. It is the creation of the British Government, to which he owes, with the willing consent of his own people, his rank and position in the Council. The Provincial administrators saw the need of a native official who should be, like the Speaker of the English House of Commons, the mouthpiece of the Council, and the intermediary between it and the representative of the Crown. The grandson of Sir William Johnson was known as a brave warrior, a capable leader, and an eloquent speaker. In the war of 1812, at the early age of twenty, he had succeeded an elder brother in the

command of the Indian contingent, and had led his dusky followers with so much skill and intrepidity as to elicit high praise from the English commander. His eloquence was noted, even among a race of orators. I can well believe what I have heard of its effects, as even in his old age, when an occasion has for a moment aroused his spirit, I have not known whether most to admire the nobleness and force of his sentiments and reasoning, or the grace and flowing ease with which he delivered the stately periods of his sonorous language. He has been a worthy successor of the distinguished statesmen, Garagontieh, Garangula, Decanasora, Canasatego, Logan, and others, who in former years guided the destinies of his people. He is considered to have a better knowledge of the traditions and ancient usages of the Six Nations than any other member of the tribes, and is the only man now living who can tell the meaning of every word of the "Book of Rites."

The other chief to whom I have referred is the Onondaga Councillor who is known to the whites as John Buck, but who bears in council the name of Skanawati ("Beyond the River"), one of the fifty titular names which have descended from the time of Hiawatha. He is the official keeper of the "wampum records" of the confederacy, an important trust, which, to his knowledge, has been in his family for at least four generations. His rank, his character, and his eloquence make him now, virtually, the Iroquois premier--an office which, among the Six Nations, as among the Athenians of old and the English of modern days, is both unknown to the constitution and essential to its working. His knowledge of the legends and customs of his people is only inferior to that of the more aged Speaker of the Council.

The account which Chief J. S. Johnson gave me of the book may be briefly told. The English missionaries reduced the Canienga language to writing in the early part of the last century. The Jesuit fathers, indeed, had learned and written the language--which they styled the Iroquois--fifty years before; but it does not appear that they had instructed any of the Indians in the art of writing it, as their successors in the Eastern Province have since done. The English missionaries took pains to do this. The liturgy of their church was printed in the Mohawk tongue, at New York, as early as the year 1714. ¹ By the middle of the century there were many members of the tribe who could write in the well-devised orthography of the missionaries--an orthography which anticipated in most points the well known "Pickering alphabet," now generally employed in writing the Indian languages of North America. The chiefs of the Great Council, at once conservative and quick to learn, saw the advantages which would accrue from preserving, by this novel

method, the forms of their most important public duty--that of creating new chiefs--and the traditions connected with their own body. They caused the ceremonies, speeches and songs, which together made up the proceedings of the Council when it met for the two purposes, always combined, of condolence and induction, to be written down in the words in which they had been preserved in memory for many generations. A Canienga chief, named David, a friend of Brant, is said to have accomplished the work. In Stone's *Life of Sir William Johnson*, mention is made of a Mohawk chief, "David of Schoharie," who, in May, 1757, led a troop of Indians from his town to join the forces under Sir William, in his expedition to Crown Point, to repel the French invaders. ² Brant appears to have been in this expedition. ³ It is highly probable that in Chief David of Schoharie we have the compiler, or rather the scribe, of this "Iroquois Veda."

The copy of this book which Chief J. S. Johnson possessed was made by himself, under the following circumstances: During the prevalence of the Asiatic cholera, in 1832, the tribes on the Reserve suffered severely. Chief Johnson, then a young man and not yet a leader in the Great Council, was active in attending on the sick. He was called to visit an aged chief, who was not expected to live. The old chief informed him that he had this book in his possession, and advised him, as he was one of the few who could write the language, to make a copy of it, lest by any accident the original should be lost. Johnson followed this advice, and copied the book on loose sheets of paper, from which he afterwards transcribed it into a small unbound book, resembling a schoolboy's copy-book. He states that the original book contained, besides the ceremonies of the Condoling Council, an addition by a later hand, comprising some account of the more recent history of the Six Nations, and particularly of their removal from New York to Canada. This portion of it he unfortunately omitted to copy, and shortly afterwards the book itself was destroyed, when the house of the old chief was accidentally burned.

The other copy which I transcribed was held by Chief John Buck, in his official capacity of record-keeper. It is written in a somewhat different orthography. The syllables are separated, as in the usual style of Indian hymnbooks, and some of the words, particularly the proper names, show by their forms that the person who copied the book was, an Onondaga. The copy was evidently not made from that of Chief Johnson, as it supplies some omissions in that copy. On the other hand, it omits some matters, and, in particular, nearly all the adjurations and descriptive epithets which form the closing litany accompanying the list

of hereditary councillors. The copy appears, from a memorandum written in it, to have been made by one "John Green," who, it seems, was formerly a pupil of the Mohawk Institute at Brantford. It bears the date of November, 1874. I could not learn where he found his original.

The translation has been made from the dictation of Chief J. S. Johnson, who explained the meaning of the archaic words in the modern Canienga speech. This was interpreted in English by his son, Chief George H. M. Johnson, and afterwards more fully elucidated by my esteemed friend, the Rev. Isaac Bearfoot, who kindly came from his parish, at Point Edward (near Sarnia), to the Reserve, to assist me in this work. Mr. Bearfoot is an Onondaga by birth, but a Canienga by adoption, and has a thorough knowledge of the Canienga language. He prepared the revised edition of the hymnbook in that language, which is now used on the Reserve. He is a good English scholar, and, having been educated in Toronto for the ministry, has filled for some years, with much acceptance, the office of pastor to a white congregation of the Church of England. I am greatly indebted to him for his judicious assistance, and, finally, for a complete revision of the entire version of the Canienga portion of the book.

To my friend Chief George Johnson I am under still greater obligations. Mr. Johnson, as has been stated, is the son of Chief J. S. Johnson, and is himself a high chief of the Canienga nation. He bears in the Great Council the name of Teyonhehkwen (otherwise spelt Deyonhehghonh), meaning "Double Life," one of the titular names which were borne by the companions of Hiawatha and Atotarho in the first council. He succeeded in this title, according to the rules of the confederacy, his maternal uncle, on the nomination of his mother, as the chief matron of the family. Mr. Johnson is an educated gentleman. In early life he was a pupil of the English missionaries. He now holds the position of Government Interpreter for the Six Nations, and is, in fact, the chief executive officer of the Canadian government on the Reserve. His duties have several times brought him into collision with the white ruffians who formerly infested the Reserve, and from whom he has on two occasions suffered severe injuries, endangering his life. His courage and firmness, however, have been finally successful in subduing this mischief, and the Reserve is now as secure and as free from disorder as any part of Canada. To Chief George Johnson's assistance and encouragement I owe most of the information contained in these pages, and I am glad to have an opportunity of paying him this tribute of respect and gratitude.

The second or supplementary part of the Book, which is in the Onondaga dialect, was found on the small Reservation in the State of New York, near Syracuse, where a feeble remnant of the great Onondaga nation still cling to the home of their forefathers. In October, 1875, during my first visit to Onondaga Castle, as this Reservation is called, I obtained from the intelligent interpreter, Daniel La Fort--a son of the distinguished chief Abram La Fort (Dehatkatons), who is commemorated in Clark's "Onondaga"--a list of the original councillors in the Onondaga dialect, and also a copy, in the same dialect, of the "Condoling Song," which I had heard sung on the Canadian Reserve, and which I afterwards found in the Canienga Book of Rites. He read them to me from a small manuscript book, in which, as I then supposed, he had noted them for his own convenience. When I afterwards discovered the Canienga book, it occurred to me that I might have been mistaken on this point, and that the manuscript from which he read was possibly a copy of the Book of Rites in the Onondaga dialect. To clear up this point, I again visited Onondaga Castle, in September, 1880. I then found, to my great gratification, that his book was not a copy, but a valuable addition, or rather an essential complement, to the Canienga book. The last-named book comprises the speeches which are addressed by the representatives of the three elder nations to the younger members of the League, whenever a chief who belonged to the latter is lamented. The Onondaga book, on the other hand, gives us the exhortations which are addressed by the younger nations to the elder when a chief of the latter is mourned. The circumstance to which it owes its preservation on the Onondaga Reserve is easily explained. Of late years, since the chieftainships among the New York Senecas and Tuscaroras have been made purely elective offices, the only body of Indians in that State among whom the original system of mingled descent and appointment has been retained is the remnant of the intensely conservative Onondagas. Among these, in spite of missionary efforts continued for two centuries, paganism still lingers, and chiefs are still "raised up" as nearly as possible after the ancient fashion. When a chief dies, the members of his family or clan select another, who is presented to the national council for induction. The ceremonies of condolence, with which the proceedings commence, are modeled after the primitive form. As the Onondagas were one of the elder nations, the addresses of condolence must proceed from a younger brother. Fortunately for this purpose, a few Oneidas reside on the Reserve, among whom is a single chief, by name Abram Hill. To him is committed the duty of representing the "younger brothers" on this occasion, and with it the charge of the wampum strings, which are

produced occasionally as the ceremony proceeds, each string representing one section or topic of the condoling address.

La Fort said that he had copied his book from a manuscript in his father's handwriting. This manuscript, unfortunately, was lost, and he could not say whether his father had first written it down from memory, or had merely transcribed it from an earlier composition. However this may have been, the substance of the composition undoubtedly dates from a period preceding the disruption of the confederacy. The language, indeed, so far as can be judged from the very irregular orthography, is modern. If, as there is reason to suppose, the composition is ancient, it has evidently undergone a "revision" at the hands of the later copyists. In former times, as we know from the Jesuit vocabularies, the sound of *r* existed in the Onondaga dialect. Since their day this sound has disappeared from it entirely. In La Fort's manuscript the letter frequently occurred, but always, as his pronunciation showed, either as a diacritical sign following the vowel *a*, to give to that vowel the sound of *a* in "far," or else as representing itself this vowel sound. Thus the syllable which should properly be written *sa* was written by La Fort either *sar* or *sr*. But, though the language is modern, the speeches themselves, as I am assured by Chief John Buck, are precisely those which are still in use among his people in Canada, and which are believed to have been preserved in memory from the days of their forefathers. 1

The translation of La Fort's book was procured from him and another educated member of his tribe; but there was not time to obtain all the elucidations needed to ensure precise verbal accuracy throughout.

Footnotes

40:1 For the confirmation of these statements see the excellent biographies of Sir William Johnson and Joseph Brant, by Wm. L. Stone, *passim*.

42:1 This date is given in the preface to the Mohawk Prayer-book of 1787. This first version of the liturgy was printed under the direction of the Rev. Wm. Andrews, the missionary of the "New England Society."

42:2 *Life of Sir William Johnson*, Vol. II, p. 29.

42:3 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

47:1 The disappearance of a vocal element from a language is a phenomenon with which etymologists are familiar. The loss of the Greek digamma is a well-known instance. The harsh guttural, resembling the German *ch*, which formerly existed in the English language, has vanished from it, leaving its traces in the uncouth orthography of such words as *plough*, *high*, *though*, and the like. Within the past three centuries the sound of *l* has been lost from many words, such as *walk*, *talk*, *balm* and *calm*. The sound of *r* is disappearing from a large portion of the language. In ordinary speech, *arm* rhymes with *calm*, *morning* with *fawning*, *higher* with *Sophia*. Modern French, as is well known, has attained its present euphony through the disappearance of consonantal elements from many words in which they formerly existed.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAWS OF THE LEAGUE.

It is the custom of the officiating orator, while the chant is going on, to walk to and fro in the council-house. When the hymn is finished, he breaks out into a passionate invocation to their forefathers, and a lament over the degeneracy of the times. This, as the French missionaries inform us, was a favorite topic of Indian speakers. 1 Among the Iroquois, who could look back to an era of genuine statesmen and heroes, the authors of their constitution, this complaint must have had a peculiar force and Sincerity. After this appeal to the founders of their state, there naturally followed an address to the Council and the people, reciting "all the rules they decided on, which they thought would strengthen the house." By "the house" was meant, of course, the house of many hearths, to which they likened their confederacy. The "rules" or laws which follow require some explanation, that their full value may be understood.

The first law prescribes that when a chief dies his office shall not perish with him. This is expressed, in their metaphorical style, by an injunction that the "horns," or insignia of office, shall not be buried with the deceased chief, but shall be taken off at his death, to be transferred to his successor. This rule is laid down in the most urgent and impressive terms. "We should perhaps all perish if his office is buried with him in his grave." This systematic transmission of official rank was, in fact, the vital principle of their government. It was in this system that their federal union differed from the frequent and transitory confederacies common among the Indian tribes. In general, among nearly all the tribes, the rank of a chief was personal. It was gained by the character and achievements of the individual, and it died with him. Hence their government and policy, so far as they can be said to have had any, were

always uncertain and fluctuating. No person understood the Indian usages better than Zeisberger. His biographer has well described the difference which existed in this respect between the Iroquois and their neighbors. "The Algonkins," he writes, "knew nothing of regular government. They had no system of polity; there was no unity of action among them. The affairs even of a single tribe were managed in the loosest manner." After briefly, but accurately, delineating the Iroquois system of councils, he adds: "Thus they became both a political and a military power among the aborigines; the influence of their league was felt everywhere, and their conquests extended in every direction." ¹ The principle that "the chief dies but the office survives,"--the regular transmission of rank, title and authority, by a method partly hereditary and partly elective,---was the principle on which the life and strength of the Iroquois constitution depended.

Next followed a provision of hardly less importance. The wars among the Indian tribes arise almost always from individual murders. The killing of a tribesman by the members of another community concerns his whole people. If satisfaction is not promptly made, war follows, as a matter of course. ² The founders of the Iroquois commonwealth decreed that wars for this cause should not be allowed to rise between any of their cantons. On this point a special charge was given to the members of the Great Council. They were enjoined (in the figurative language employed throughout the Book) not to allow the murder to be discussed in a national assembly, where the exasperation of the young men might lead to mischief, but to reserve it for their own consideration; and they were required as soon as possible to bury all animosities that might arise from it. The figure employed is impressive. They were to uproot a huge pine-tree--the well-known emblem of their League--disclosing a deep cavity, below which an underground stream would be swiftly flowing. Into this current they were to cast the cause of trouble, and then, replacing the tree, hide the mischief forever from their people.

How strictly in spirit these injunctions were followed, and with what good effect, their whole history shows. A notable instance of the readiness and ingenuity of their statesmen in finding the means of public reconciliation in such cases is given in the Jesuit narrative. On the 24th of July, 1657, a great council was held at Onondaga to consider three matters, all of special import. First in order was the necessity of appeasing a threatened quarrel between two of the leading nations, the Senecas and the Caniengas, caused by a misadventure in which a Seneca "captain" had been killed by some warriors of the eastern nation. Next in importance was the reception of a large party of Frenchmen,

headed by Father Francis le Mercier, the Superior of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada, who had come to form a settlement among the Iroquois. And, finally, they had to prepare the plan and the means for an expedition against some hostile tribes. Before the meeting of the Council the Frenchmen had paid a formal visit to the Seneca delegates, whom they found "filling the air with songs of mourning" for their slaughtered chief, and had manifested their sympathy by a present, "to alleviate the grief" of the mourners. This incident seems to have suggested to the assembled councillors a method of effecting --or at least of announcing--the desired accommodation, and of paying at the same time a happy compliment to their reverend visitors. By common consent the affair was referred to the arbitrament of the Father Superior, by whom the difference was promptly settled. 1 It was not necessary for the politic senators to inform their gratified visitors that the performance in which they thus took part was merely a formality which ratified, or rather proclaimed, a foregone conclusion. The reconciliation which was prescribed by their constitution had undoubtedly been arranged by previous conferences, after their custom in such matters, before the meeting of the Council. 2 So effective was this provision of their constitution that for more than three centuries this main cause of Indian wars was rendered innocuous, and the "Great Peace" remained undisturbed. This proud averment of their annalists, confirmed as it is for more than half the period by the evidence of their white neighbors, cannot reasonably be questioned. What nation or confederacy of civilized Europe can show an exemption from domestic strife for so long a term?

The third rule or ordinance which the founders enacted "to strengthen the house" is of a remarkable character. It relates to the mortuary usages of the people; and when these are understood, the great importance of this law becomes apparent. Among the Indians of the Huron-Iroquois family the ordinary mourning for the dead became exaggerated into customs of the most extravagant character, exhausting the time and strength of the warriors, and devouring their substance. The French missionaries have left us an account of these singular usages among the Hurons, some of which excited their respect, and others their astonishment. "Our savages," they wrote, "are in no way savage as regards the duties which nature herself requires us to render to the dead. You would say that their efforts, their toils and their commerce had no other end than to amass the means of honoring the departed. They have nothing too precious for this object. To this they devote their robes of skins, their hatchets and wampum, in such profusion that you would fancy they made nothing of them; and yet these are the riches of

their country. Often in midwinter you will see them going almost naked, while they have at home, laid up in store, good and handsome robes, which they keep in reverence for the dead. This is their point of honor. In this, above all, they seek to show themselves magnificent." 1

During the three days that preceded the burial of the dead, or the removal of his remains to the scaffold, the wails, groans and lamentations of the relatives and neighbors resounded in the cabin where he lay. All the stored riches were brought forth and lavished in gifts "to comfort the mourners." The mourning did not end with the burial; in fact, it may be said to have then only begun. The "great mourning," as the missionaries term it, lasted for six days longer, during which the mourners lay, face downward, upon their mats, and enveloped in their robes, speechless, or replying only by an ejaculation to those who addressed them. During this period they had no fire in the house, even in winter; they ate their food cold, and left the cabin only at night, and as secretly as possible. The "lesser mourning" lasted for a year, during which they refrained from oiling their hair, attended public festivals rarely, and only (in the case of women) when their mothers ordered, and were forbidden to marry again.

This, however, was not all. Once in twelve years was held a great ceremony of reinterment,---a solemn "feast of the dead," as it was called. Until the day of this feast arrived, funeral rites in honor of the departed were repeated from time to time, and feasts were held, at which, as the expression was, their names were revived, while presents were distributed, as at the time of their death. The great Feast of the Dead, however, was the most important of all their ceremonies. The bodies of all who had died in the nation during the preceding twelve years were then exhumed, or removed from the scaffolds on which they had been laid, and the festering corpses or cleansed bones were all interred together in a vast pit lined with robes of beaver skins, the most precious of all their furs. Wampum, copper implements, earthenware, the most valued of their possessions, were cast into the pit, which was then solemnly closed with earth. While the ceremony was going on, rich presents of all descriptions, the accumulations of the past twelve years, were distributed by the relatives of the deceased among the people. In this distribution, strange to say, valuable fur robes were frequently cut and torn to pieces, so as to be rendered worthless. A lavish display and reckless destruction of wealth were deemed honors due to the shades of the departed. 1

The Attiwandaronks, or Neutrals, who were the nearest neighbors of the Iroquois, were still more extravagant in their demonstrations of affection for their lost friends. They, too, had their feasts of the dead, at regular intervals. In the meantime the bodies were kept in their houses as long as possible--"until the stench became intolerable." Then, when this proximity could no longer be borne, the remains were left for a period to decay on a scaffold in the open air. After a time the remaining flesh was removed from the bones, which were arranged on the sides of their cabins, in full view of the inmates, until the great day of general interment. With these mournful objects before their eyes, renewing constantly the sense of their loss, the women of the household were excited to frequent outbursts of grief, expressed in wailing chants. 1

That the Iroquois in ancient times had funeral customs similar to those of their sister nations, and not less revolting, cannot be doubted. How these shocking and pernicious usages were abolished at one swoop is shown by the brief passage in the Book of Rites now under discussion. The injunctions are laconic, but full of meaning. When a death occurs, the people are told, "this shall be done." A delegation of persons, officially appointed for the purpose, shall repair to the dwelling of the deceased, bearing in a pouch some strands of mourning wampum. The leader, holding these strands, and standing by the hearth, shall address, in the name of the whole people, a few words of comfort to the mourners. And then "they shall be comforted," and shall go on with their usual duties. To this simple ceremony--supplemented, in the case of a high chief, by the rites of the "Condoling Council,"--the preposterous funeral usages, which pervaded the lives and wasted the wealth of the other nations of this stock, were reduced, by the wisdom of the Iroquois legislators.

In considering these remarkable laws, it becomes evident that the work which Hiawatha and Dekanawidah accomplished was really a Great Reformation, not merely political, but also social and religious. They desired not only to establish peace among the nations, but also to abolish or modify such usages and beliefs as in their opinion were injurious to their people. It is deserving of notice that a divinity unknown, at least in name, to the Hurons, received special reverence among the Iroquois. The chief characters of the Huron pantheon were a female deity, Ataensic, a sort of Hecate, whom they sometimes identified with the moon, and her grandson, Juskeha, who was sometimes regarded as the sun, and as a benevolent spirit, but most commonly in their stories appears as a fantastic and capricious goblin, with no moral attributes whatever. In the Iroquois mythology these

deities are replaced by a personage of a much higher character. Taronhiawagon, the Holder of the Heavens, was with them the Master of Life. He declared his will to them in dreams, and in like manner disclosed future events, particularly such as were important to the public welfare. He was, in fact, the national god of the Iroquois. It was he who guided their fathers in their early wanderings, when they were seeking for a place of abode. He visited them from time to time, in person, to protect them from their enemies and to instruct them in useful arts.

It is possible that the Iroquois Taronhiawagon may have been originally the same as the Huron Juskeha. Some eminent authorities on Indian mythology are inclined to this opinion. On the other hand, the earlier Jesuit missionaries give no hint of such identity, and the Tuscarora historian, Cusick, seems to distinguish between these divine personages. But whether we accept this view or seek for any other origin, there seems reason to suppose that the more exalted conception of this deity, who is certainly, in character and attributes, one of the noblest creations of the North American mythologies, dates from the era of the confederacy, when he became more especially the chief divinity and protector of the Kanonsionni. 1

Footnotes

67:1 See the Relation of 1639, p. 57: "C'est la plainte ordinaire des Capitaines [of the Hurons] que tout se va perdant, à faute de garder les formes et coutumes de leurs ancestres."

68:1 De Schweinitz: *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 39.

68:2 Relation, of 1636, p. 119. "C'est de la que naissent les guerres, et c'est un sujet plus que suffisant de prendre les armes contre quelque Village quand il refuse de satisfaire par les presents ordonnez, pour celuy qui vous aurait tué quelq'un des vostres."--*Breuef, on the Hurons*.

70:1 "On tint ce grand conseil le 24 du mois de Juillet, où toutes les Nations remisent entre les mains d'Achiendase (qui est nostre Père Superieur) le differend d'entre les Sonnontoüeronnonns et les Agnieronnonns, qui fut bientot terminé."--*Relation of 1657*, p. 16.

70:2 For a curious instance of the manner in which questions to be apparently decided by a Council were previously settled between the parties, see the *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 190: "Gietterowane was the speaker on one side, Zeisberger on the

other. These two consulted together privately,---Zeisberger unfolding the import of the strings [of wampum which he had brought as ambassador] and Gietterowane committing to memory what he said."

71:1 Brebeuf, *Relation of 1636*, p. 128.

72:1 See the *Relation for 1636*, p. 131. A most vivid and graphic description of these extraordinary ceremonies is given in Parkman's admirable work, *The Jesuits in North America*, Chapter 7.

73:1 "Cet objet qu'ils ont devant les yeux, leur renouvelant continuellement le resentiment de leurs pertes, leur fait ordinairement ietter des cris, et faire des lamentations tout à fait lugubres, le tout en chanson. Mais cela ne se fait que par les femmes."--*Relation of 1641*, p. 73.

74:1 See for Taronhiawagon the *Jesuit Relations for 1670*, pp. 47, 66, and for 1671, p. 17; also Cusick, pp. 20, 22, 24, 34. For Juskeha, see the *Relation for 1635*, p. 34; 1636, pp. 101-103; 1640, p. 92. Lafitau in one place makes Tharonhiawagon a deified man, and in another the grandson of Ataensic.--*Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Vol. I, p. 146 and p. 244.

ANCIENT RITES

OF THE

CONDOLING COUNCIL

OKAYONDONGHSERA YONDENNASE.

OGHENTONH KARIGHWATEGHKWENH:

DEYUGHNYONKWARAKTA, RATIYATS.

1. Onenh weghniserade wakatyerenkowa desawennawenrate ne kenteyurhoton. Desahahishonne donwenghratstanyonne ne kentekaghronghwanyon. Tesatkaghtoghserontye ronatennessendonghkwe yonkwanikonghtaghkwenne, konyennetaghkwen. Ne katykenh nayoyaneratye ne sanikonra? Daghskaghtoghseronne ratiyanarenyon onkwaghsotsherashonkenhha; neok detkanoron ne shekonh ayuyenkwaroghtake jiratighrotonghkwakwe. Ne katykenh nayuyaneratye ne sanikonra desakaghserentonyonne?

2. Niyawehkowa katy nonwa onenh skennenji thisayatirrehon. Onenh nonwa oghseronnih denighroghkwayen. Hasekenh thiwakwekonh deyunennyatenyon nene konnerhonyon, "Ie henskerighwaghtonte." Kenyutnyonkwarattonnyon, neony kenyotdakarahon, neony kenkontifaghsoton. Nedens aesayatyenenghdon, konyennedaghkwen, neony kenkaghnekonyon nedens aesayatyenenghdon, konyennethaghkwen, neony kenwaseraketotanese kentewaghsatayenha kanonghsakdatye. Niyateweghnise rakeh yonkwakaronny; onidatkon yaghdekakonghsonde oghsonteraghkowa nedens aesayatyenenghdon, konyennethaghkwen.

THE PRELIMINARY CEREMONY:

CALLED, "AT THE WOOD'S EDGE."

1. Now 1 to-day I have been greatly startled by your voice coming through the forest to this opening. You have come with troubled mind through all obstacles. You kept seeing the places where they met on whom we depended, my offspring. How then can your mind be at ease? You kept seeing the footmarks of our fore fathers; and all but perceptible is the smoke where they used to smoke the pipe together. Can then your mind be at ease when you are weeping on your way?

2. Great thanks now, therefore, that you have safely arrived. Now, then, let us smoke the pipe together. Because all around are hostile agencies which are each thinking, "I will frustrate their purpose." Here thorny ways, and here falling trees, and here wild beasts lying in ambush. Either by these you might have perished, my offspring, or, here by floods you might have been destroyed, my offspring, or by the uplifted hatchet in the dark outside the house. Every day these are wasting us; or deadly invisible disease might have destroyed you, my offspring.

3. Niyawenhkowa kady nonwa onenh skennenjy thadesarhadiyakonh. Hasekenh kanoron jinayawenhon nene aesahhahiyenenhon, nene ayakotyerenhon ayakawen, "Issy tyeyadakeron, akwah deyakonakorondon!" Ayakaweron oghnonnekenh niyuterenhhatye, ne konyennedaghkwen.

4. Rotirighwison onkwaghsotshera, ne ronenh, "Kenhenyondatsjstayenhaghse. Kendeyughnyonkwarakda eghtenyontatitenranyon orighokonha." Kensane yeshotiriwayen orighwakwekonh yatenkarighwentaseron, nene akwah

denyontatyadoghseronko. Neony ne ronenh, "Ethononweh yenyontatenonshine, kanakdakwenniyukeh yenyontatideron."

5. Onenh kady iese seweryenghskwe sathaghyonnishon:

Karhatyonni.
Oghskawaserenhon.
Gentiyo.
Onenyute.
Deserokenh.
Deghhodjihinharakwenh.
Oghreyonny.
Deyuyewenton.

Etho ne niwa ne akotthaghyonnishon.

6. Onenh nene shehhawah deyakodarakeh ranyaghdenghshon:

Kaneghsadakeh.
Onkwehieyede.
Waghkerhon.
Kahhendohhon.
Dhogwenyoh.
Kayyhekwarakeh.
Etho ne niwa ne ranyaghdenshon.

3. Great thanks now, therefore, that in safety you have come through the forest. Because lamentable would have been the consequences had you perished by the way, and the startling word had come, "Yonder are lying bodies, yea, and of chiefs!" And they would have thought in dismay, what had happened, my offspring.

4. Our forefathers made the rule, and said, "Here they are to kindle a fire; here, at the edge of the woods, they are to condole with each other in few words." But they have referred thither 1 all business to be duly completed, as well as for the mutual embrace of condolence. And they said, "Thither shall they be led by the hand, and shall be placed on the principal seat."

5. Now, therefore, you who are our friends of the Wolf clan:

In John Buck's MS.

Supposed Meaning.

Ka rhe tyon ni.	The broad woods.
Ogh ska wa se ron hon.	Grown up to bushes
Gea di yo.	again.
De se ro ken.	Beautiful plain.
O nen yo deh.	Between two lines.
Te ho di jen ha ra kwen.	Protruding stone.
Ogh re kyon ny.	Two families in a long-
Te yo we yen don.	house, one at each end.
	(Doubtful.)
	Drooping wings.

Such is the extent of the Wolf clan.

6. Now, then, thy children of the two clans of the Tortoise:

Ka ne sa da keh.	On the hill side.
Onkwi i ye de.	A person standing there.
Wegh ke rhon.	(Doubtful.)
Kah ken doh hon.	"
Tho gwen yoh.	"
Kah he kwa ke.	"

Such is the extent of the Tortoise clan.

7. Onenh nene jadadeken roskerewake:

Deyaokenh.
 Jonondese.
 Otskwirakeron.
 Onaweron.

8. Onenh nene onghwa kehaghshonha:

Karhawenghradongh.
 Karakenh.
 Deyuhhero.

Deyughsweken.
Oxdenkeh.

Etho ne niwa roghskerewake.

Eghnikatarakeghne orighwakayongh.

9. Ne kaghyaton jiniyawennakeh ne dewadadenonweronh, "ohhendonh karighwadeghkwenh" radiyats. Doka enyairon, "Konyennedaghkwen, onenh weghniserade yonkwatkennison. Rawenniyo raweghniseronnyh. Ne onwa konwende yonkwatkennison nene jiniyuneghrakwah jinisayadawen. Onenh onghwenjakonh niyonsakahhawe jinonweh nadekakahneronnyonghkwe. Akwah kady okaghserakonh thadetyatrogkwanekenh.

10. "Onenh kady yakwenronh, wakwennyonkoghde okaghsery, akwah kady ok skennen thadenseghsatkaghtonnyonhheke.

11. "Nok ony kanekhere deyughsihharaonh ne sahonadakon. Onenh kady watyakwaghsiharako waahkwadeweyendonh tsisaronkatah, kady nayawenh ne skennen thensathondeke enhtyewenninekenneh.

12. "Nok ony kanekhere deyughsihharaonh desanyatokenh. Onenh kady hone yakwenronh watyakwaghsihharanko, akwah kady ok skennen deghsewenninekenne dendewadatenonghweradon.

7. Now these thy brothers of the Bear clan:

De ya oken.

Jo non de seh.

Ots kwe ra ke ron.

Ogh na we ron.

The Forks.

It is a high hill.

Dry branches fallen to the
ground.

The springs.

8. Now these have been added lately:

Ka rho wengh ra don.	Taken over the woods.
Ka ra ken.	White.
De yo he ro.	The place of flags (rushes).
De yo swe ken.	Outlet of the river.
Ox den ke.	To the old place.

Such is the extent of the Bear clan.

These were the clans in ancient times.

9. Thus are written the words of mutual greeting, called "the opening ceremony." Then one will say, "My offspring, now this day we are met together. God has appointed this day. Now, to-day, we are met together, on account of the solemn event which has befallen you. Now into the earth he has been conveyed to whom we have been wont to look. Yea, therefore, in tears let us smoke together.

10. "Now, then, we say, we wipe away the tears, so that in peace you may look about you.

11. "And, further, we suppose there is an obstruction in your ears. Now, then, we remove the obstruction carefully from your hearing, so that we trust you will easily hear the words spoken.

12. "And also we imagine there is an obstruction in your throat. Now, therefore, we say, we remove the obstruction, so that you may speak freely in our mutual greetings.

13. Onenh are oya, konyennethaghkwen. Nene kadon yunegrakwah jinesadawen. Niyadeweghniserakeh sanekherenhonh ratikowanenghskwe. Onghwenjakonh niyeskahhags; ken-ony rodighsknrakeghdethaghkwe, ken-ony sanhegtyensera, ken-ony saderesera. Akwagh kady ok onekwenghdarihengh thisenekwakenry.

14. Onenh kady yakwenronh wakwanekwenghdarokewanyon jisanakdade, ogh kady nenyawenne seweghniserathagh ne akwah ok skennen then kanakdiyuhake ji enghsitskodake denghsatkaghdonnyonheke.

15. Onenh nene Karena,

YONDONGHS "AIHAIGH."

Kyanerenh deskenonghweronne;
 Kheyadawenh
 deskenonghweronne;
 Oyenkondoh
 deskenonghweronne;
 Wakonnyh deskenonghweronne.
 Ronkeghsotah rotirighwane,--
 Ronkeghsota jiyathondek.

16. Enskat ok enjerennokden nakwah oghnaken nyare
 enyonghdentyonko kanonghsakonghshon, enyairon:

17. "A-i Raxhottahyh! Onenh kajatthondek onenh enyontsdaren ne
 yetshiyadare! Ne ji onenh wakarighwakayonne ne
 sewarighwisahnonghkwe ne kayarengkowah.
 Ayawenhenstokenghske daondayakotthondeke.

18. "Na-i Raxhottahyh! Ne kenne iesewenh enyakodenghthe nene
 noghnaken enyakaonkodaghkwe.

19. "Na-i Raxhottahyh! Onenh nonwa kathonghnonweh
 dhatkonkoghdaghwanyon jidenghnonhon
 nitthatirighwayerathaghkwe."

13. "Now again another thing, my offspring. I have spoken of the
 solemn event which has befallen you. Every day you are losing your
 great men. They are being borne into the earth; also the warriors, and
 also your women, and also your grandchildren; so that in the midst of
 blood you are sitting.

14. "Now, therefore, we say, we wash off the blood marks from your
 seat, so that it may be for a time that happily the place will be clean
 where you are seated and looking around you."

15. Now the Hymn,

CALLED "HAIL."

I come again to greet and thank the
League;
I come again to greet and thank the
kindred;
I come again to greet and thank the
warriors;
I come again to greet and thank the
women.
My forefathers,--what they
established,
My forefathers,--hearken to them!

16. The last verse is sung yet again, while he walks to and fro in the house, and says:

17. "Hail, my grandsires! Now hearken while your grandchildren cry mournfully to you,--because the Great League which you established has grown old. We hope that they may hear.

18. "Hail, my grandsires! You have said that sad will be the fate of those who come in the latter times.

19. "Oh, my grandsires! Even now I may have failed to perform this ceremony in the order in which they were wont to perform it."

20. "Na-i Raxhottahyh! Nene ji onenh wakarighwakayonne ne sewarighwisahnonghkwe, ne Kayarengkowa. Yejisewatkonseraghkwanyon onghwenjakonshon yejisewayadakeron, sewarighwisahnhonkwe ne Kayanerenhkowah. Ne sanekenh ne seweghne aerengh niyenghhenwe enyurighwadatye Kayanereghkawah."

21. Eghnikonh enyerighwawetharho kentho, are enjonderennoden enskat enjerenokden, onenh ethone enyakohetsde onenh are enjondentyonko kanonghsakonghshon, enyairon wahhy:

22. "A-i Raxhotthahyh! Onenh jatthondek kady nonwa jinihotiyerenh,-orighwakwekonh natehaotiyadoreghthonh, nene roneronh ne enyononghsaghniratston. A-i Raxhotthahyh! nene ronenh: 'Onen nonwa wetewayennendane; wetewennakeraghdayon; watidewennakarondonnyon.'

23. "Onenh are oya eghdeshotiyadoreghdonh, nene ronenh: 'Kenkisenh nenyawenne. Aghsonh thiyenjidewatyenghsaeke, onok enjonkwanekheren.' Nene ronenh: 'Kenkine nenyawenne. Aghsonh denyakokwanentonghsaeke, onok denjontadenakarondako. Nene doka ok yadayakonakarondatyeh onghwenjakonh niyaonsakahawe, A-i Raxhottahyh,' nene ronenh, 'da-edewenhheye onghteh, neok yadayakonakarondatyeh onghwenjakonh niyaonsakahawe.'

24. "Onenh are oya eghdeshodiyadoreghdonh, nai Raxhottahyh! Nene ronenh ne enyononghsaghnriratston. Nene ronengh: 'Doka onwa kenenyondatyadawenghdate, ne kenkarenyakeghrondonhah ne nayakoghstonde ne nayeghnyasakenradake, ne kenh ne iesewenh, kenkine nenyawenne. Kendenyethirentyonnite kanhonghdakde dewaghsadayenhah.

20. "Oh, my grandsires! Even now that has become old which you established,--the Great League. You have it as a pillow under your heads in the ground where you are lying,--this Great League which you established; although you said that far away in the future the Great League would endure."

21. So much is to be said here, and the Hymn is to be sung again, and then he is to go on and walk about in the house again, saying as follows:

22. "Hail, my grandsires! Now hear, therefore, what they did--all the rules they decided on, which they thought would strengthen the House. Hail, my grandsires! this they said: 'Now we have finished; we have performed the rites; we have put on the horns.'

23. "Now again another thing they considered, and this they said: 'Perhaps this will happen. Scarcely shall we have arrived at home when a loss will occur again.' They said, 'This, then, shall be done. As soon as he is dead, even then the horns shall be taken off For if invested with horns he should be borne into the grave,' oh, my grandsires, they said, 'we should perhaps all perish if invested with horns he is conveyed to the grave.'

24. "Then again another thing they determined, oh my grandsires! 'This,' they said, 'will strengthen the House.' They said, if any one should be murdered and [the body] be hidden away among fallen trees by reason of the neck being white, then you have said, this shall be done. We will place it by the wall in the shade.

25. "Onenh are oya eglidejisewayudoreghdonh, nene isewenh: 'Yahhonghdehdeyoyanere nene kenwedewayen, onwa enyeken nonkwaderesera; kadykenh niyakoghsathah, akwekonh nityakawenonhtonh ne kenyoteranentenyonhah. Enyonterenjiok kendonsayedane akwah enyakonewarontye, onok enyerighwanendon oghnikawenhonh ne kendeyerentyonny; katykenh nenyakorane nenyerighwanendon akare onenh enyakodokenghse. Onok na entkaghwadasehhon nakonikonra, onenh are ne eh enjonkwakaronny.'

26. "Onenh are oya eghdeshotiyadoreghdonh, nene ronenh: 'Kenkine nenyawenne. Endewaghneghdotako skarenhhesekowah, enwadonghwenjadethare eghyendewasenghte tyoghnawatenghjihonh kathonghdeh thienkakhawe; onenh denghnon dentidewaghneghdoten, onenh denghnon yaghnnonwendonh thiyaensayeken nonkwateresera.'

27. "Onenh are oya eghdeshotiyadoreghdonh, nene roneronh ne enyononghsaghniratston. Nene ronenh: 'Onenh wedewaweyennendane; wedewennakeraghdanyon. Doka nonkenh onghwajok onok enjonkwanekehren. Ken kady ne nenyawenne. Kenhendewaghnatatsherodarho ken kanakaryonniha deyuhonghdoyenghdongh yendewanaghsenghde, kennikanaghseshah, ne enyehharako ne kaneka akonikonghkahdeh. Enwadon ok jiyudakenrokde thadenyedane doghkara nentyewenninekenne enjondatenikonghketsko ne enyenikonglikwenghdarake. Onokna enjeyewendane yenjonthahida ne kayanerenghkowa.'

28. "Onenh kady ise jadakweniyu ken Kanonghsyonny, Dekanawidah, ne deghniwenniyu ne rohhawah Odadsheghte; onenh nene yeshodonyh Wathadodarho; onenh nene yeshohowah akahenyonh; onare nene yeshodonyh

25. "Now again you considered and you said: 'It is perhaps not well that we leave this here, lest it should be seen by our grandchildren; for they are troublesome, prying into every crevice. People will be startled at their returning in consternation, and will ask what has happened that this (corpse) is lying here; because they will keep on asking until they find it out. And they will at once be disturbed in mind, and that again will cause us trouble.'

26. "Now again they decided, and said: 'This shall be done. We will pull up a pine tree--a lofty tree--and will make a hole through the earth-

crust, and will drop this thing into a swift current which will carry it out of sight, and then never will our grandchildren see it again.'

27. "Now again another thing they decided, and thought, this will strengthen the House. They said: 'Now we have finished; we have performed the rites. Perhaps presently it will happen that a loss will occur amongst us. Then this shall be done. We will suspend a pouch upon a pole, and will place in it some mourning wampum--some short strings--to be taken to the place where the loss was suffered. The bearer will enter, and will stand by the hearth, and will speak a few words to comfort those who will be mourning; and then they will be comforted, and will conform to the great law.'

28 Now, then, thou wert the principal of this Confederacy, Dekanawidah, with the joint principal, his son, Odadsheghte; and then again *his* uncle, Wathadodarho; and also again *his* son, Akahenyonh; and again *his* uncle, Kanyadariyu; onenh nene yeshonarase Shadekaronyes; onenh nene onghwa kehthaghsaonhah yejodenaghstahhere kanaghsdajikowah."

29. Onenh jatthondek sewarihwisaanonghkwe Kayarenhkowah. Onenh wakarighwakayonne. Onenh ne okne joskawayendon. Yetsisewanenyadanyon ne sewarihwisaanonghkweh. Yejisewahhawihtonh, yetsisewennitskarahgwanyon; agwah neok ne skaendayendon. Etho yetsisewanonwadaryon. Sewarihwisaanonghkwe yetsisewahhawitonh. Yetsisewatgonseraghwanyon sewarihwisaanonghkwe, Kayanerenhkowah.

30. Onenh kady jatthondek jadakweniyosaon sewarihwisaanonghkwe:

DEKARIHAOKENH!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatagweniyosaon,
 AYONHWAHTHA!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatagweniyosaon,
 SHATEKARIWATE!
 Etho natejonhne!
 Sewaterihwakhaonghkwe,
 Sewarihwisaanonghkwe,
 Kayanerenhkowah.

31. Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatagweniyosaon,
 SHARENHAOWANE!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatagweniyosaon,
 DEYONNHEHGONH!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatagweniyosaon,

Kanyadariyu; and then again his cousin, Shadekaronyes; and then in later times additions were made to the great edifice."

29. Now listen, ye who established the Great League. Now it has become old. Now there is nothing but wilderness. Ye are in your graves who established it. Ye have taken it with you, and have placed it under you, and there is nothing left but a desert. There ye have taken your intellects with you. What ye established ye have taken with you. Ye have placed under your heads what ye established--the Great League.

30. Now, then, hearken, ye who were rulers and founders:

TEHKARIHHOKEN! 1
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 HAYENWATHA!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 SHADEKARIHWADE!
 That was the roll of you,
 You who were joined in the work,
 You who completed the work,
 The Great League.

31. Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 SHARENHHOWANE!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 TEHYONHEGHKWEN!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,

OGHRENREGOWAH!
 Etho natejonhne!
 Sewaterihwakhaonghkwe,
 Sewarihwisaanonghkwe,
 Kayanerenhkowah.

32. Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatagweniyosaon,
 DEHENNAKARINE!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatagweniyosaon,
 AGHSTAWENSERONTHA!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatagweniyosaon,
 SHOSGOHAROWANE!
 Etho natejonhne,
 Sewatarihwakhaonghkwe,
 Sewarihwisaanonghkwe,
 Kayanerenhkowah.

33. Ise seniyatagweniyohkwe,
 Jatathawhak.
 Senirighwisaanonghkwe,
 Kayanerenhkowah.
 Ne deseniyanah;
 Seninonsyonnitonh.
 Onenh katy jatthontenyonk
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 ODATSEGHTE!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 KANONHGWENYODON!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 DEYOHHAGWENTE!
 Etho natejonhne!
 Sewaterihwakhaonghkwe.
 Sewarihwisaanonghkwe,
 Kayanerenhkowah.

OWENHEGHKOHNA!
 That was the roll of you,
 You who were joined in the work,

You who completed the work,
The Great League.

32. Continue to listen!
Thou who wert ruler,
TEHHENNAGHKARIHNE!
Continue to listen!
Thou who wert ruler,
AGHSTAWENSERONTTHA!
Continue to listen!
Thou who wert ruler,
SHAGHSKOHAROWANE!
That was the roll of you,
You who were joined in the work,
You who completed the work,
The Great League.

33. Ye two were principals,
Father and son,
Ye two completed the work,
The Great League.
Ye two aided each other,
Ye two founded the House.
Now, therefore, hearken!
Thou who wert ruler,
ODATSEGHDEH!
Continue to listen!
Thou who wert ruler,
KAHNONKWENYAH!
Continue to listen!
Thou who wert ruler,
TEHYOHHAKWENDEH!
That was the roll of you,
You who were joined in the work,
You who completed the work,
The Great League.

34. Jatthontenyonk!
Jatakweniyosaon,
SHONONSESE!
Jatthontenyonk!
Jatakweniyosaon,
DAONAHROKENAGH!

Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 ATYATONNENHHTHA!
 Etho natejonhne!
 Sewaterihwakhaonghkwe,
 Sewarihwisaanonghkwe,
 Kayanerenhkowah.

35. Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 DEWATAHONHTENYONK!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 KANIYATAHSHAYONK!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 ONWATSATONHONH!
 Etho natejonhne!
 Sewaterihwakhaonghkwe,
 Sewarihwisaanonghkwe,
 Kayanerenhkowah.

36. Eghyesaotonihsen:
 Onenh jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 THATOTARHO!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Etho ronarasenshen:
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 ENNESERARENH!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,

34. Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 SHONONGHSESEH!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 THONAEGHKENAH!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 HAHTYADONNENTHA!
 That was the roll of you,

You who were joined in the work,
 You who completed the work,
 The Great League.

35. Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 TEHWAHTAHONTENYONK!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 KAHNYADAGHSHAYEN!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 HONWATSHADONNEH!
 That was the roll of you,
 You who were joined in the work,
 You who completed the work,
 The great League.

36. These were his uncles:
 Now hearken!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 WATHADOTARHO:
 Continue to listen!
 These were the cousins
 Thou who wert ruler,
 ONEHSEAGHHEN!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,

 DEHATKAHTHOS!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Waghontenhnonterontye.
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 ONYATAJIWAK!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 AWEKENYADE!
 Jatthontenyonk!
 Jatakweniyosaon,
 DEHAYADKWARAYEN!
 Etho natejonhne!

37. Yeshohawak:
 Rokwahhokowah.
 Etho kakeghrondakwe
 Ne kanikonghrashon,
 RONONGHWIREGHTONH!
 Etho natejonhne!

38. Etho yeshotonnyh,
 Tekadarakehne.
 KAWENENSERONDON!
 HAGHRIRON!

Etho nadehhadihne!
 39. Wahhondennonterontye,
 RONYENNYENNIH!
 SHODAKWARASHONH!
 SHAKOKENGHNE!
 Etho nadejonhne!

40. Etho niyawenonh,
 Karihwakayonh.
 Shihonadewiraratye,
 Tehhodidarakeh.
 Rakowanenh,

 TEHHATKAHDONS!
 Continue to listen!
 These were as brothers thenceforth:
 Thou who wert ruler,
 SKANIADAJIWAK:
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 AWEAKENYAT!
 Continue to listen!
 Thou who wert ruler,
 TEHAYATKWAYEN!
 That was the roll of you!

37. Then his son:
 He is the great Wolf.
 There were combined
 The many minds!

HONONWIREHDONH!
That was the roll of you.

38. These were his uncles,
Of the two clans:
KAWENENSEAGHTONH!
HAHHIHHONH!
That was the roll of them!

39. These were as brothers
thenceforth
HOHYUNHNYENNIH!
SHOTEHWASEH!
SHAHKOHKENNEH!
This was the roll of you.

40. This befell
In ancient times.
They had their children,
Those the two clans.
He the high chief,

RASERHAGHRHONK!
Etho wahhoronghyaronnyon:
Roghskenrakeghdekowah,
Rakowanenh,
Tehhotyatarorenh,
SKANAWADYH!
Etho natejonhne!

41. Yeshohhawak,
TEKAHENYONK:
Yeshonadadekenah:
JINONTAWERAON!
Etho natejonhne!

42. KADAKWARASONH!
SHOYONWESE!
ATYASERONNE!
Etho natejonhneh!

43, Yeshondadekenah,
 TEYORONGHYONKEH!
 TEYODHOREGHKONH!
 WATHYAWENHETHON!
 Etho natejnhne!

44. ATONTARAHERHA!
 TESKAHE!
 Etho natejnhneh!

45. Yeshotonnyh,
 SKANYADARIYO!
 Yeshonaraseshen,
 SHADEKARONYES!
 Etho natejnhneh!

46. SATYENAWAT!
 Yeshonaraseshen,
 SHAKENJOWANE!
 Etho natejnhneh!

SAHHAHWIH!
 This put away the clouds:
 He was a war chief;
 He was a high chief--
 Acting in either office:
 SKAHNAHWAHTIH!
 This was the roll of you!

41. Then his son,
 TAHKAHENHYUNH!
 With his brother,
 JIHNONTAHWEHHEH.
 This was the roll of you!

42. KAHTAHGWAHJIH!
 SHONYUNHWESH!
 HAHTYAHSEHNNEH!
 This was the roll of you!

43. Then they who are brothers:
 TEHYUHENHYUNHKOH!

TEHYUHTOHWEHGWIH!
 TYAWENHHEHTHONH!
 This was the roll of you.

44. HAHTONHTAHHEHHAH!
 TESHKAHHEA!
 This was the roll of you!

45. Then his uncle,
 SKAHNYAHTEIHYUH!
 With his cousin,
 SHAHTEHKAHENHYESH.
 This was the roll of you!

46. SATYEHNAHWAHT!
 With his cousin,
 SHAKENHJOHNAN!
 This was the roll of you!

47. KANOKARIH!
 Yeshonarase,--onwa
 NISHARYENEN!
 Etho natejohneh!

48. Onghwa keghaghshonah
 Yodenaghstahere
 Kanaghstajikowah.
 Yatehhotihohhataghkwen.
 Etho ronaraseshen,
 Yadehninhohhanonghne:
 KANONGHKERIDAWYH!
 Yeshonaraseshen,
 TEYONINHOKARAWENH!
 Etho natejohneh!

49. Onenh watyonkwentendane
 Kanikonrakeh.

47. KAHNOHKAIH!
 With his cousin,--then
 NISHAHYEHNENHHAH!
 This was the roll of you!

48. Then, in later times,
 They made additions
 To the great mansion.
 These were at the doorway,
 They who were cousins,
 These two guarded the doorway:
 KANONHKEHIHTAWIH!
 With his cousin,
 TYUHNINHOHKAWENH!
 This was the roll of you!

49. Now we are dejected
 In our minds.

THE BOOK OF THE YOUNGER NATIONS.

(ONONDAGA DIALECT.)

1. a. Yo o-nen o-nen wen-ni-sr-te o-nen wa-ge-ho-gar-a-nyat ne-tha-non-ni-sr-son-tar-yen na-ya-ne o-shon-tar-gon-go-nar nen-tis-no-war-yen na-ye-ti-na gar-weear-har-tye ne swih-ar-gen-ahr ne-tho-se hen-ga-ho-gar-a-nyat nen-tha-o-ta-gen-he-tak ne-tho-har-ten-gar-ton-ji-yar-hon-on nar-ye-en-gwa-wen-ne-kentar ne-ten-gon-nen-tar-hen na-a-yen-tar.

1. b. Tar onen na-on-gen shis-gis-war-tha-en-ton-tye-na on-gwr-nonsen-shen-tar-qua nar-te-har-yar-ar-qui-nar-nan-gar-wen-ne-srh-ha-yo-ton-har-tye nen-gar-nen-ar-ta ho-ti-sgen-ar-ga-tar nen-o-ne gar-nen-ar-ti kon-hon-wi-sats-nen-o-ni tar-ga-non-tye na on-quar-sat-har nen-o hon-tar-gen-hi-se-non-tye nen-o wen-gr-ge go-yar-da-nen-tar-hon nen-tho nr-ta-war ta-har-yar-ar-qui-nar nen-gar-wen-ne-sar han-yo-ton-hr-tye tar o-nen-ti tya-quar-wen-ne-gen-har nen-a-shen ne-yar-quar-tar-ta-gen.

1. c. O-nen-ti-a-wen-hen nar-ya-he-yr-genh thar-ne-ho-ti-e-quar-te nen-on-quar-noh-shen-ta-qua nen-o on-qua-jas-harn-ta-qua nar-ye-gen-na-ho-nen nar-ye-na te-was-hen nen-ne-gon-hi-war na-tho na-ho-te-yen-nen-tar-e tar-day-was-shen nen-ne-yo-ewa na-ar-wen-ha-yo-dar-ge nen-on-quar-twen-non-ty o-nen en-hen-wa-yar-shon nen-na-tho-on-ne-yar-quar-ya-ar nen-a-shen ne-yar-quar-tar-te-ken.

1. d. On-en-ti-eh-o-yar nen-ton-ta-yar-quar-wen-ni-ken-ar-nar-ya-hi-yar-gen na-ar-quar-ton sis-jih-wa-tha-en-ton-tye-o-yar-na son-quar-yo-ten-se-nar tar-nr-ye-ti-na hon-sar-ho-har-we-ti-har-tye

THE BOOK OF THE YOUNGER NATIONS.

(TRANSLATION.)

1. *a.* Now--now this day--now I come to your door where you are mourning in great darkness, prostrate with grief. For this reason we have come here to mourn with you. I will enter your door, and come before the ashes and mourn with you there; and I will speak these words to comfort you.

1. *b.* Now our uncle has passed away, he who used to work for all, that they might see the brighter days to come,--for the whole body of warriors and also for the whole body of women, and also the children that were running around, and also for the little ones creeping on the ground, and also those that are tied to the cradle-boards: for all these he used to work that they might see the bright days to come. This we say, we three brothers.

1. *c.* Now the ancient lawgivers have declared--our uncles that are gone, and also our elder brothers--they have said, it is worth twenty--it was valued at twenty--and this was the price of the one who is dead. And we put our words on it (*i. e.* the wampum), and they recall his name--the one that is dead. This we say and do, we three brothers.

1. *d.* Now there is another thing we say, we younger brothers. He who has worked for us has gone afar off; and he also will in time take with him all these--the nen-qr-nen-hr-te ho-ti-sken-ar-ga-tar nen-o-ne gar-nen-har-te gon-thon-we-sas on-sar-ho-na-tar-que-har-tye nar-ya-har-tes-gar-no-wen na o-nen na-en-gar-ya-tye-nen-har nen-war-thon-wi-sas ar-ques-sis-jit nar-te-yo-nen-ha-ase en-war-nten-har-wat-tha nen-on-quar-ta-shar o-nen o-yar-nen-eh-te-ge-non-tyes on-quar-te-shar nr-ya-o-ne sar-o-har-we-ti-har-tye o-nen o-yar nens-o-ni-ta-gen-hi-se-non-tyes o-wen-gar-ge ga-yr-tr-nen-tak-hon ne-tho nr-te-war on-sar-ho-har-we-ti-har-tye.

1. *e.* O-nen ty-a on-yar ta-ya-quar-wen-ne-ken-har nen-a-sen ne-yar-quar-tar-te-gen o-nen-ty ton-tar-wen-ten-eh nen-o-nen thon-tar-yar-tyar-ton-tye nen-wa-gon-yon-wen-jar-nan-har tar-o-nen ha-o-yar nenta-yo-quar wen ne-ken-e-har-tye. O-nen-te-ar-wen-han o-nen war-quar-de-yen-non-nyar-hen na-shar-non-wa nr-o-tas-are-quar-hen-ten o-nen wa-tya-quar-ha-tar-wen-ya-hon nen-ar o-ar-shon-ar nen-tar-yon-quar-tye ne-tho hon-ne-yar-quar-ya-ar nen-ar-shen ne-yar-quar-ta-te-kenh.

2. O-nen-ti-eh-o-yar nen-ton-tar-yar-quar-wen-ne-ken-har nen-o-son-tar-gon-go-nar nen-ti-sno-war-gen. O-nen-ti ton-sar-gon-en-nya-eh-tha ar-guas hi-yar-ga-tha te-jo-ge-grar O-nen-ti sar-gon-ar-gwar-nen-tak-ten sken-nen-gink-ty then-skar-ar-tayk O-nen en-gar-ar-qui-ken-nha ne-tho tens-shar-ar-tyen. O-nen yo-nen-tyon-ha-tye. Ar-ghwas ten-yo-ten-har-en-ton-nyon-ne. Ne-tho tens-gar-ar-tye a-ghwas sken-non-jis ten-yo-yar-neh ne onen en-gr-ar-gwen-har o-ty-nen-yar-wen-har hen-jo-har-ten-har sar-ne-gon are. Ne-tho han-ne-yar-gwar-ya-ar nen-ar-sen ne-yar-quar-tr-ta-gen.

3. O-nen-ti-eh-o-yar nen-ton-ta-yar-quar-wen-ne-ken-har. O-nen-nen-ti war-tyar-war-see-har-an-qua te-shar-hon-tar-gar-en-tar nen-they-yon-tar-ge-har-te nen-te-sar-nar-ton-ken whole body of warriors and also the whole body of women--they will go with him. But it is still harder when the woman shall die, because with her the line is lost. And also the grandchildren and the little ones who are running around--these he will take away; and also those that are creeping on the ground, and also those that are on the cradle-boards; all these he will take away with him.

1. *e.* Now then another thing we will say, we three brothers. Now you must feel for us; for we came here of our own good-will--came to your door that we might say this. And we will say that we will try to do you good. When the grave has been made, we will make it still better. We will adorn it, and cover it with moss. We will do this, we three brothers.

2. Now another thing we will say, we younger brothers. You are mourning in the deep darkness. I will make the sky clear for you, so that you will not see a cloud. And also I will give the sun to shine upon you, so that you can look upon it peacefully when it goes down. You shall see it when it is going. Yea! the sun shall seem to be hanging just over you, and you shall look upon it peacefully as it goes down. Now I have hope that you will yet see the pleasant days. This we say and do, we three brothers.

3. Now then another thing we say, we younger brothers. Now we will open your ears, and also your throat, for there is something that has been choking you hon-ne-ty ar-war-na-gen-tar wen-jar-wa-gar-ha-e nar-ya-har ten-skar-har-we-tar-han nen-o-ge-gwr-en-yone nen-tye-sar-nar-ton-ken o-ty-nen-yar-wen-har nen-en-jo-har-ten-ar sar-ne-gon-are ne-tho hon-ne-yar-war-ya-ar nen-a-sen ne-yar-quar-tar-te-kenh.

4. O-nen-ti-eh-o-yar nen-ton-tar-yr-quar-wen-ne-ken-tye hon-nen ton-sar-war-kon-ha-jar-ha-jan nen-they-gar-kon-ha-shon-ton-har-tye hon-nen-ti nen-sar-kon-ge-ter-yen-has hon-nen-oni nen-ton-sar-gon-nen-ha-tieh o-nen o-tieh-nen-yar-wen-har nen-en-jo-har-tyen-har sar-ne-gon-are ne-tho hon-ne-yar-quar-yar-ar nen-a-sen ne-yar-qwr-tar-te-kenh.

5. O-nen-ti-eh-o-yar nen-ton-tar-yar-qwar-wen-ne-ken-har nar-ya-ti-ar-wen-han nen-tar-ehe-tar-nen-jar-tar-ti-war-ten nen-ton-gar-ke-sen nenna-hon-yar-na on-har-wen-ne-gen-tar nar-ya-na sar-hon-ta-je-wants askar-we ar-san-nen-sen-wen-hat ne-tho o-ni -nen-yar-wen-hon-sken-are-gen-tar hor-go-war-nen-nen-hon-yar-na an-har-wen-ne-gen-tar are-we ar-sen-nen-sun-sar-wen-hat ne-tho on-ne-yar-quar-ya-ar nen-ar-sen ne-yr-qwar-tr-ta-kenh.

6. O-nen-ti-eh-o-yar nen-ton-tar-yar-quar-wen-ne-ken-hr nar-ye-ti-nar-wen-han nen-an-har-ya-tye-nen-har nen-na-hon-yar-na nr-ya-ti-nar nen-ne-yo-sar-tar ken-yar-tar nen-ji-gar-han nen-ta-hon-gren-tar wi-narna-ge-ne-yo-snon-wa nen-o-yar-en-sar-tyar-tar-nyar-ten a-ren ne-tho one-yar-qwar-yaar nen-ar-sen ne-yr-quar-tar-te-kenh.

7. O-nen-ti-eh-o-yar nen-ton-tr-yar-quar-wen-ne-ken-har nr-ya-ti-ar-wen-han sar-gon-nr-tar-eh-ya-tars nen-gr-nr-gar-yon-ne-ta-ar nen-jarne-qr-nar-sis-ah nen ne-tho war-ar-guar-sins-tar na-tho-ti-an-sar-wa nen-thon-gr-gey-san e-his-an-skas-gen-nen one-ha-yat nen-war-o-yan-quar-a-ton-on-tye nen-yar-gar-ker ta-gr-nr-squaw-ya-an-ne ne-tho on-ne-yar-quar-ya-ar nen-ar-sen ne-yar-quar-ta-te-kenh.

7. *b.* Tar-o-nen sar-gon-yan-nen-tar-ah tar-o-nen-ti ton-tar-ken-yar-tas. and we will also give you the water that shall wash down all the troubles in your throat. We shall hope that after this your mind will recover its cheerfulness. This we say and do, we three brothers.

4. Now then there is another thing we say, we younger brothers. We will now remake the fire, and cause it to burn again. And now you can go out before the people, and go on with your duties and your labors for the people. This we say and do, we three brothers.

5. Now also another thing we say, we younger brothers. You must converse with your nephews; and if they say what is good, you must listen to it. Do not cast it aside. And also if the warriors should say any thing that is good, do not reject it. This we say, we three brothers.

6. Now then another thing we say, we younger brothers. If any one should fall--it may be a principal chief will fall and descend into the grave--then the horns shall be left on the grave, and as soon as possible another shall be put in his place. This we say, we three brothers.

7. Now another thing we say, we younger brothers. We will gird the belt on you, with the pouch, and the next death will receive the pouch, whenever you shall know that there is death among us, when the fire is made and the smoke is rising. This we say and do, we three brothers.

7. *b.* Now I have finished. Now show me the man! 1

NOTES ON THE CANIENGA BOOK.

The meaning of the general title, *Okayondonghsera Yondennase*, has been already explained (Introduction, p. 48). In the sub-title, the word *oghentonh* is properly an adverb, meaning firstly, or foremost. This title might, be literally rendered, "First the ceremony, 'At-the-wood's-edge' they call it."

1. The chiefs, in their journey to the place of meeting, are supposed to have passed the sites of many deserted towns, in which councils had formerly been held. Owing to the frequent removals of their villages, such deserted sites were common in the Iroquois country. The speaker who welcomes the arriving guests supposes that the view of these places had awakened in their minds mournful recollections.

Desawennawenrate,--"thy voice coming over." This word is explained in the Glossary. It is in the singular number. According to the Indian custom, the speaker regards himself as representing the whole party for whom he speaks, and he addresses the leader of the other party as the representative and embodiment of all who come with him. Throughout the speeches "I" and "thou" are used in the well understood sense of "we" and "ye." In like manner, tribes and nations are, as it were, personified. A chief, speaking for the Onondagas, will say, "I (that is, my nation) am angry; thou (the Delaware people) hast done wrong." This style of bold personification is common in the scriptures. Moses warns the Israelites: "Thou art a stiff-necked people." "Oh my people!" exclaims Isaiah; "they which lead thee cause thee to err."

2. *Denighroghkwayen*, "let us two smoke." This word is in the dual number, the two parties, the hosts and the guests, being each regarded as one individual.

The difficulties and dangers which in the early days of the confederacy beset the traveler in threading his way through the forest, from one Indian nation to another, are vividly described in this section. The words are still employed by their speakers as an established form, though they have ceased to have any pertinence to their present circumstances.

3. *Akwah deyakonakarondon*, "yea, of chiefs,"--literally, "yea, having horns." The custom of wearing horns as part of the head-dress of a chief has been long disused among the Iroquois; but the idiom remains in the language, and the horns, in common parlance, indicate the chief, as the coronet suggests the nobleman in England. Among the western Indians, as is well known, the usage still survives. "No one," says Catlin, "wears the head-dress surmounted with horns except the dignitaries who are very high in authority, and whose exceeding valor, worth, and power are admitted by all." These insignia of rank are, he adds, only worn on special and rare occasions, as in meeting embassies, or at warlike parades or other public festivals, or sometimes when a chief sees fit to lead a war-party to battle.¹ The origin of the custom is readily understood. The sight, frequent enough in former days, of an antlered stag leading a herd of deer would be quite sufficient to suggest to the quick apprehension of the Indian this emblem of authority and pre-eminence.

5. *Sathaghyonnighson*, "thou who art of the Wolf clan." The clan is addressed in the singular number, as one person. It is deserving of notice that the titles of clanship used in the language of ceremony are not derived from the ordinary names of the animals which give the clans their designations. *Okwaho* is wolf, but a man of the Wolf clan is called *Tahionni*,--or, as written in the text, *Taghyonni*. In ordinary speech, however, the expression *rokwaho*, "he is a Wolf," might be used.

The English renderings of the names in the list of towns are those which the interpreters finally decided upon. In several instances they doubted about the meaning, and in some cases they could not suggest an explanation. Either the words are obsolete, or they have come down in such a corrupt form that their original elements and purport cannot be

determined. As regards the sites of the towns, see the Appendix, Note E.

6. *Deyakodarakeh ranyaghdenghshon*,--"the two clans of the Tortoise." Respecting the two sub-gentes into which the Tortoise clan was divided, see *ante*, p. 53. *Anowara* is the word for tortoise, but *raniahten* (or, in the orthography of the text, *ranyaghdengh*) signifies, "he is of the Tortoise clan."

7. *Jadadeken roskerewake*, thy brother of the Bear clan." *Okwari* is bear, but *roskerewake* signifies "he is of the Bear clan." *Rokwari*, "he is a Bear," might, however, be used with the same meaning.

8. *Onghwa kehaghshonha*, "now recently." It is possible that *onghwa* is here written by mistake for *orighwa*. The word *orighwakayongh*, which immediately follows, signifies "in ancient times," and the corresponding word *orighwakehaghshonha* would be "in younger times." The period in which these additions were made, though styled recent, was probably long past when the "Book of Rites" was committed to writing; otherwise many towns which are known to have existed at the latter date would have been added to the list. In fact, the words with which the catalogue of towns closes "these were the clans in ancient times,"--seem to refer these later additions, along with the rest, back to a primitive era of the confederacy.

9. *Rawenniyo raweghniseronnyh*, "God has appointed this day," or, literally, "God makes this day." In these words are probably found the only trace of any modification of the Book of Rites caused by the influence of the white visitors and teachers of the modern Iroquois. As the very fact that the book was written in the alphabet introduced by the missionaries makes us certain that the person who reduced it to writing had been under missionary instruction, it might be deemed surprising that more evidences of this influence are not apparent. It is probable, however, that the conservative feeling of the Council would have rejected any serious alterations in their ancient forms. It seems not unlikely that David of Schoharie--or whoever was the penman on this occasion--may have submitted his work to his missionary teacher, and that in deference to his suggestion a single interpolation of a religious cast, to which no particular objection could be made, was allowed to pass.

The word *Rawenniyo*, as is well known, is the term for God which was adopted by the Catholic missionaries. It is, indeed, of Huron-Iroquois origin, and may doubtless have been occasionally employed from the earliest times as an epithet proper for a great divinity. Its origin and precise meaning are explained in the Appendix, Note B. The Catholic missionaries appropriated it as the special name of the Deity, and its use in later times is probably to be regarded as an evidence of Christian influence. That the sentence in which it occurs in the text is probably an interpolation, is shown by the fact that the words which precede this sentence are repeated, with a slight change, immediately after it. Having interjected this pious expression, the writer seems to have thought it necessary to resume the thread of the discourse by going back to the phrase which had preceded it. It will be observed that the religious sentiment proper to the Book of Rites appears to be confined to expressions of reverence for the great departed, the founders of the commonwealth. This circumstance, however, should not be regarded as indicating that the people were devoid of devotional feeling of another kind. Their frequent "thanksgiving festivals" afford sufficient evidence of the strength of this sentiment; but they apparently considered its display out of place in their political acts.

15. *Nene karenna*, "the song," or "hymn." The purport of this composition is explained in the Introduction (*ante*, p. 62). Before the Book of Rites came into my possession I had often heard the hymn repeated, or sung, by different individuals, in slightly varying forms. The Onondaga version, given me on the Syracuse Reservation, contains a line,--*Negwiyage teskenonhenhne*," which is not found in the Canienga MS. It is rendered "I come to greet the children." The affection of the Indians for their children, which is exhibited in various passages of the Book, is most apparent in the Onondaga portion.

Kayanerenh. This word is variously rendered,--"the peace," "the law," and "the league," (see *ante*, p. 33) Here it evidently stands for *Kayanerenhkowa*, "the Great Peace," which is the name usually given by the Kanonsionni to their league, or federal constitution.

Deskenonghweronne, or in the modern French orthography, *teskenonhweronne*, "we come to greet and thank," is a good example of the comprehensive force of the Iroquois tongue. Its root is *nonhwe*, or *nonwe*, which is found in *kenonhwes*, I love, like, am pleased with--the initial syllable *ke* being the first personal pronoun. In the frequentative form this becomes *kenonhweron*, which has the meaning of "I salute and thank," *i.e.*, I manifest by repeated acts my liking or gratification. The s

prefixed to this word is the sign of the reiterative form: *skenonhweron*, "again I greet and thank." The terminal syllable *ne* and the prefixed *le* are respectively the signs of the motional and the cislocative forms,--"I come hither again to greet and thank." A word of six syllables, easily pronounced (and in the Onondaga dialect reduced to five) expresses fully and forcibly the meaning for which eight not very euphonious English words are required. The notion that the existence of these comprehensive words in an Indian language, or any other, is an evidence of deficiency in analytic power, is a fallacy which was long ago exposed by the clear and penetrative reasoning of Duponceau, the true father of American philology. ¹ As he has well explained, analysis must precede synthesis. In fact, the power of what may be termed analytic synthesis,--the mental power which first resolves words or things into their elements, and then puts them together in new forms,--Is a creative or co-ordinating force, indicative of a higher natural capacity than the act of mere analysis. The genius which framed the word *teskenonhweronne* is the same that, working with other elements, produced the steam-engine and the telephone.

Ronkeghsota jiyathondek. Two translations of this verse were given by different interpreters. One made it an address to the people: "My forefathers--hearken to them!" *i.e.*, listen to the words of our forefathers, which I am about to repeat. The other considered the verse an invocation to the ancestors themselves. "My forefathers! hearken ye!" The words will bear either rendering, and either will be consonant with the speeches which follow.

The lines of this hymn have been thus cast into the metre of Longfellow's "Hiawatha:"--

"To the great Peace bring we
greeting
To the dead chiefs kindred, greeting
To the warriors round him, greeting
To the mourning women, greeting!
These our grandsires' words
repeating,
Graciously, O grandsires, hear us!"

16. *Enyonghdentyonko kanonghsakonghshon*,--"to and fro in the house." In councils and formal receptions, it is customary for the orator to walk slowly to and fro during the intervals of his speech. Sometimes, before

beginning his address, he makes a circuit of the assembly with a meditative aspect, as if collecting his thoughts. All public acts of the Indians are marked with some sign of deliberation.

21. *Eghnikonh enyerighwawetharho kenthoh*,--" thus they will close the ceremony here." The address to the forefathers, which is mainly an outburst of lamentation over the degeneracy of the times, is here concluded. It would seem, from what follows, that at this point the candidate for senatorial honors is presented to the council, and is formally received among them, with the usual ceremonies, which were too well known to need description. The hymn is then sung again, and the orator proceeds to recite the ancient laws which the founders of their confederacy established.

22. *Watidewennakarondonnyon*, "we have put on the horns in other words, "we have invested the new chief with the ensigns of office,"--or, more briefly, "we have installed him." The latter is the meaning as at present understood; but it is probable that, in earlier days, the panoply of horns was really placed on the head of the newly inducted councillor.

23. *Aghsonh denyakokwanentonghsaeke*, etc., "as soon as he is dead" (or, according to another rendering, "when he is just dying") the horns shall be taken off. The purport and object of this law are set forth in the Introduction.

24. *Ne nayakoghstonde ne nayeghnyasakenradake*, "by reason of the neck being white." The law prescribed in this section to govern the proceedings of the Council in the case of homicide has been explained in the Introduction. The words now quoted, however, introduce a perplexity which cannot be satisfactorily cleared up. The aged chief, John S. Johnson, when asked their meaning, was only able to say that neither he nor his fellow-councillors fully understood it. They repeated in council the words as they were written in the book, but in this case, as in some others, they were not sure of the precise significance or purpose of what they said. Some of them thought that their ancestors, the founders, had foreseen the coming of the white people, and wished to advise their successors against quarreling with

their future neighbors. If this injunction was really implied in the words, we must suppose that they were an interpolation of the Christian chief, David of Schoharie, or possibly of his friend Brant. They do not, however, seem to be, by any means, well adapted to convey this

meaning. The probability is that they are a modern corruption of some earlier phrase, whose meaning had become obsolete. They are repeated by the chiefs in council, as some antiquated words in the authorized version of the scriptures are read in our own churches, with no clear comprehension--perhaps with a total misconception--of their original sense.

27. *Enjonkwaneheren*, "we shall lose some one," or, more literally, we shall fail to know some person. This law, which is fully explained in the Introduction will be found aptly exemplified in the Onondaga portion of the text, where the speeches of the "younger brothers" are evidently framed in strict compliance with the injunctions here given.

28. *Jadakweniyu*. This word, usually rendered "ruler," appears to mean "principal person," or perhaps originally a "very powerful person." It is a compound word, formed apparently from *oyata*, body or person, *kakwennion*, to be able, and the adjective termination *iyu* or *iyo*, in its original sense of "great." (See Appendix, Note B.) M. Cuoq, in his Iroquois Lexicon, defines the verb *kiatakwenmiyo* as meaning "to be the important personage, the first, the principal, the president." It corresponds very nearly to the Latin *princeps*, and, as applied in the following litany to the fifty great hereditary chiefs of the Iroquois, might fairly enough be rendered "prince."

Kanonghsyonny, in modern orthography, *Kanonsionni*. For the origin and meaning of this word, and an explanation of the following section, see the Introduction.

Yejodenaghstahere kanaghsdajikowah, lit., "they added frame-poles to the great framework." Each of these compounds comprises the word *kanaghsta*, which is spelt by Bruyas, *gannasta*, and defined by him, "poles for making a cabin,--the inner one, which is bent to form the frame of a cabin." The reference in these words is to the Tuscaroras, Tuteloes, Nanticokes, and other tribes, who were admitted into the confederacy after its first formation. From a manuscript book, written in the Onondaga dialect, which I found at "Onondaga Castle," in September, 1880, I copied a list of the fifty councillors, which closed with the words, "*shotinastasona kanastajikona Ontaskaeken*,"--literally, "they added a frame-pole to the great framework, the Tuscarora nation."

29. *Onenh jathondek, sewarihwisaanonghkwe Kayanerenghkowa*,--"now listen, ye who completed the work, the Great League." This

section, though written continuously as prose, was probably always sung, like the list of chiefs which follows. It is, in fact, the commencement of a great historical chant, similar in character to the 78th Psalm, or to some passages of the Prophets, which in style it greatly resembles. In singing this portion, as also in the following litany to the chiefs, the long-drawn exclamation of *hai*, or *haihhaih*, is frequently introduced. In the MS. book referred to in the last note, the list of councillors was preceded by a paragraph, written like prose, but with many of these interjections interspersed through it. The interpreter, Albert Cusick, an intelligent and educated man, assured me that this was a song, and at my request he chanted a few staves of it, after the native fashion. The following are the words of this hymn, arranged as they are sung. It will be seen that it is a sort of cento or compilation, in the Onondaga dialect, of passages from various portions of the Canienga Book of Rites, and chiefly from the section (29) now under consideration:--

<i>Haihhaih</i>	Woe! Woe!
<i>Jiyathontek</i>	Hearken ye!
<i>Niyonkha!</i>	We are diminished!
<i>Haihhaih</i>	Woe! Woe!
<i>Tejoskawayenton.</i>	The cleared land has become
<i>Haihhaih!</i>	a thicket.
<i>Skahentahenyon.</i>	Woe! Woe!
<i>Hai!</i>	The clear places are
<i>Shatyherarta--</i>	deserted.
<i>Hotyiwisahongwe--</i>	Woe!
<i>Hai!</i>	They are in their graves--
<i>Kayaneengoha.</i>	They who established it--
<i>Netikenen honen</i>	Woe!
<i>Nene kenyoiwataty--</i>	The great League.
<i>Kayaneengowane.</i>	Yet they declared
<i>Hai!</i>	It should endure--
<i>Wakaiwakayonnheha.</i>	The great League.
<i>Hai!</i>	Woe!
<i>Netho watyongwententhe.</i>	Their work has grown old.
	Woe!
	Thus we are become
	miserable.

The closing word is the same as the Canienga *watyonkwentendane*, which is found in the closing section of the Canienga book. The lines of the

Onondaga hymn which immediately precede this concluding word will be found in Section 20 of that book, a section which is probably meant to be chanted. It will be noticed that the lines of this hymn fall naturally into a sort of parallelism, like that of the Hebrew chants.

30. *Dekarihaokenh*, or *Tehkarihoken*. In John Buck's MS. the list of chiefs is preceded by the words "*Nene Tehadirioken*," meaning the Caniengas, or, literally, "the Tekarihokens." For an explanation of this idiom and name, see ante.

Ayonhwahtha, or *Hayenwatha*. This name, which, as Hiawatha, is now familiar to us as a household word, is rendered "He who seeks the wampum belt." Chief George Johnson thought it was derived from *oyonwa*, wampum-belt, and *ratiehwatha*, to look for something, or, rather, to seem to seek something which we know where to find. M. Cuoq refers the latter part of the word to the verb *katha*, to make.¹ The termination *atha* is, in this sense, of frequent occurrence in Iroquois compounds. The name would then mean "He who makes the wampum-belt," and would account for the story which ascribes to Hiawatha the invention of wampum. The Senecas, in whose language the word *oyonwa* has ceased to exist, have corrupted the name to *Hayowantha*, which they render "he who combs." This form of the name has also produced its legend, which is referred to elsewhere. Hiawatha "combed the snakes out of Atotarho's head," when he brought that redoubted chief into the confederacy.

Shatekariwate, "two equal statements," or "two things equal." This name is derived from *sate* or *shate*, equal, and *kariwa*, or *karihwa*, for which see the Glossary.

Etho natejohne, "this was your number," or, this was the extent of your class. These words, or the similar form, *etho natehadinhne*, "this was their number," indicate apparently that the roll of chiefs belonging to a particular class or clan is completed. They are followed by three other words which have been already explained (*ante*), *sewaterihwakhaonghkwe*, *sewarihwisaanonghkwe*, *kayanerenhkowa*; In the written litany these three words are omitted toward the close,--probably to save the penman the labor of transcription; but in the actual ceremony it is understood that they are chanted wherever the formula *etho natejohne*, or *etho natehadinhne*, occurs. In the modern Canienga speech this verb is thus conjugated in the plural,--*etho* being contracted to *eh*.--

ehnatetioñhne, we were that number;
ehnatejioñhne, ye were that number;
ehnatehadiñhne, they were that number.

The three Canienga councillors of the first class all belong to the Tortoise clan.

31. *Sharenhowane*; in Onondaga, *Showenhona*. This name was translated by the interpreters, "he is the loftiest tree." It seems properly to mean "he is a great tree-top," from *karenha*, or *garenha*, which Bruyas renders *cime d'arbre*, and *kowane*, great.

Deyonnehgonh, or Teyonhehkwen, "double life," from *onnhe*, life. My friend, Chief George Johnson, who bears this titular appellation, tells me that it is property the name of a certain shrub, which has a great tenacity of life.

Ohrenregowah; in Onondaga, *Owenhegona*. The interpreters differed much in opinion as to the meaning of this name. Some said "wide branches;" another, "a high hill." The root-word, *ohrenre*, is obsolete, and its meaning is apparently lost.

The three chiefs of the second class or division of the Caniengas belong to the Wolf clan.

32. *Dehennakarine*; in Onondaga, *Tehennakaihne*; "going with two horns." The root is *onakara*, horn, the termination *ine*, or *ihne*, gives the sense of going, *de* or *te* is the duplicative prefix.

Aghstawenserontha (Onon. *Hastawensenwa*), "he puts on the rattles." Mr. Bearfoot writes, "*Ohstawensera* seems to have been a general name for anything denuded of flesh, but is now confined to the rattles of the rattlesnake."

Shosgoharowane (Onon. *Shosgohaehna*), "he is a great wood-drift." "*Yohskoharo*, (writes Mr. Bearfoot) means an obstruction by driftwood in creeks or small rivers. The councillors of the third Canienga class are of the Bear clan.

33. *Ise seniyatagweniyohkwe*, "ye two were the principals." *Atagweniyo*, or *adakweniyu* (see *ante*, note to Sec. 28) here becomes a verb in the imperfect tense and the dual number. The reference is either to Dekanawidah and Odatsehte, the chiefs of the Caniengas and Oneidas, who worked together in founding the confederacy, or, rather, perhaps, to their two nations, each regarded as an individual, and, in a manner, personified.

Jatatawhak, or, more properly *jatatahwak*, means, liter ally, "son of each other." It is from the root-word *kahawak* (or *gahawak*), which is defined by Bruyas, *avoir pour enfant*, and is in the reciprocal form. Here, however, it is understood to mean "father and son," in reference to the political relationship between the Canienga and Oneida nations.

Odatsehte (Onon., Tatshehte), "bearing a quiver,"--or the pouch in which the arrows are carried. According to the tradition, when Dekanawidah's brother and ambassador formally adopted Odatsehte as the political son of the Canienga chief, he took the quiver off his own shoulder, and hung it upon that of the Oneida chieftain.

Kanonhgwenyodon, "setting up ears of corn in a row." From *ononhkwenha*, an ear of corn.

Deyohhagwente (Onon., *Tyohagwente*), "open voice" This is another obsolete, or semi-obsolete word, about which the interpreters differ widely in opinion. "Hollow tube," "windpipe," "opening in the woods," "open voice," were the various renderings suggested. The latter would be de rived from *ohakwa* or *ohagwa*, voice, and the termination *wente* or *gwente*, which gives the sense of "open."

The three chiefs of the first Oneida class belong to the Wolf clan.

34. *Shononhsese* (Onon., Shononses), "his long house," or, "he has a long house." From *kanonsa*, house, with the adjective termination *es*, long.

Daonahrokenagh (Onon., Tonaohgena), "two branches." This is another doubtful word. In modern Canienga, "two branches" would be *Toneñrokeñ*.

Atyatonenantha (Onon., Hatyatonnenantha), "he lowers himself," or, literally, "he slides himself down," from *oyata*, body, self, and *tonnenta*, to slide.

The councillors of the second Oneida class are of the Tortoise clan.

35. Dewatahonhtenyonk (Onon., *Tehatahonhtenyonk*), "two hanging ears," from *ohonta*, ear.

Kaniyatahshayonk (Onon., *Kanenyatakshayen*). This name was rendered "easy throat," as if derived from *oniata*, throat but the Oneida form of the word seems to point to a derivation from *onenya* (or *onenhia*), stone. This word must be regarded as another obsolete compound.

Onwatsatonhonk (Onon., *Onwasjatenwi*), "he is buried." The three chiefs of the third Oneida class are of the Bear clan.

36. *Eghyesaotonihsen*, lit., "this was his uncle,"--or, as the words would be understood by the hearers, "the next are his uncles." The Onondaga nation, being the brother of the Canienga, was, of course, the uncle of the Oneida. In John Buck's MS. the Onondagas are introduced with more ceremony in the following lines:

<i>Etho yeshodonnih;</i>	These are the uncles;
<i>Rodihseennakeghde,</i>	They, the name-bearers
<i>Tehhotiyena,</i>	They took hold here;
<i>Rodihmonsyonnihton.</i>	They made the League.

That is, they helped, or joined, in making the League.

Thatotarho, *Wathatotarho* (Onon. *Thatotarho*). Thatotarho is the passive voice and cislocative form of *otarho*, which is defined "to grasp," or "catch" (*accrocher*), but in the passive signifies "entangled." This great chief, whose name is better known as Atotarho (without the cislocative prefix), is of the Bear clan.

Etho ronaraseshen, "these were cousins," or rather, "the next were cousins." This cousinhood, like all the relations throughout the book, is political, and indicates some close relationship in public affairs.

The announcement applies to the following chiefs, Enneserarenh and Dehatkahtos, who were the special aids and counsellors of Atotarho.

Enneserarenh (Onon. *Hanesehen*). One Onondaga chief said that he knew no meaning for this word. Another thought it might mean "the best soil uppermost." It is apparently from some obsolete root.

Dehatkahtos (Onon. *Tehatkahtons*), "he is two-sighted," or, "he looks both ways." Another rendering made it "on the watch." This and the preceding chief belong now to the Beaver clan. In one of the Onondaga lists which I received, these two, with their principal, Atotarho, formed a "class" by themselves, and were doubtless originally of the same clan.

Waghontenhnnonterontye, "they were as brothers thenceforth;" or, more fully rendered, "the next continued to be brothers."

This declaration refers to the three next following chiefs, who were connected by some special political tie. The first who bore the name were, probably, like the two preceding chiefs, leading partisans and favorites of the first Atotarho.

Onyatajiwak, or *Skanyadajiwak* (Onon., *Oyatajiwak*). One authority makes this "a fowl's crop;" another, "the throat alone," from *oniata*, throat, and *jiwak*, alone; another defined it, "bitter threat." Mr. Morgan renders it "bitter body,"--his informant probably seeing in it the word *oyata*, body. This chief belongs now to the Snipe clan.

Awekeyade, "the end of its journey,"--from *awe*, going, and *akonhiate* (Can.) "at the end." This chief is of the Ball tribe, both in Canada and at Onondaga Castle. In the list furnished to Mr. Morgan by the Senecas, he is of the Tortoise clan.

Dehadkwarayen (Onon., *Tehatkwayen*). This word is obsolete. One interpreter guessed it to mean "on his body;" another made it "red wings." He is of the Tortoise clan. In the Book of Rites the first six chiefs of the Onondagas make but one class, as is shown by the fact that their names are followed by the formula, *etho natejohne*, "this was the number of you." It may be presumed that they were originally of one clan,--probably that of the Bear, to which their leader, Atotarho, belonged.

37. *Yeshohawak, rokwahhokowah*, "then his next son, he the great Wolf." The chief who follows, *Rononghwireghtonh*, was evidently a personage of great importance--probably the leading chief of the wolf class. He forms a "clan" by himself--the only instance of the kind in the list. The expression, "there (or, in him) were combined the minds," indicates--as Mr. Bearfoot suggests--a superior intellect. It may also refer to the fact that he was the hereditary keeper of the wampum records. The title was borne in Canada by the late chief George Buck, but the duties of record-keeper were usually performed by his more eminent brother, John (*Skanawati*).

Rononghwireghtonh (Onon., *Hononwiehti*), "he is sunk out of sight." This chief, who, as has been stated, alone constitutes the second Onondaga class, is of the Wolf clan.

38. *Etho yeshotonnyh tekadarakehne*, "then his uncles of the two clans." The five chiefs, who follow probably bore some peculiar political relation to *Rononghwireghtonh*.

The first two in modern times are of the Deer clan; the last three are of the Eel clan. It is probable that they all belonged originally, with him, to one clan, that of the Wolf, and consequently to one class, which was afterwards divided into three.

Kawenenseronton (Onon., *Kawenensenton*). A word of doubtful meaning; one interpreter thought it meant "her voice suspended."

Haghriron (Onon., *Hahihon*), "spilled," or "scattered."

39. *Wahhondenmonterontye*. This word has already occurred, with a different orthography, and is explained in the Note to Section 36.

Ronyennyennih (Onon., *Honyennyenni*). No satisfactory explanation could be obtained of this word. Chief John Buck did not know its meaning.

Shodakwarashonh (Onon., *Shotegwashen*), "he is bruised."

Shakokenghne (Onon. *Shahkohkennh*), "he saw them." As stated above, the three chiefs in this class are of the Eel clan.

40. *Shihonadewiraratye*, "they had children," or, rather, "they continued to get children." Mr. Bearfoot writes in regard to this word: "*Yodewirare*, a fowl hatching, referring to the time when they were forming the league, when they were said to be hatching, or producing, the children mentioned--*i.e.*, the other tribes who were taken into the confederacy."

Tehhodidarakeh, "these the two clans." Taken in connection with the preceding lines of the chant, it seems probable that this expression refers to the introduction of other clans into the Council besides the original three, the Bear, Wolf and Tortoise, which existed when the confederacy was formed.

Raserhaghrhonh (Onon., *Sherahwi*), "wearing a hatchet in his belt," from *asea*, hatchet. This chief is of the Tortoise clan.

Etho wahhoronghyaronnyon, this put away the clouds. "These "clouds," it is said, were the clouds of war, which were dispelled by the great chief whose name is thus introduced, *Skanawadyh*, or as now spelt, *Skanawati*. He had the peculiar distinction of holding two offices, which were rarely combined. He was both a high chief, or "Lord of the Council," and a "Great Warrior." In former times the members of the Great Council seldom assumed executive duties. They were rarely sent out as ambassadors or is leaders of war-parties.

These duties were usually entrusted to the ablest chiefs of the second rank, who were known as "Great Warriors," *rohskenskehte-kowa*. *Skanawati* was an exception to this rule. It would seem that the chief who first bore this title had special aptitudes, which have come down in his family. A striking in stance, given in the "Relations" of the Jesuit missionaries among the Hurons, has been admirably reproduced by Mr. Parkman in the twenty-third chapter of his "Jesuits in North America," and cannot be better told than in his words. In the year 1648, during the desperate war between the Kanonsionni and the Hurons, the Onondagas determined to respond to the pacific overtures which they had received from their northern foes.

"They chose for their envoy," continues the historian, *Scandawati*, a man of renown, sixty years of age, joining with him two colleagues. 1 The old Onondaga entered on his mission with a troubled mind. His anxiety was not so much for his life as for his honor and dignity; for, while the Oneidas and the Cayugas were acting in concurrence with the Onondagas, the Senecas had refused any part in the embassy, and still

breathed nothing but war. Would they, or still more, the Mohawks, so far forget the consideration due to one whose name had been great in the Councils of the League, as to assault the Hurons while he was among them in the character of an ambassador of his nation, whereby his honor would be compromised and his life endangered? 'I am not a dead dog,' he said, 'to be despised and forgotten. I am worthy that all men should turn their eyes on me while I am among enemies, and do nothing that may involve me in danger.' * * * Soon there came dire tidings. The prophetic heart of the old chief had not deceived him. The Senecas and Mohawks, disregarding negotiations in which they had no part, and resolved to bring them to an end, were invading the country in force. It might be thought that the Hurons would take their revenge on the Onondaga envoys, now hostages among them; but they did not do so, for the character of an ambassador was, for the most part, held in respect. One morning, however, Scandawati had disappeared. They were full of excitement; for they thought that he had escaped to the enemy. They ranged the woods in search of him, and at length found him in a thicket near the town. He lay dead, on a bed of spruce boughs which he had made, his throat deeply gashed with a knife. He had died by his own hand, a victim of mortified pride. 'See,' writes Father Ragueneau, 'how much our Indians stand on the point of honor!'

It is worthy of note that the same aptitude for affairs and the same keen sense of honor which distinguished this high spirited chief survives in the member of his family who, on the Canadian Reservation, now bears the same title,--Chief John Buck,--whom his white neighbors all admit to be both a capable ruler and an able and trustworthy negotiator.

In Canada *Skanawati* is of the Tortoise clan. At Onondaga, where the original family has probably died out, the title now belongs to the Ball clan.

41. Yeshohawak, "then his next son,"--or rather, perhaps, "then, next, his son." The Cayuga nation was politically the son of the Onondaga nation.

Tekahenyonk (Onon., *Hakaenyonk*), "he looks both ways," or, "he examines warily." In section 28 this name is spelt *Akahenyonh*. The prefixed *te* is the duplicative particle, and gives the meaning of "spying on both sides." This and the following chief belong, in Canada, to the Deer clan, and constitute the first Cayuga class.

Jinontaweraon (Onon., *Jinontaweyon*), "coming on its knees."

42. *Katakwarasonh* (Onon., *Katagwajik*), "it was bruised." This name, it will be seen, is very similar to that of an Onondaga chief,—*ante*, Note to Section 39. The chief now named and the one who follows are of the Bear clan.

Shoyonwese (Onon., *Soyonwes*), "he has a long wampum belt." The root-word of this name is *oyonwa*, wampum-belt, the same that appears in *Hayonwatha*.

Atyaseronne (Onon., *Hatyasenne*), "he puts one on an other," or "he piles on." This chief is of the Tortoise clan, and completes, with the two preceding councillors, the second Cayuga class.

43. *Yeshonadadekenah*, "then they who are brothers." The three chiefs who follow are all of the Wolf clan, and make the third class of the Cayuga councillors.

Teyoronghyonkeh (Onon., *Thowenyongo*), "it touches the sky."

Teyodhoreghkonh (Onon., *Tyotowegwi*), "doubly cold."

Wathyawenhehetken (Onon., *Thaowethon*), "mossy place."

44. The two following chiefs are of the Snipe clan, and constitute the fourth and last Cayuga class.

Atontaraheha (Onon., *Hatontaheha*) "crowding himself in."

Teskahe (Onon., *Heskahe*) "resting on it."

45. *Yeshotonnih*, "and then his uncle." The Seneca nation, being the brother of the Onondaga, is, of course, the uncle of the Cayuga nation.

Skanyadariyo (Onon., *Kanyataio*), "beautiful lake; originally, perhaps, "great lake." (See Appendix, Note B.) This name is spelt in Section 28 *Kanyadariyu*. The prefixed *s* is the sign of the reiterative form, and when joined to proper names is regarded as a token of nobility, like the French *de*, or the German *von* 1. *Kanyadariyo*, was one of the two leading chiefs of the Senecas at the formation of the confederacy. The title belongs to the Wolf clan.

Yeshonaraseshen, lit., "they were cousins." In the present instance, and according to the Indian idiom, we must read "Skanyadariyo, with his cousin, Shadekaronyes."

Shadekaronyes (Onon., *Shatekaenyas*), "skies of equal length." This chief (whose successor now belongs to the Snipe clan) was in ancient times the head of the second great division of the Senecas.

These two potentates were made a "class" in the Council by themselves, and were thus required to deliberate together and come to an agreement on any question that was brought up, before expressing an opinion in the council. This ingenious device for preventing differences between the two sections of the Seneca nation is one of the many evidences of statesman ship exhibited in the formation of the League.

46. *Satyenawat*, "withheld." This chief, in the Canadian list, is of the Snipe clan; in Mr. Morgan's Seneca list, he is of the Bear clan. His comrade in the class, *Shakenjowane*, is, in both lists, of the Hawk clan.

Shakenjowane (Onon., *Shakenjona*), "large forehead."

There has apparently been some derangement here in the order of the classes. In Mr. Morgan's list, and also in one furnished to me at Onondaga Castle, the two chiefs just named belong to different classes. The variance of the lists may be thus shown:--

The Book of Rites. The Seneca and Onondaga Lists.

Second Seneca Class.

Satyenawat *Kanokarih*

Shakenjowane *Shakenjowane.*

Third Seneca Class.

Kanokarih *Satyenawat*

Nisharyenen *Nisharyenen.*

Satyenawat and Kanokarih have changed places. As the Book of Rites is the earlier authority, it is probable that the change was made among the New York Senecas after a part of their nation had removed to Canada.

47. *Kanokarih* (Onon., *Kanokaehe*), "threatened."

Nisharyenen (Onon., *Onishayenenha*), "the day fell down."

One of the interpreters rendered the latter name, "the handle drops." The meaning of the word must be considered doubtful. The first of these chiefs is of the Tortoise clan, and the second is, in Canada, of the Bear clan. In Mr. Morgan's list he is of the Snipe clan. The disruption of the Seneca nation, and the introduction of Dew clans, have thrown this part of the list into confusion.

48. *Onghwakeghaghshonah*, etc. The verses which follow are repeated here from the passage of the Book which precedes the chanted litany. (See *ante*, Sect I on 28.) Their repetition is intended to introduce the names of the two chiefs who composed the fourth and last class of the Seneca councillors.

Yatehhotihohhataghkwen, "they were at the doorway," or, according to another version, "they made the doorway." The chiefs are represented as keeping the doorway of the "extended mansion," which imaged the confederacy.

Kanongheridawyh, (Onon., *Kanonkeitawi*), "entangled hair given." This chief, in Canada, is of the Bear clan; in New York, according to Morgan's list, he is of the Snipe clan.

Teyoninhokarawenh, (Onon., *Teyoninhokawenh*), "open door." In both lists he is of the Wolf clan.

Mr. Morgan (in his "League of the Iroquois," page 68,) states that to the last-named chief, or "sachem," the duty of watching the door was assigned, and that "they gave him a sub-sachem, or assistant, to enable him to execute this trust." In fact, however, every high chief, or *royaner* (lord), had an assistant, or war chief (*roskenrakehte-kowa*, great warrior), to execute his instructions. The Book of Rites shows clearly that the two chiefs to whom the duty of "guarding the door way" was assigned were both nobles of the first rank. Their office also appears not to have been

warlike. From the words of the Book it would seem that when new tribes were received into the confederacy, these two councillors had the formal office of "opening the doorway" to the new-comers--that is (as we may suppose), of receiving and introducing their chiefs into the federal council.

In another sense the whole Seneca nation was deemed, and was styled in council, the Doorkeeper (*Ronhohonti*, pl.--*Roninhohonti*) of the confederacy. The duty of guarding the common country against the invasions of the hostile tribes of the west was specially committed to them. Their leaders, or public representatives, in this duty would naturally be the two great chiefs of the nation, Kanyateriyo and Shadekaronyes. The rules of the League, however, seem to have forbidden the actual assumption by the councillors of any executive or warlike command. At least, if they undertook such duties, it must be as private men, and not in their capacity of nobles--just as an English peer might serve as an officer in the army or as an ambassador. The only exceptions recognized by the Iroquois constitution seem to have been in the cases of Tekarihoken and Skanawati, who were at once nobles and war-chiefs. The two great Seneca chiefs would therefore find it necessary to make over their military functions to their assistants or war-chiefs. This may explain the statement made by Morgan ("League of the Iroquois," p. 74) that there were two special "war-chiefships" created among the Senecas, to which these commands were assigned.

49. *Onenh watyonkwentendane kanikonrakeh*. The condoling chant concludes abruptly with the doleful exclamation, "Now we are dejected in spirit." *Enkitendane*, "I am becoming poor," or "wretched," is apparently a derivative of *kitenre*, to pity, and might be rendered, "I am in a pitiable state." "We are miserable in mind," would probably be a literal version of this closing ejaculation. Whether it is a lament for the past glories of the confederacy, or for the chief who is mourned, is a question which those who sing the words at the present day would probably have a difficulty in answering. It is likely, however, that the latter cause of grief was in the minds of those who first composed the chant.

It is an interesting fact, as showing the antiquity of the names of the chiefs in the foregoing list, that at least a fourth of them are of doubtful etymology. That their meaning was well understood when they were borne by the founders of the League cannot be questioned. The changes of language or the uncertainties of oral transmission, in the lapse of four centuries, have made this large proportion of them either obsolete or so

corrupt as to be no longer intelligible. Of all the names it may probably be affirmed with truth that the Indians who hear them recited think of their primitive meaning as little as we ourselves think of the meaning of the family names or the English titles of nobility which we hear or read. To the Iroquois of the present day the hereditary titles of their councillors are to use their own expression--"just names," and nothing more. It must not be supposed, however, that the language itself has altered in the same degree. Proper names, as is well known, when they become mere appellatives, discharged of significance, are much more likely to vary than the words of ordinary speech.

Footnotes

147:1 Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians. By George Catlin; p. 172.

150:1 See the admirable Preface to his translation of Zeisberger's Delaware Grammar, p. 94.

154:1 Lexique de la Langue Iroquois, p. 161.

160:1 *Scandawati* is the Huron--and probably the original Onondaga pronunciation of the name.

162:1 See J. A. Cuoq: *Jugement Erroné*, etc., p. 57, "Le reiteratif est comme un signe de noblesse dans les noms propres."

NOTES ON THE ONONDAGA BOOK.

1 a. *Yo o-nen o-nen wen ni sr te*, "oh now--now this day." It will be noticed that this address of the "younger brothers" commences in nearly the same words which begin the speeches of the Canienga book. This similarity of language exists in other parts of the two books, though disguised by the difference of dialect, and also by the very irregular and corrupt spelling of the Onondaga book. To give some idea of this irregularity, and of the manner in which the words of this book are to be pronounced, several of these words are sub joined, with the pronunciation of the interpreter, represented in the orthography of the Canienga book:

*Words as written.**As pronounced by La Fori.*

wen ni sr te	wennisaate
ho gar a nyat	hogaenyat
son tar yen	sontahien
na ya ne	nayeneh
o shon ta gon gonar	osontagongona
gar weear har tye	gawehehatie
on gwr non sen shen tar qua	ongwanonsenshentakwa
ga nen ar ta (or, ga nen ar ti)	ganenhate
kon hon wi sats	konthonwitsas
o wen gr ge	ohwengage
nar ya he yr genh	nayehiyaken.

The letter *r*, it will be seen, is not a consonant. In fact, it is never heard as such in the modern Onondaga dialect. As used by La Fort, its office is either to give to the preceding vowel *a* the sound which it has in *father*, or by itself to represent that sound. The *a*, when not followed by *r*, is usually sounded like *a* in *fate*, but sometimes keeps the sound of *a* in *far*. The *e* usually represents the English *e* in *be*, or, when followed by *n*, the *e* in *pen*. The *i* and *y* are commonly sounded as in the word *city*. The *g* is always hard, and is interchangeable with *k*. The *t* and *d* are also interchangeable.

While the syllables in the original are written separately, the words are not always distinguished; and it is doubtful if, in printing, they have in all cases been properly divided. The translation of the interpreter, though tolerably exact, was not always literal; and in the brief time at our command the precise meaning of some of the words was not ascertained. No attempt, therefore, has been made to form a glossary of this portion of the text.

(Transcribers' Note: In the original printed text there were gaps of one and two spaces between syllables. In this transcription the gaps of one space have been replaced with a hyphen and gaps of two spaces by one space.--*jbh.*)

In the original the addresses of the "younger brothers" are divided into sections, which are numbered from one to seven, and each of which, in

the ceremony, is called to mind by its special wampum-string, which is produced when the section is recited. As the first of these sections is of much greater length than the others, it has been divided in this work, for the purpose of ready reference, into sub-sections, which are numbered 1 *a*, 1 *b*, and so on.

1. *b*. *Nenthaotagenhetak*, "by the ashes," or "near the hearth." The root-word is here *agenhe*, the Onondaga form of the Canienga word *akenra*, ashes, which is comprised in the compound form, *jiudakenrokde*, in Section 27 of the Canienga book. It will be seen that the spokesman of the younger nations is here complying strictly with the law laid down in that section. He "stands by the hearth and speaks a few words to comfort those who are mourning."

1. *c*. "*It was valued at twenty.*" The interpreters explained that by "twenty" was understood the whole of their wampum, which constituted all their treasure. A human life was worth the whole of this, and they freely gave it, merely to recall the memory of the chief who was gone. Among the Hurons, when a man had been killed, and his kindred were willing to renounce their claim to vengeance on receiving due satisfaction, the number of presents of wampum and other valuables which were to be given was rigidly prescribed by their customary law. 1 From this custom would easily follow the usage of making similar gifts, in token of sympathy, to all persons who were mourning the loss of a near relative.

1. *d*. "Because with her the line is lost." The same sentiment prevailed among the Hurons. "For a Huron killed by a Huron," writes Father Ragueneau in the letter just quoted, "thirty gifts are commonly deemed a sufficient satisfaction. For a woman forty are required, because, as they say, the women are less able to defend themselves; and, moreover, they being the source whence the land is peopled, their lives should be deemed of more value to the commonwealth, and their weakness should have a stronger support in public justice." Such was the reasoning of these heathen barbarians. Enlightened Christendom has hardly yet advanced to the mark of these opinions.

1. *e*. "*Where the grave has been made,*" &c. The recital of Father Ragueneau also illustrates this passage." Then followed," he writes, "nine other presents, for the purpose, as it were, of erecting a sepulchre for the deceased. Four of them were for the four pillars which should support

this sepulchre, and four others for the four cross-pieces on which the bier of the dead was to rest. The ninth was to serve as his pillow."

2. "*I will make the sky clear to you.*" In this paragraph the speaker reminds the mourners, in the style of bold imagery which the Iroquois orators affected, that continued grief for the dead would not be consonant with the course of nature. Though all might seem dark to them now, the sky would be as clear, and the sun would shine as brightly for them, as if their friend had not died. Their loss had been inevitable, and equally sure would be the return of the "pleasant days." This reminder, which may seem to us needless, was evidently designed as a reproof, at once gentle and forcible, of those customs of excessive and protracted mourning which were anciently common among the Huron Iroquois tribes.

3. "*You must converse with your nephews,*" &c. The "nephews" are, of course, the chiefs of the younger nations, who are here the condolers. The mourners are urged to seek for comfort in the sympathy of their friends, and not to reject the consolations offered by their visitors and by their own people.

4. "*And now you can go out before the people, and go on with your duties,*" &c. This, it will be seen, corresponds with the injunctions of the Canienga book. "And then they will be comforted, and will conform to the great law."

6. "*Then the horns shall be left on the grave,*" &c. The same figure is here used as in the Canienga book, Section 23. It is evident that the importance of keeping up the succession of their councillors was constantly impressed on the minds of the Iroquois people by the founders of their League.

7. "*And the next death will receive the pouch.*" The "mourning wampum," in modern days, is left, or supposed to be left, with the kindred of the late chief until another death shall occur among the members of the Council, when it is to be passed on to the family of the deceased. This economy is made necessary by the fact that only one store of such wampum now exists, as the article is no longer made. It is probable that in ancient times the wampum was left permanently with the family of the deceased, as a memorial of the departed chief.

"Where the fire is made and the smoke is rising," i.e., when you receive notice that a Condoling Council is to be held in a certain place. The kindled fire and the rising smoke were the well-understood images which represented the convocation of their councils. In the Onondaga book before referred to a few pages were occupied by what might be styled a pagan sermon, composed of exhortations addressed to the chiefs, urging them to do their duty to the community. The following is the commencement of this curious composition, which may serve to illustrate both the words now under consideration and the character of the people. The orthography is much better than that of La Fort's book, the vowels generally having the Italian sound, and the spelling being tolerably uniform. The translation was made by Albert Cusick, and is for the most part closely literal. The discourse commences with a "text," after the fashion which the pagan exhorter had probably learned from the missionaries:--

Naye ne iwaton ne gayanencher:

Onen wahagwatatjistagenhas ne Thatontarho. Onen wagayengwaeten, naye ne watkaenya, esta netho tina enyontkawaonk. Ne enagenyon nwatkaonwenjage shanonwe nwakayengwaeten netho titentyetongenta shanonwe nwakayengwaeten, ne tokat gishens enyagoiwayentaha ne oyatonwetti.

Netho hiya nigawennonten ne ongwandencher ne Ayakt Niyongyonwenjage ne Tyongwehonwe.

Otti nawahoten ne oyengwaetakwit? Nayehiya, ne agwegh enhonatiwagwaisyonk ne hatigowanes,--tenhontatnonongwak gagweki,--oni enshagotino-ongwak ne honityogwa; engenk ne hotisgenrhergeta, oni ne genthonwisash, oni ne hongwagsata, oni ne ashonsthatetyetigaher ne ongwagsata; netho niyoh tehatinya agweke sne sgennon enyonnonnyonhet, ne hegentyogwagwegi. Naye ne hatigowanens neye gagwegi honatiiwayenni sha oni nenyotik honityogwa shanya yagonigonheten. Ne tokat gishen naye enyagotiwatentyeti, negaewane akwashen ne honiyatwa shanityawenih.

Translation.

"The law says this:"

"Now the council-fire was lighted by Atotarho. Now the smoke rises and ascends to the sky, that everybody may see it. The tribes of the different nations where the smoke appeared shall come directly where the smoke arises, if, perhaps, they have any business for the council to consider.

"These are the words of our law,--of the Six Nations of Indians.

"What is the purpose of the smoke? It is this--that the chiefs must all be honest; that they must all love one another; and that they must have regard for their people,--including the women, and also our children, and also those children whom we have not yet seen; so much they must care for, that all may be in peace, even the whole nation. It is the duty of the chiefs to do this, and they have the power to govern their people. If there is anything to be done for the good of the people, it is their duty to do it."

7 b. "*Now I have finished! Now show him to me!*" With this laconic exclamation, which calls upon the nation of the late chief to bring forward his successor, the formal portion of the ceremony--the condolence which precedes the installation--is abruptly closed.

Footnotes

167:1 *Relation* of 1648, p. 80.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

THE NAMES OF THE IROQUOIS NATIONS.

The meaning of the term Kanonsionni, and of the other names by which the several nations were known in their Council, are fully explained in the Introduction. But some account should be given of the names, often inappropriate and generally much corrupted, by which they were known to their white neighbors. The origin and proper meaning of the word *Iroquois* are doubtful. All that can be said with certainty is that the explanation given by Charlevoix cannot possibly be correct. "The name of Iroquois," he says, "is purely French, and has been formed from the term *hiro*, 'I have spoken,' a word by which these Indians close all their speeches, and *koué*, which, when long drawn out, is a cry of sorrow, and

when briefly uttered, is an exclamation of joy." ¹ It might be enough to say of this derivation that no other nation or tribe of which we have any knowledge has ever borne a name composed in this whimsical fashion. But what is decisive is the fact that Champlain had learned the name from his Indian allies before he or any other Frenchman, so far as is known, had ever seen an Iroquois. It is probable that the origin of the word is to be sought in the Huron language; yet, as this is similar to the Iroquois tongue, an attempt may be made to find a solution in the latter. According to Bruyas, the word *garokwa* meant a pipe, and also a piece of tobacco,--and, in its verbal form, to smoke. This word is found, somewhat disguised by aspirates, in the Book of Rites, *denighroghkwayen*,--"let us two smoke together." In the indeterminate form the verb becomes *ierokwa*, which is certainly very near to "Iroquois." It might be rendered "they who smoke," or "they who use tobacco," or, briefly, "the Tobacco People." This name, the Tobacco Nation (*Nation du Petun*) was given by the French, and probably also by the Algonkins, to one of the Huron tribes, the Tionontates, noted for the excellent tobacco which they raised and sold. The Iroquois were equally well known for their cultivation of this plant, of which they had a choice variety. ¹ It is possible that their northern neighbors may have given to them also a name derived from this industry. Another not improbable supposition might connect the name with that of a leading sept among them, the Bear clan. This clan, at least among the Caniengas, seems to have been better known than any other to their neighbors. The Algonkins knew that nation as the Maquas, or Bears. In the Canienga speech, bear is *ohkwai*,--in Onondaga, the word becomes *ohkwai*, and in Cayuga, *iakwai*,--which also is not far from Iroquois. These conjectures--for they are nothing more--may both be wrong; but they will perhaps serve to show the direction in which the explanation of this perplexing word is to be sought.

The name of *Mingo* or *Mengwe*, by which the Iroquois were known to the Delawares and the other southern Algonkins, is said to be a contraction of the Lenape word *Mahongwi*, meaning the "People of the Springs." ² The Iroquois possessed the headwaters of the rivers which flowed through the country of the Delawares,--and this explanation of the name may therefore be accepted as a probable one.

The first of the Iroquois nations, the "oldest brother" of the confederacy, has been singularly unfortunate in the designations by which it has become generally known. The people have a fine, sonorous name of their own, said to be derived from that of one of their ancient towns. This name is *Kanienke*, "at the Flint." *Kanien*, in their language, signifies

flint, and the final syllable is the same locative particle which we find in *Onontake*, "at the mountain." In pronunciation and spelling, this, like other Indian words, is much varied, both by the natives themselves and by their white neighbors, becoming *Kanieke*, *Kanyenke*, *Canyangeh*, and *Canienga*. The latter form, which accords with the sister names of Onondaga and Cayuga, has been adopted in the present volume.

The Huron frequently drops the initial *k*, or changes it to *y*. The Canienga people are styled in that speech *Yanyenge*, a word which is evidently the origin of the name of *Agnier*, by which this nation is known to the French.

The Dutch learned from the Mohicans (whose name, signifying Wolves, is supposed to be derived from that of their leading clan) to call the Kanieke by the corresponding name of *Maqua* (or *Makwa*), the Algonkin word for Bear. But as the Iroquois, and especially the Caniengas, became more and more a terror to the surrounding nations, the feelings of aversion and dread thus awakened found vent in an opprobrious epithet, which the southern and eastern Algonkins applied to their obnoxious neighbors. They were styled by these enemies *Mowak*, or *Mowawak*, a word which has been corrupted to Mohawk. It is the third person plural, in the sixth "transition," of the Algonkin word *mowa*, which means "to eat," but which is only used of food that has had life. Literally it means "they eat them;" but the force of the verb and of the pronominal inflection suffices to give to the word, when used as an appellative, the meaning of "those who eat men," or, in other words, "the Cannibals." That the English, with whom the Caniengas were always fast friends, should have adopted this uncouth and spiteful nickname is somewhat surprising. It is time that science and history should combine to banish it, and to resume the correct designation. 1

The name *Oneida*, which in French became *Onneyouth* or *Onneyote*, is a corruption of a compound word, formed of *onenhia*, or *onenya*, stone, and *kaniote*, to be upright or elevated. *Onenniote* is rendered "the projecting stone." It is applied to a large boulder of syennite, which thrusts its broad shoulder above the earth at the summit of an eminence near which, in early times, the Oneidas had planted their chief settlement.

As has been already stated, *Onondaga* is a softened pronunciation of *Onontake*, "at the mountain,"--or, perhaps, more exactly, "at the hill." It is probable that this name was unknown when the confederacy was

formed, as it is not comprised in the list of towns given in the Book of Rites. It may be supposed to have been first applied to this nation after their chief town was removed to the site which it occupied in the year 1654, when the first white visitors of whom we have any certain account, the Jesuit Father Le Moyne and his party, came among them,--and also in 1677, when the English explorer, Greenhalgh, passed through their country. This site was about seven miles east of their present Reservation. I visited it in September, 1880, in company with my friend, General John S. Clark, who has been singularly successful in identifying the positions of the ancient Iroquois towns. The locality is thus described in my journal: "The site is, for an Indian town, peculiarly striking and attractive. It stretches about three miles in length, with a width of half a mile, along the broad back and gently sloping sides of a great hill, which swells, like a vast oblong cushion, between two hollows made by branches of a small stream, known as Limehouse creek. These streams and many springs on the hillside yielded abundance of water, while the encircling ridges on every side afforded both firewood and game. In the neighborhood were rich valleys, where--as well as on the hill itself--the people raised their crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and tobacco. There are signs of a large population." In the fields of stubble which occupied the site of this ancient capital, the position of the houses could still be traced by the dark patches of soil; and a search of an hour or two rewarded us with several wampum-beads, flint chips, and a copper coin of the last century. The owner of the land, an intelligent farmer, affirmed that "wagon-loads" of Indian wares,--pottery, hatchets, stone implements, and the like--had been carried off by curiosity seekers.

The name of the *Cayugas* (in French *Goyogouin*) is variously pronounced by the Iroquois themselves. I wrote it as I heard it, at different times, from members of the various tribes, *Koyuⁿkweñ*, *Koiuⁿkwe*, *Kwaiuⁿkweñ*, *Kayuⁿkwe*. A Cayuga chief made it *Kayuⁿkwa*, which is very near the usual English pronunciation of the word. Of its purport no satisfactory account could be obtained. One interpreter rendered it "the fruit country;--another "the place where canoes are drawn out." Cusick, the historian, translates it "a mountain rising from the water." Mr. Morgan was told that it meant "the mucky land." We can only infer that the interpreters were seeking, by vague resemblances, to recover a lost meaning.

The *Senecas*, who were called by the French *Tsonontouan* or *Sonnontouan*, bore among the Iroquois various names, but all apparently derived from the words which appear in that appellation,--*ononta*, hill, and *kowa*

or *kowane*, great. The Caniengas called them *Tsonontowane*; the Oneidas abridged the word to *Tsontowana*; the Cayugas corrupted it to *Onondewa*; and the Onondagas contracted it yet farther, to *Nontona*. The Senecas called themselves variously *Sonontowa*, *Onontewa*, and *Nondewa*. *Sonontowane* is probably the most correct form.

The word *Seneca* is supposed to be of Algonkin origin, and, like Mohawk, to have been given as an expression of dislike, or rather of hostility. *Sinako*, in the Delaware tongue, means properly "Stone Snakes;" but in this conjunction it is understood, according to the interpretation furnished to Mr. Squier, to signify "Mountain Snakes." ¹ The Delawares, it appears, were accustomed to term all their enemies "snakes." In this case they simply translated the native name of the Iroquois tribe (the "Mountain People"), and added this uncomplimentary epithet. As the name, unlike the word Mohawk, is readily pronounced by the people to whom it was given, and as they seem to have in some measure accepted it, there is not the same reason for objecting to its use as exists in the case of the latter word,—more especially as there is no absolute certainty that it is not really an Iroquois word. It bears, in its present form, a close resemblance to the honorable "Council name" of the Onondagas,—*Sennakehte*, "the title-givers;" a fact which may perhaps have made the western nation more willing to adopt it.

Footnotes

171:1 History of New France, Vol. i, p. 270.

172:1 "The Senecas still cultivate tobacco. Its name signifies 'the only tobacco,' because they consider this variety superior to all others."—Morgan: *League of the Iroquois*, p. 375.

172:2 E. G. Squier: "*Traditions of the Algonquins*," in Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 28.

173:1 William Penn and his colonists, who probably understood the meaning of the word Mohawk, forbore to employ it. In the early records of the colony (published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society) the nation is described in treaties, laws, and other public acts, by its proper designation, a little distorted in the spelling,—*Canyingoes*, *Ganyingoes*, *Cayinkers*, etc.

175:1 "Traditions of the Algonquins," in Beach's Indian Miscellany, p. 33.

NOTE C.

THE ERA OF THE CONFEDERACY.

Mr. Morgan, in his work on "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" (p. 151), fixes the date of the formation of the Iroquois league at about the middle of the fifteenth century. He says: "As near as can now be ascertained, the league had been established about one hundred and fifty years when Champlain, in 1609, first encountered the Mohawks within their own territories, on the west coast of Lake George. This would place the epoch of its formation about A. D., 1459." Mr. Morgan, as he informed me, deduced this conclusion from the testimony of the most intelligent Indians whom he had consulted on the subject. His informants belonged chiefly to the Seneca and Tuscarora nations. Their statements are entirely confirmed by those of the Onondaga record-keepers, both on the Syracuse Reservation and in Canada. When the chiefs at Onondaga Castle, who, in October, 1875, met to explain to me their wampum records, were asked how long it had been since their league was made, they replied (as I find the answer recorded in my notes) that "it was their belief that the confederacy was formed about six generations before the white people came to these parts." Hudson ascended the river to which he gave his name in September, 1609. A boat from his ship advanced beyond Albany, and consequently into the territories of the League. "Frequent intercourse," says Bancroft, in his account of this exploration, "was held with the astonished natives of the Algonquin race; and the strangers were welcomed by a deputation from the Mohawks." If we allow twenty-five years to a generation, the era of the confederacy is carried back to a period a hundred and fifty years before the date of Hudson's discovery,—or to the year 1459. This statement of the Onondaga chiefs harmonizes, therefore, closely with that which Mr. Morgan had heard among the other nations.

I afterwards (in 1882) put the same question to my friend, Chief John Buck, the keeper of the wampum-records of the Canadian Iroquois. He thought it was then "about four hundred years" since the League was formed. He was confident that it was before any white people had been heard of by his nation. This opinion accords sufficiently with the more definite statement of the New York Onondagas to be deemed a confirmation of that statement.

There are two authorities whose opinions differ widely, in opposite directions, from the information thus obtained by Mr. Morgan and myself. David Cusick, in his "*Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations*," supposes that the League was formed "perhaps 1000 years before Columbus discovered America." His reasons for this supposition, however, do not bear examination. He makes Atotarho the hereditary title of a monarch, like Pharaoh or Cæsar,

and states that thirteen potentates bearing that title had "reigned" between the formation of the confederacy and the discovery of America by Columbus. The duration of each of these reigns he computes, absurdly enough, at exactly fifty years, which, however, would give altogether a term of only six hundred and fifty years. He supposes the discovery of America to have taken place during the reign of the thirteenth Atotarho; and he adds that the conquest and dispersion of the Eries occurred "about this time." The latter event, as we know, took place in 1656. It is evident that Cusick's chronology is totally at fault. As an Iroquois chief was never succeeded by his son, but often by his brother, it is by no means improbable that thirteen persons may have held successively the title of Atotarho in the term of nearly two centuries, between the years 1459 and 1656.

On the other hand, Heckewelder, in his well-known work on the "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations," cites a passage from a manuscript book of his predecessor, the Rev. C. Pylæus, formerly missionary among the Mohawks, from which a comparatively recent date would be inferred for the confederation. The inference, however, is probably due to a mistake of Heckewelder himself. The passage, as it stands in his volume, 1 is as follows:--

"The Rev. C. Pylæus, in his manuscript book, p. 234, says: 'The alliance or confederacy of the Five Nations was established, as near as can be conjectured, one age (or the length of a man's life) before the white people (the Dutch) came into the country. Thannawage was the name of the aged Indian, a Mohawk, who first proposed such an alliance.'"

The words which Heckewelder has here included between parentheses are apparently explanations which he himself added to the original statement of Pylæus. The first of these glosses, by which an "age" is explained to be the length of a man's life, is doubtless correct; but the second, which identifies the "white people" of Pylæus with the Dutch, is probably wrong. The white people who first "came into the country" of the Huron-Iroquois nations were the French, under Cartier. It was in the summer of 1535 that the bold Breton navigator, with three vessels commissioned to establish a colony in Canada, entered the St. Lawrence, and ascended the great river as far as the sites of Quebec and Montreal. He spent the subsequent winter at Quebec. The presence of this expedition, with its soldiers and sailors of strange complexion and armed with terrible weapons, must have been known to all the tribes dwelling along the river, and would naturally make an epoch in their chronology. Assuming the year 1535 as the time when the white people first "came into the country," and taking "the length of a man's life" at seventy-five years (or three generations) we should arrive at the year 1460 as the date of the formation of the Iroquois League. 2

The brief period allowed by Heckewelder's version is on many accounts inadmissible. If, when the Dutch first came among the Iroquois, the confederacy had existed for only about eighty years, there must have been many persons then living who had personally known some of its founders. It is quite inconceivable that the cloud of mythological legends which has gathered around the names of these founders--of which Clark, in his "Onondaga," gives only the smaller portion--should have arisen in so short a term. Nor is it probable that in so brief a period as has elapsed since the date suggested by Heckewelder, a fourth part of the names of the fifty chiefs who formed the first council would have become unintelligible, or at least doubtful in meaning. Schoolcraft, who was inclined to defer to Heckewelder's authority on this point, did so with evident doubt and perplexity. "We cannot," he says, "without rejecting many positive traditions of the Iroquois themselves, refuse to concede a much earlier period to the first attempts of these interesting tribes to form a general political association." 1

In view of all the facts there seems no reason for withholding credence from the clear and positive statement of the Iroquois chroniclers, who place the commencement of their confederate government at about the middle of the fifteenth century.

Footnotes

179:1 p. 56 of the revised edition of 1875, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

179:2 There is an evident difference between the expression used by my p. 180 Onondaga informants and that which is quoted by Heckewelder from Pylæus. The latter speaks of the time before the white people "came into the country;" the Onondagas referred to the time before they "came to these parts." The passage cited from Bancroft seems to indicate that the white men of Hudson's crew presented no novel or startling aspect to the Mohawks. The French had been "in the country" before them.

180:1 "Notes on the Iroquois." p. 75.

NOTE D.

THE HIAWATHA MYTHS.

While many of the narratives of preternatural events recounted by Clark, Schoolcraft and others, in which the name of Hiawatha occurs, are merely adaptations of older myths relating to primitive Iroquois or Algonkin deities, there are a few which are actual traditions, though

much confused and distorted, of incidents that really occurred. Among these is the story told by Clark, of the marvelous bird by which Hiawatha's only daughter was destroyed. Longfellow has avoided all reference to this preposterous tale; but to Mr. Clark, if we may judge from the fullness and solemnity with which he has recorded it, it appeared very impressive. 1 According to his narrative, when the great convention assembled at the summons of Hiawatha, to form the league of the Five Nations, he came to it in company with his darling and only daughter, a girl of twelve. Suddenly a loud rushing sound was heard. A dark spot appeared in the sky. Hiawatha warned his daughter to be prepared for the coming doom from the Great Spirit, and she meekly bowed in resignation. The dark spot, rapidly descending, became an immense bird, which, with long and pointed beak and wide-extended wings, swept down upon the beautiful girl, and crushed her to atoms. Many other incidents are added, and we are told, what we might well believe, that the hero's grief for the loss so suddenly and frightfully inflicted upon him was intense and long protracted.

That a story related with so much particularity should be utterly without foundation did not appear probable. It seemed not unlikely that a daughter of Hiawatha might have been killed at some public meeting, either accidentally or purposely, and possibly by an Indian belonging to one of the bird clans, the Snipe, the Heron, or the Crane. But further inquiry showed that even this conjecture involved more of what may be styled mythology than the simple facts called for. The Onondaga chiefs on the Canadian Reserve, when asked if they had heard anything about a strange bird causing the death of Hiawatha's daughter, replied at once that the event was well known. As they related it, the occurrence became natural and intelligible. It formed, indeed, a not unimportant link in the chain of events which led to the establishment of the confederacy. The catastrophe, for such it truly was, took place not at the great assembly which met for the formation of the league, but at one of the Onondaga councils which were convened prior to that meeting, and before Hiawatha had fled to the Caniengas. The council was held in an open plain, encircled by a forest, near which temporary lodges had been erected for the Councillors and their attendants. Hiawatha was present, accompanied by his daughter, the last surviving member of his family. She was married, but still lived with her father, after the custom of the people; for the wife did not join her husband in his own home until she had borne him a child. The discussions had lasted through the day, and at nightfall the people retired to their lodges. Hiawatha's daughter had been out, probably with other women, into the adjacent woods, to gather their light fuel of dry sticks for cooking. She was great with child,

and moved slowly, with her faggot, across the sward. An evil eye was upon her. Suddenly the loud voice of Atotarho was heard, shouting that a strange bird was in the air, and bidding one of his best archers shoot it. The archer shot, and the bird fell. A sudden rush took place from all quarters toward it, and in the rush Hiawatha's daughter was thrown down and trampled to death. No one could prove that Atotarho had planned this terrible blow at his great adversary, but no one doubted it. Hiawatha's grief was profound; but it was then, according to the tradition of the Canadian Onondagas,—when the last tie of kindred which bound him to his own people was broken,—that the idea occurred to him of seeking aid among the eastern nations. 1

Clark's informants also told him much about a snow-white canoe in which Hiawatha—or, rather, Ta-oun-ya-wa-tha—made his first appearance to human eyes. In this canoe the demigod was seen on Lake Ontario, approaching the shore at Oswego. In it he ascended the river and its various branches, removing all obstructions, and destroying all enemies, natural and preternatural. And when his work was completed by the establishment of the League, the hero, in his human form of Hiawatha, seated himself in this canoe, and ascended in it to heaven, amid "the sweetest melody of celestial music."

The nucleus and probable origin of this singular story is perhaps to be found in the simple fact that Hiawatha, after his flight from the Onondagas, made his appearance among the Caniengas a solitary voyager, in a canoe, in which he had floated down the Mohawk river. The canoes of the Caniengas were usually made of elm-bark, the birch not being common in their country. If Hiawatha, as is not unlikely, had found or constructed a small canoe of birch-bark on the upper waters of the stream, and used it for his voyage to the Canienga town, it might naturally attract some attention. The great celebrity and high position which he soon attained, and the important work which he accomplished, would cause the people who adopted him as a chief to look back upon all the circumstances of his first arrival among them with special interest. That the canoe was preserved till his death, and that he was buried in it, amid funeral wails and mournful songs from a vast multitude, such as had never before lamented a chief of the Kanonsionni, may be deemed probable enough; and in these or some similar events we may look for the origin of this beautiful myth, which reappears, with such striking effect, in the closing scene of Longfellow's poem.

Footnotes

181:1 "Onondaga," Vol. I, p. 25.

182:1 This account of the events which immediately preceded Hiawatha's flight differs somewhat from the narrative which I received from the New York Onondagas, as recorded in the Introduction (p. 22). The difference, however, is not important; and possibly, if it had occurred to me to inquire of these latter informants about the incident of the bird, I might have heard from them particulars which would have brought the two versions of the story still nearer to accord. The notable fact is that the reports of a tradition preserved for four hundred years, in two divisions of a broken tribe, which have been widely separated for more than a century, should agree so closely in all important particulars. Such concurrence of different chroniclers in the main narrative of an event, with some diversity in the details, is usually regarded as the best evidence of the truth of the history.

The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees

*ANCIENT RITES OF THE CONDOLING COUNCIL.,
THE SACRED FORMULAS OF THE CHEROKEES., BY
JAMES MOONEY., 7th Annual report, Bureau of American
Ethnology. pp. 302-97, [1891]*

CHARACTER OF THE FORMULAS--THE CHEROKEE RELIGION.

It is impossible to overestimate the ethnologic importance of the materials thus obtained. They are invaluable as the genuine production of the Indian mind, setting forth in the clearest light the state of the aboriginal religion before its contamination by contact with the whites. To the psychologist and the student of myths they are equally precious. In regard to their linguistic value we may quote the language of Brinton, speaking of the sacred books of the Mayas, already referred to:

Another value they have, * * * and it is one which will be properly appreciated by any student of languages. They are, by common consent of all competent authorities, the genuine productions of native minds, cast in the idiomatic forms of the native tongue by those born to its use. No matter how fluent a foreigner becomes in a language not his own, he can never use it as does one who has been familiar with it from childhood. This general maxim is tenfold true when we apply it to a European learning an American language. The flow of thought, as exhibited in these two linguistic families, is in such different directions

that no amount of practice can render one equally accurate in both. Hence the importance of studying a tongue as it is employed by natives; and hence the very high estimate I place on these "Books of Chilan Balam" as linguistic material--an estimate much increased by the great rarity of independent compositions in their own tongues by members of the native races of this continent.[1]

The same author, in speaking of the internal evidences of authenticity contained in the Popol Vuh, the sacred book of the Kichés, uses the following words, which apply equally well to these Cherokee formulas:

To one familiar with native American myths, this one bears undeniable marks of its aboriginal origin. Its frequent puerilities and inanities, its generally low and coarse range of thought and expression, its occasional loftiness of both, its strange metaphors and the prominence of strictly heathen names and potencies, bring it into unmistakable relationship to the true native myth.[2]

These formulas furnish a complete refutation of the assertion so frequently made by ignorant and prejudiced writers that the Indian had no religion excepting what they are pleased to call the meaning less mummeries of the medicine man. This is the very reverse of the truth. The Indian is essentially religious and contemplative,

[1. Brinton, D. G.: The books of Chilan Balam 10, Philadelphia, n. d., (1882).

2. Brinton, D. G: Names of the Gods in the Kiche Myths, in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., Philadelphia, 1881, vol. 19, p. 613.]

and it might almost be said that every act of his life is regulated and determined by his religious belief. It matters not that some may call this superstition. The difference is only relative. The religion of to-day has developed from the cruder superstitions of yesterday, and Christianity itself is but an outgrowth and enlargement of the beliefs and ceremonies which have been preserved by the Indian in their more ancient form. When we are willing to admit that the Indian has a religion which he holds sacred, even though it be different from our own, we can then admire the consistency of the theory, the particularity of the ceremonial and the beauty of the expression. So far from being a jumble of crudities, there is a wonderful completeness about the whole system which is not surpassed even by the ceremonial religions of the East. It is

evident from a study of these formulas that the Cherokee Indian was a polytheist and that the spirit world was to him only a shadowy counterpart of this. All his prayers were for temporal and tangible blessings--for health, for long life, for success in the chase, in fishing, in war and in love, for good crops, for protection and for revenge. He had no Great Spirit, no happy hunting ground, no heaven, no hell, and consequently death had for him no terrors and he awaited the inevitable end with no anxiety as to the future. He was careful not to violate the rights of his tribesman or to do injury to his feelings, but there is nothing to show that he had any idea whatever of what is called morality in the abstract.

The Mountain Chant, A Navajo Ceremony

*THE MOUNTAIN CHANT, A NAVAJO CEREMONY., BY
Dr. WASHINGTON MATTHEWS, U. S. A., U.S. Bureau of
American Ethnology, Fifth Annual Report, 1883-84.,
Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution, [1887]*

INTRODUCTION.

1. The ceremony of *dsilyídje qaçàl*, or mountain chant--literally, chant towards (a place) within the mountains--is one of a large number practiced by the shamans, or medicine men, of the Navajo tribe. I have selected it as the first of those to be described, because I have witnessed it the most frequently, because it is the most interesting to the Caucasian spectator, and because it is the best known to the whites who visit and reside in and around the Navajo country. Its chief interest to the stranger lies in the various public performances of the last night. Like other great rites of the shamans, it has its secret ceremonies of many days' duration in the medicine lodge; but, unlike the others, it ends with a varied show in the open air, which all are invited to witness. Another ceremony which I have attended, and which the whites usually call the "Yay`bichy Dance" (*Yèbitcai*), has a final public exhibition which occupies the whole night, but it is unvaried. Few Europeans can be found who have remained awake later than midnight to watch it. Such is not the case with the rite now to be described. Here the white man is rarely the first to leave at dawn.

2. The appropriateness of the name *dsilyídje* or *tsilgitce*--towards (a place) within the mountains--will be better understood from the myth than from any brief description. "Dxilyi`" way well allude to mountains in general or to the Carrizo Mountains in particular, to the place in the mountains (paragraphs 9 and 38) where the originator of these ceremonies (whom I often find it convenient to call "prophet") dwelt, or to the name of the prophet (par. 41), or to all these combined. *Qaçal* signifies a sacred song or a collection of sacred songs. From the many English synonyms for song I have selected the word chant to translate *qaçal*. In its usual signification hymnody may be its more exact equivalent, but it is a less convenient term than chant. The shaman, or medicine man, who is master of ceremonies, is known as *qaçali* or *chanter--el cantador*, the Mexicans call him. In order to keep in mind his relationship to similar functionaries in other tribes I shall, from time to time, allude to him as the priest, the shaman, or the medicine man, following the example of other authors. To all ceremonies of a character similar to this the term *qaçal* is applicable. It would seem from this that the Navajo regard the song as the chief part of the ceremony, but since the Americans, as a rule, regard all Indian ceremonies as merely dances and call them dances, I will, out of deference to a national prejudice, frequently refer to the ceremony as a dance.

3. Sometimes the collective rites and amusements of the last night are spoken of as *ilnasjingo qaçal*, or chant in the dark circle of branches, from *il*, branches of a tree; *nas*, surrounding, encircling; *jin*, dark; and *go*, in. The name alludes to the great fence of pin-on branches, erected after sunset on the last night, to receive the guests and performers. I shall often refer to this inclosure as the corral. Some white men call the rites I describe the "corral dance," but more usually they call them the "hoshkawn dance," from one of the minor performances of the last night, the *hackan-inçá`*, or act of the *Yucca baccata*, a rite or drama which seems to particularly excite the Caucasian interest. To such minor sets the terms *inçá`* and *alili* are applied; these may be translated dance, show, act, or exhibition.

4. The purposes of the ceremony are various. Its ostensible reason for existence is to cure disease; but it is made the occasion for invoking the unseen powers in behalf of the people at large for various purposes, particularly for good crops and abundant rains. It would appear that it is also designed to perpetuate their religious symbolism. Some of the shows of the last night are, undoubtedly intended to be dramatic and entertaining as well as religious, while the merely social element of the whole affair is obvious. It is an occasion when the people gather to have

a jolly time. The patient pays the expenses and, probably in addition to the favor and help of the gods and the praise of the priesthood, hopes to obtain social distinction for his liberality.

5. This, like other great rites of the Navajo, is of nine days' duration. Some of these rites may take place in the summer; but the great majority of them, including this *dsilyídje qaçàl*, may be celebrated only in the winter, in the season when the thunder is silent and the rattlesnakes are hibernating. Were they to tell of their chief gods or relate their myths of the ancient days at any other time, death from lightning or snake-bite would, they believe, be their early fate.

6. While in New Mexico I sometimes employed a very liberal minded Navajo, named Juan, as a guide and informant. He had spent many years among Americans, Mormons, and Mexicans, and was, I imagined, almost perfectly emancipated, from his "early bias." He spoke both English and Spanish fairly. On one occasion, during the month of August, in the height of the rainy season, I had him in my study conversing with him. In an unguarded moment, on his part, I led him into a discussion about the gods of his people, and neither of us had noticed a heavy storm coming over the crest of the Zuñi Mountains, close by. We were just talking of *Estsánatlehi*, the goddess of the west, when the house was shaken by a terrific peal of thunder. He rose at once, pale and evidently agitated, and, whispering hoarsely, "Wait till Christmas; they are angry," he hurried away. I have seen many such evidences of the deep influence of this superstition on them.

7. When the man (or the woman) who gives the entertainment concludes he is sick and that he can afford to call a shaman, it is not the latter who decides what particular rites are best suited to cure the malady. It is the patient and his friends who determine this. Then they send for a man who is known to be skilled in performing the desired rites, and it is his province merely to do the work required of him.

8. Before beginning to describe the ceremonies it will be well to relate the myth accounting for their origin.

MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF DSILYÍDJE QAÇÀL.

9. Many years ago, in the neighborhood of *Dsilyi`-qojòni*, in the Carrizo Mountains, dwelt a family of six: the father, the mother, two sons, and two daughters. They did not live all the time in one locality, but moved

from place to place in the neighborhood. The young men hunted rabbits and wood rats, for it was on such small animals that they all subsisted. The girls spent their time gathering various wild edible seeds.

10. After a time they went to a place called Tse`-biçäi (the Wings of the Rock or Winged Rock), which lies to the east of the Carrizo Mountains, on a plain. When they first encamped there was no water in the vicinity and the elder brother went out to see if he could find some. He observed from the camp a little sandy hillock, covered with some vegetation, and he determined to see what sort of plants grew there. Arrived there, he noticed a spot where the ground was moist. He got his digging stick and proceeded to make a hole in the ground. He had not dug long when the water suddenly burst forth in great abundance and soon filled the excavation he had made. He hastened back to the camp and announced his success. When they left the Carrizo Mountains it was their intention to go to Çepéntsä, the La Plata Mountains, to hunt for food, and their halt at Tse`-biçäi was designed to be temporary only; but, now that they had found abundance of water, the elder brother counseled them not to hasten on, but to remain where they were for a while. The spring he developed still exists and is known to the Navajo as Çobinäkis, or the One-Eyed Water.

11. The spring was some distance from the camp, and they had but one wicker water bottle; so the woman, to lighten her labor, proposed that they should move their goods to the vicinity of the spring, as it was her task to draw the water. But the old man counseled that they should remain where they were, as materials for building were close at hand and it was his duty to erect the hut. They argued long about it; but at length the woman prevailed, and they carried all their property down close to the spring. The elder son suggested that it would be well to dig into the soft sandy soil, in order to have a good shelter; so the old man selected a sandy hillock, overgrown with grease-wood, and excavated it near one edge, digging straight down, so as to have a wall on one side.

12. They had a stone ax-head, with a groove in it. Around this they bent a flexible twig of oak and tied it with the fibers of the yucca, and thus they made a handle. The first day after the spring was found the young men went out and chopped all day, and in the evening brought home four poles, and while they were gone the old man dug in the hillock. The next day the young men chopped all day, and at night returned with four more poles, while their father continued his digging. They worked thug for four days, and the lodge was finished. They made mats of hay to lie on and a mat of the same material to hang in the doorway.

They made mats of fine cedar bark with which to cover themselves in bed, for in those days the Navajo did not weave blankets such as they make now. The soles of their moccasins were made of bay and the uppers of yucca fibers. The young men were obliged to go bunting every day; it was only with great labor they could keep the house supplied with meat; for, as has been said, they lived mostly on small animals, such as could be caught in fall traps. These traps they set at night near the burrows, and they slept close to the traps when the latter were set far from home. They hunted thus for four days after the house was finished, while their sisters scoured all the country round in search of seeds.

13. With all their work they found it hard to make a living in this place. The land was barren; even rats and prairie-dogs were scarce, and the seed bearing plants were few. At the end of the fourth day they held a consultation, and the old man said they would do better to move on to the San Juan River, where food was more abundant, and they could trap and gather seeds as they traveled. They determined to leave, and next morning broke camp. They journeyed on till they reached the banks of the San Juan. Here they found abundance of *teiltcin* (fruit of *Rhus aromatica*) and of grass seeds, and they encamped beside the river at night.

14. Next day they traveled up the stream to a place called Tse`çqàka, and here again they halted for the night. This place is noted for its deposits of native salt. The travelers cut some out from under a great rock and filled with it their bags, made out of the skins of the squirrels and other small animals which they had captured. Thence they followed up the river to Tse`çezá` (Rock Sticking Up), and thence to Çisyà-qojòni (Beautiful Under the Cottonwoods), where they remained a day and killed two rabbits. These they skinned, disemboweled, crushed between two stones, bones and all, so that nothing might be lost, put them into an earthen pot to boil, and when they were sufficiently cooked they added some powdered seeds to make a thick soup; of all this they made a hearty meal. The Navajo then had neither horses nor asses; they could not carry stone metates when they traveled, as they do now; they ground their seeds with such stones as they could find anywhere. The old man advised that they should cross the river at this point and he directed his sons to go to the river and look for a ford. After a time they returned and related that they had found a place where the stream was mostly knee deep, and where, in the deepest part, it did not come above their hips, and they thought all would be able to cross there. The father named the hour of *bihlçohigi* (when it gets warm, i. e., about 10 a. m.),

on the morrow, as the time they should ford the San Juan; so next morning at the appointed time they crossed. They traveled up the north bank until they came to a small affluent whose source was in Cepéntsá . Here they left the main river and followed the branch until night approached, when they made camp.

15. They moved on next day and came close to Cepéntsá , to a soil covered with tracks of deer and of other great animals of the chase. Here they encamped, and on the following morning the young men set out by different ways in the direction of the mountain to hunt; but at night they returned empty handed. Thus they hunted four days unsuccessfully. Every day while his sons were gone the old man busied himself cutting down saplings with his stone ax and building a house, and the daughters gathered seeds, which constituted the only food of the family. As the saplings were abundant and close to the camp, the old man built his house fast, and had it finished at nightfall on the fourth day, when his sons returned from their fruitless labors. They entered the lodge and sat down. They were weary and hungry and their bodies were badly torn by the thorns and thick copse of the mountains. Their father spoke not a word to them as they entered; he did not even look at them; he seemed to be lost in deep contemplation; so the young men said nothing, and all were silent. At length the old man looked up and broke the silence, saying, " Aqalàni cactcini! " (Welcome, my children.) "Again you have returned to the lodge without food. What does it avail that you go out every day to hunt when you bring home nothing? You kill nothing because you know nothing. If you had knowledge you would be successful. I pity you." The young men made no reply, but lay down and went to sleep.

16. At dawn the old man woke them and said: "Go out, my children, and build a sweat-house, and make a fire to heat stones for the bath, and build the sweat-house only as I will tell you. Make the frame of four different kinds of wood. Put kaç (juniper) in the east, tse'isçázi (mountain mahogany) in the south, Cestsìn (piñon) in the west, and awètsal (cliff rose) in the north; join them together at the top and cover them with any shrubs you choose. Get two small forked sticks, the length of the forearm, to pass the hot stones into the sweat-house, and one long stick to poke the stones out of the fire, and let all these sticks be such as have their bark abraded by the antlers of the deer. Take of all the plants on which the deer most like to browse and spread them on the floor of the sweat-house, that we may sit on them." So they built the lodge as he directed, and lit the fire and heated the stones. While they were transferring the hot stones from the fire to the lodge the old man

brought out the mats which they used for bedding, and when all the stones had been put in he hung the mats, one on top of another, over the doorway. This done the three men went into the sudatory and sat down to sweat, uttering not a word. When they had perspired sufficiently they came out and sat down in silence until they were again ready to submit themselves to the heat. In this way they sweated themselves four times, keeping all the time a perfect silence, until they emerged for the last time, when the old man directed his daughters to dig some soap root and make a lather. In this he bade his sons wash their hair and the entire surface of their bodies well. When they were thoroughly cleansed, he sent them out to set twelve stone fall traps, a task which occupied all the rest of the day. For each trap they buried a flat stone with its upper side on a level with the surface of the ground; on this they sprinkled a little earth, so that the rat would suspect nothing; over this they placed another flat stone, leaning at an angle and supported by a slender stick, to which were attached berries of the aromatic sumac as a bait. That night the young men sat up very late talking with their father, and did not lie down to sleep until after midnight, when, as their father directed, they lay side by side with their heads to the east.

17. The elder brother arose early, stirred the embers and made a fire, and soon the younger awoke. As they sat by the fire warming themselves, the elder one said: "Younger brother, I had a dream in the night; I dreamt I killed a buck deer." And the younger replied: "Elder brother, I, too, had such a dream, but that which I killed was a doe." The old man heard their words and rose, saying, "It is well, my children; go out and try again." They went out to visit their traps. The first one they came to had fallen; they lifted the stone and found under it the body of a rat. So each one in turn, as they visited it was found to have fallen, killing in its fall some small animal; and they returned to the lodge with twelve little creatures for their food. Then the old man told them to take their bows and arrows and bunt for deer. "Hunt," said he, "to the east, the west, and the north, if you will, but do not pass to the south of the lodge." With these instructions they set out, each one in a different direction. The elder brother had not traveled far when he saw a herd of deer and shot one of the number. He skinned it, cat it up, took the backbone, hide, and tallow, and hung the rest in a tree. As he drew near the house, he saw his younger brother approaching from a different direction with the hide and meat of a doe. When they entered the hut, the old man asked which of the two deer was shot first. The elder brother answered: "I think mine was, for I killed it early this morning, soon after I left the house."

"Well," said the father, "this skin of the first slain is mine; go and stretch it and dry it for me with care." After this they went out hunting every day for twelve days, but fortune seemed to have deserted them; they killed no more game; and at the end of that time their supply of meat was exhausted. Then the old man said: "It always takes four trials before you succeed. Go out once more, and if you kill a deer do not dress it, but leave it as it is."

18. On the following day they left the lodge together and did not take separate trails. Soon they killed a deer, and the younger brother said: "What shall we now do with it, since our father has told us not to skin it and not to cut it up?" The elder brother said: "I know not. Return to the lodge and ask our father what we must do." Then the younger brother returned to his father and the latter instructed him thus: "Cut the skin around the neck; then carefully take the skin from the head, so as to remove the horns, ears, and all other parts, without tearing the skin anywhere. Leave such an amount of flesh with the nose and lips that they will not shrivel and lose their shape when they dry. Then take the skin from the body, which skin will again be mine. One of you must take out the pluck and carry that in the hide to me; the other will bring the skin of the head and the meat. Let him who bears the pluck come in advance, and stop not till he comes directly to me; and he must hand it to me and to no one else." The younger brother went back and told all this to the elder. They dressed the deer as they were bidden; the younger put the pluck in the skin and went in advance, and the elder followed with the venison and the skin of the head. When they reached the hogán, the father said: "Where is the atcai?" (pluck) and the younger said: "It is in the skin." "Take it out," said the old man, "and bang it on yonder mountain mahogany." The young man did as he was bidden. The father advanced with his bow and arrow and handed them to the elder brother, who placed the arrow on the string and held the bow. The old man put his hands on top of those of his son and together they drew the bow. The former took careful aim at the pluck and let the arrow fly. It struck the object and penetrated both heart and lungs so far that the point protruded on the opposite side. Then the old man told his son to seize the arrow by the point and draw it completely through, which was done. Next he made his son stand close to the pluck, looking towards it, and while his son was in this position he blew on him in the direction of the pluck. "Now," said the father, "whenever you want to kill a buck, even if there is neither track nor sign of deer in sight, you have only to shoot into the tse`isçázi (mountain mahogany, *Cercocarpus parvifolius*) and you will find a dead deer where your arrow strikes; while if you wish to kill a female deer you will shoot your arrow into the awètšal

(cliff rose, *Cowania mexicana*) and you will find a doe there." When all this was done they prepared the skin of the head, under the old man's directions. To keep the skin of the neck open they put into it a wooden hoop.

They sewed up the mouth, left the eyeholes open, stuffed the skin with hay, and hung it in a tree to dry, where it would not get smoky or dusty. They exit places in the neck through which the hunter might see. The skin of the doe which the younger brother had killed some time before, and which had been tanned in the mean time, they painted red and gray, to make it look like the skin of an antelope. They prepared two short sticks, about the length of the forearm; these were to enable the hunter to move with ease and hold his head at the proper height when he crept in disguise on the deer. Daring the next four days no work was done, except that the elder brother practiced in imitating the walk of the deer.

19. From the camp where these things happened they moved to a place called Tse`-lakâi-ia` (White Standing Rock). Before they went to hunt or gather seeds, the old man desired that they should all help to build the hogán (hut); so all went to work together, men and women, and the hogán was completed, inside and outside, in four days.

20. The morning following the completion of the hogán, the father sent the young men out again, directing them, as before, not to go to the south. They went of together, and soon espied a herd of deer. The elder brother put on the deer mask and began to imitate the motions of the animal, asking his younger brother what he thought of the mimicry. When the latter gave his approval, the elder brother said, "Steal round to the other side of the herd and when they see you they will come in my direction." He waited, and when he saw that his brother had got to the other side of the herd, he selected a big fat buck as his special object, and began to move towards him, walking and pawing the ground like a deer, and rubbing his antlers against the trees. Soon the buck began to approach the hunter, but the latter kept his head constantly turned toward the deer the better to maintain his disguise. Presently the buck came quite close to the Indian, when the latter sped his arrow and brought the quarry down. They carried the meat home and the old man demanded that the meat and skin should all be his in payment for his advice. This was the third time he had advised them and the third time he had received a gift for his service. He directed that the meat should be cut into pieces and hung in the trees to dry, and that the skin should be stretched and dried for his bed.

21. Next day the elder brother desired the younger to stay at home, saying that he would like to hunt alone. As usual, the old man warned him against the south and directed him to hunt in the country north of the hogán. He set out, accordingly, to the north; but he returned at night without any game. Again on the following morning he set out alone, and this time went to the west, as his father had directed. He hunted all day without success, until near sunset, when it was time for him to return. Then he remembered what his father had told him of the shrubs that would always have deer for his arrow. Looking around he saw a cliff rose, into which he shot his dart, and at the game instant he observed a deer falling in the shrub. He ran to the spot and found a dead doe. When he had skinned and dressed it, he could discover no high tree at hand that he might hang it on to keep it safe from the wolves, so he laid the meat on the top of the cliff rose, spread the skin over it, stuck an arrow upright on the top of it, and went home. On his way he often said to himself, "Why does my father bid me never to go to the south?" He pondered much on the subject, and before he reached the hut he had determined to satisfy his curiosity and to go to the south on the first good opportunity. When he got home he told where he had laid the meat, and, fearing that the crows or coyotes might get at it, he begged his brother to hasten and bring it in. When the meat came he asked that a piece might be broiled for his lunch on the hunt next day. All that night the thought of his father's prohibition continued to haunt his mind and would not be dismissed.

22. On the morrow, when he went forth on his hunt, his father gave him the usual injunctions, saying: "Hunt in any direction from the lodge that you will; but go not to the south." He departed as if he were going to the east; but when he got out of sight from the hogán he turned round to the south and pursued his way in that direction. He went on until he came to the San Juan River, and he forded it at a place a little above Beautiful Under the Cottonwoods, where they had crossed it before. He went on to a place called Tyèl-sakaç (Erect Cat-Tail Rashes) and thence to a place called Dsiskiç (Clay Hill). Here he laid his deer skin mask and his weapons on the ground and climbed the hill to observe the surrounding country for game. But instead of looking south in the direction in which he was going he looked to the north, the country in which dwelt his people. Before him were the beautiful peaks of Çepéntsá, with their forested slopes. The clouds hung over the mountain, the showers of rain fell down its sides, and all the country looked beautiful. And he said to the land, "Aqalàni!" (greeting), and a feeling of loneliness and homesickness came over him, and he wept and sang this song:

That flowing water! That flowing water!
 My mind wanders across it.
 That broad water! That flowing water!
 My mind wanders across it.
 That old age water! That flowing water!
 My mind wanders across it.

23. The gods heard his song and they were about to gratify his wishes. He was destined to return to Çepéntsá, but not in the manner he most desired. Had he gazed to the south when he ascended the hill, instead of to the north, it might have been otherwise.

24. He wiped away his tears and went down to the place where he had laid his mask and arms at the foot of the hill. He put on his buckskin coat and was just putting on his mask, but had not quite drawn it down over his head, when he heard a noise to the south and, looking around, he saw a great crowd on horseback riding towards him. To see better he drew off his mask, and then observed that they were dividing into two lines as they advanced; a moment later he was surrounded. The horsemen were of the tribe of Ute, a people whose language he did not understand. One young man rode up close to the Navajo, aimed an arrow at the breast of the latter and drew it to the head; but just as he was about to release it an old man began to address the party in a loud voice and the young warrior lowered his arrow and relaxed his bow. Then the speaker dismounted, approached the captive, and seized him by the arm. For a long time there was much loud talking and discussion among the Ute. Now one would harangue the party and then another would make a speech, but after a while the dispute ceased and the old man motioned to the Navajo to move on. They made him trot while they followed him on horseback in a semicircle, so that they could guard him and watch his movements. Soon they came to Tyèl-sakaç; shortly afterward they crossed the San Juan. That night they camped near Çepéntsá, where they watched him closely all night and gave him nothing to eat. They bound his feet firmly together, tied his hands behind his back, and threw an untanned buckskin over him before they lay down to sleep.

25. They set out on their journey again early in the morning. At Çöinçeski` (Scattered Springs) they stopped for a little while to eat, but the only food they gave the Navajo was the full of his palm. of service berries. When they arrived on the south side of Çòtsosi (Narrow Water) they halted for the night and a number went out to hunt. Among them they secured two deer, one large and one small; the feet of these they

gave to their captive for his supper. Next morning they gave him a piece of liver, half of which he ate and the rest he kept. They moved on rapidly and rested for the night at Dsil nahoyàl, where there was a spring. They had given him nothing to eat all that day, and at night they gave him nothing; so it was well for him that he had secreted part of the liver. This he ate after dark. On the third morning he had to set out fasting and had to go on foot as usual. About noon, however, one of the Ute took pity on him and lent him a horse to ride, while the owner of the horse walked all the afternoon. That night they arrived at the bank of a large river, and here they gave him to understand, by signs, that this was the last river they would cross until they got home. Beyond the river there was nothing in sight but a great plain.

26. By the light of the morning, however, on the next day, he discerned some mountains showing their points faintly above the northern horizon. To these the Ute pointed and motioned to him to go ahead. They did not follow him immediately; but saddled up at their leisure while the Navajo went on. Though he was now for some time alone on the trail and out of sight of his captors, he knew that he could not escape; all around and before him was a desert plain where he could not discover a single hiding place; so he trudged on, tired and hungry and sorrowing, and he wept all along the way. At noon they gave him another handful of berries.

27. At night they came to a plain situated between four mountains, one on the east, one on the south, one on the west, and one on the north, and here there was a great encampment of Ute, whose tents were scattered around in different places on the plain. There was one tent whose top was painted black and whose base was painted white and which had a forked pole set in the ground in front of it. To this his master, the old man who had saved his life and taken him by the arm on the occasion of his capture, led him, while the rest of the war party departed to their respective tents. The old man hung his own arms and accouterments on the pole, and the slave, following his example, hung his deer skin mask and robe on the forks and laid his crutches against the pole, and he prayed to the head of the deer, saying:

Whenever I have appealed to you, you have helped
me, my pet.
Once you were alive, my pet.
Take care that I do not die, my pet.
Watch over me.

When he had finished his prayer an old man came and danced around him, and when the latter had done an old woman approached with a whistle in her band and she whistled all around him. This was for joy because they had captured one of an alien tribe. Then his master motioned to him to go into the tent. Here he was given a large bowl of berries of which he ate his fill, and he was allowed to lie down and sleep undisturbed until morning.

28. Next morning the Ute began to enter the tent. They came one by one and in small groups until after a while there was a considerable crowd present. Then they gave the Navajo to understand by signs that they wished to know for what purpose he wore the mask and the buckskin. He answered that he used them for no particular purpose, but only for a whim. They repeated the question three times very pointedly and searchingly, but he continued to make evasive replies. The fourth time they addressed him they charged him to tell the truth and speak quickly, reminding him that he was a prisoner whose life was in the hands of his captors and telling him that if he did not disclose the use of his mask and robe he would be killed before sunset, while if he revealed the secret his life would be spared. He pondered but a short time over their words and determined to tell them the truth. So he explained to them the use of the mask and the robe in deceiving the deer and told the wonderful power he had of getting game by shooting into certain bushes. At dark they sent in two young men to be initiated into his mysteries. He began by giving them a full account of all his father had done and all he had shown him; he then taught them how to build the sweat-house, how to make the mask, how to shoot the pluck, and how to walk like a deer, and he made them practice the walk and the motions of the animal. All this occupied eleven days.

29. On the twelfth day the Ute went out to hunt, leaving few men in camp. There was a small inclosure of brushwood close to the tent; in it were two high poles on which skins were dressed. His master left him that day, two skins to prepare, and he set to work. At them and labored hard scraping and rubbing them until about noon, when he felt hungry and went into the tent to see if he could find anything to eat. He opened a bag and found it to contain dried meat; he put some of this on the coals and sat down to wait till it was done. As he watched the meat cooking he heard a noise at the deer skin door of the tent and, looking up, he beheld an old woman crawling in on her hands and knees. She passed once around the fire and went out at the door again, but before she disappeared she turned her head and addressed him, saying: "My grandchild, do something for yourself." He paused a moment in

wonder at the strange vision he had seen and the strange words he had heard, and then he rushed out of the tent to follow his visitor and see who she might be. He went around the tent four times; he gazed in every direction; but no one was to be seen. During the rest of the day he worked but little. Occasionally he took tip a stone and rubbed the hides; but most of the time he walked and loitered around, busy with his thoughts.

30. After sunrise the hunters returned with an abundance of meat. They came to the great lodge where the master of the Navajo dwelt; they extended its circumference by removing the pegs at the bottom; they stored the goods of the owner away at the outer edge, so as to leave a clear space in the center, and made everything ready for the reception of a large number of guests. After dark a great number gathered in the tent and the captive was ordered by his master to bring some water. He took two wicker bottles to a neighboring spring, filled them, and laid them on the ground beside the spring, while he went to gather some plants to stick into the mouths of the bottles as stopples. As he went he heard a voice saying "Hist!" and looking in the direction whence it came he saw a form sitting in the water; it wore a mask like the head of a great owl and it was smoking a pipe. When he turned towards it, it said, "Yon walk around like one without sense or knowledge. Why don't you do something for yourself? When next yon hear my voice it will be well for you if you walk towards it."

31. The voice ceased and the form of the owl-man vanished. Then the Navajo put the stopples into the vessels and carried them back. When he returned he observed that two large dogs were tied to the door, one on each side, and that three doors had been added to the lodge during his absence, so that now there were four doors covering the doorway. When he entered he found the lodge filled with Ute and he saw four bags of tobacco and four pipes lying near the fire, one at each cardinal point of the compass. He observed a very old man and a very old woman seated at the door, one on each side. A cord tied to the old woman passed round the edge of the lodge on one side, behind the spectators, to the west, and another cord, tied to the man, passed round on the opposite side of the lodge. His master bade him sit down in the west, and when he was seated one of the cords was tied to his wrists and one to his ankles, and thus he was secured to the old pair.

32. Now he feared more than ever for his safety; he felt sure that his captors contemplated his death by torture. The pipes were lit and the council began. The talking in the strange tongue that he could not

understand had lasted long into the night, when he fancied that he heard the voice of the Yèbitcai (Anglicized, Yày-bi-chy or Gay-bi chy) above the din of human voices, saying "hu`hu`hu`hu" in the far distance. He strained his attention and listened well, and after a while he felt certain that he heard the voice again nearer and louder. It was not long until the cry was repeated for the third time, and soon after the captive heard it once more, loudly and distinctly, immediately to the west of the lodge. Then there was a sound as of footsteps at the door, and the white lightning entered through the smoke-hole and circled around the lodge, hanging over the heads of the council. But the Ute heard not the voice which the Navajo heard and saw not the vision he beheld. Soon the Yàybichy (Qastcèlçi) entered the lodge and standing on the white lightning, said: "What is the matter with you, my grandchild? You take no thought about anything. Something you must do for yourself, or else, in the morning you will be whipped to death--that is what the council has decided. Pull out four pegs from the bottom of the tent, push it open there, and then you can shove things through" The Navajo answered, "How shall I do it? See the way I am tied! I am poor! See how I am wound up!" But Qastcèlçi again said: "When you leave, take with you those bags filled with embroideries and take with you tobacco from the pouches near the fire." Scarcely had Qastcèlçi disappeared when the Navajo heard a voice overhead, and a bird named qocçòçi flew down through the smoke-hole, hovered four times around the lodge over the heads of the Ute, and departed by the way it had entered. In a moment after it had disappeared a few of the Ute began to nod and close their eyes; soon the others showed signs of drowsiness; some stretched themselves out on the ground overpowered with sleep; others rose and departed from time to time, singly and in little groups, to seek their lodges and repose there. The last to drop asleep were the old man and the old woman who sat at the door; but at length their china fell upon their bosoms. Then the Navajo, fearing no watchers, went to work and loosened the cords that bound him; he lifted, from the inside, some of the pegs which held the edge of the tent, and shoved out the two bags of embroideries which Qastcèlçi had told him to take. Passing out through the door of the lodge, where he found both the watch-dogs sound asleep, and taking with him the cords with which he had been tied and some of the tobacco, he went round to the back of the lodge, where he had put the bags; these he tied with the cords in such a manner that they would make an easily balanced double bundle. He shouldered his bundle and was all ready to start.

33. At this moment he heard, at a little distance to the south of where he stood, the hoot of an owl. Instantly recollecting the words of the owl-

like form which he had encountered at the spring at nightfall, he set off in the direction from which the call proceeded. He had not walked far until he came to a precipitous bluff formed by two branching cañons, and it seemed at first impossible for him to proceed farther. Soon, however, he noticed a tall spruce tree, which grew beside the precipice from the foot to the summit, for the day, had now begun to dawn and he could see objects more clearly. At this juncture Qastcèelçi again appeared to him and said: 'How is it, my grandchild, that you are still here? Get on the top of that spruce tree and go down into the cañon on it.' The Navajo stretched out his hand to seize the top of the tree, but it swayed away from his grasp. "See, my grandfather," he said to Qastcèelçi, "it moves away from me; I cannot reach it." Then Qastcèelçi flung the white lightning around the top of the tree, as an Indian flings his lasso around the neck of a horse, and drew it into the edge of the cliff. "Descend," he commanded the Indian, "and when you reach the bottom take four sprays from the tree, each from a different part. You may need them in the future." So the Navajo went down, took the four sprays as he was bidden and put them under his robe.

34. At the base of the bluff he again met Qastcèelçi, and at this moment he heard a noise, as of a great and distant tumult, which seemed to come from above and from beyond the edge of the cliff whence they had descended. From moment to moment it grew louder and came nearer, and soon the sounds of angry voices could be distinguished. The Ute had discovered the flight of their captive and were in hot pursuit. "Your enemies are coming for you," said the divine one; it but yonder small holes on the opposite side of the cañon are the doom of my dwelling, where you may hide. The bottom of the cañon is strewn with large rocks and fallen trees; it would take you much time and hard labor to get over these if I did not help you; but I will do something to make your way easy." As he said this he blew a strong breath, and instantly a great white rainbow spanned the cañon. The Navajo tried to stop on this in order to cross, but it was so soft that his feet went through; he could not step on it. Qastcèelçi stood beside him and laughed at his fruitless attempts to get on the rainbow. After he had enjoyed this sport sufficiently the ye (Anglicized, gay or yay) blew another strong breath, when at once the rainbow became as hard as ice and they both crossed it with ease. When they reached the opposite wall of the cañon Qastcèelçi pointed to a very small hole in the cliff and said, "This is the door of my lodge; enter!" By this time the shouts of the Ute sounded very loud in the ears of the terrified fugitive and it seemed to him that his pursuers must have reached the edge of the opposite cliff, where they would not be long before they would see him; still, hard as he tried

to enter the cave, he could not succeed; the hole was not big enough for him to put his head in. The Yàybichy roared with laughter and slapped his hands together as he witnessed the abject fear and the fruitless efforts of the Navajo. When he had laughed enough he blew on the little hole and it spread instantly into a large orifice, through which they both entered with ease. They passed through three rooms and stopped in the fourth. Here Qastcèèlçi took the bags from the back of the Navajo, opened them, and drew from them some beautifully garnished clothing--a pair of moccasins, a pair of long-fringed leggings, and a shirt. He arrayed himself in these and went out, leaving the Navajo in the cave. As soon as his rescuer was gone the fugitive heard loud noises without and the sound of many angry voices, which continued for a long, long time. At last they died away and were heard no more. The Ute had tracked him to the edge of the cliff where he got on the tree; but there they lost his trail and searched all the neighborhood to see if they could regain it; hence the noises. When all was silent Qastcèèlçi returned and said, "Your enemies have departed; you can leave in safety." So, taking a tanned elk skin to cover his back and a pair of new moccasins to protect his feet, the Navajo set out from the cave.

35. It was nightfall when he emerged. He turned his face in the direction of his home and walked rapidly all the night. As day dawned he began to feel hopeful; but, ere the sun rose, distant sounds, which grew louder and louder, reached his ear. He knew them to be the voices of his pursuers and again he became sorely afraid. He hurried on and came near the foot of a high isolated pinnacle of rock, whose top appeared to be inaccessible. Glancing to the summit, however, he beheld standing there a black mountain sheep. Thinking that this singular vision was sent to him as a sign from the yays (gods) and boded well for him, he came to the base of the rock, when the sheep addressed him, saying: "My grandson, come around to the other side of the rock and you will find a place where you may ascend." He went around as he was bidden and saw the cleft in the rock, but it was too narrow for him to climb in it. Then the sheep blew into the cleft and it spread out so wide that he entered it easily and clambered to the summit. Here he found the sheep standing in four tracks, marked or sunken in the rock, one hoof in each track, and under the center of his body was a small hole in the rock. Into this hole the sheep bade him enter; but he replied that the hole was too small. Then the sheep blew on the hole and it spread so wide open that both the man and the sheep entered easily and descended into the heart of the rock. Here there were again four apartments; two of them were blue and two were black; rainbows extended in all directions through them. In the fourth room, which was black, the sheep left the Navajo to

rest, and departed. Soon the fugitive heard, as on the previous day, when he lay hidden in the cave of Qastcèelçi, the voices of the angry Ute calling and haranguing all around the rock, and he continued to hear them for a very long time. Soon after the clamor ceased the sheep returned to him to notify him that his enemies had withdrawn and that he could set out on his journey again without fear.

36. He journeyed homeward all the night, and when daylight began to appear he found himself on the banks of the stream where the Ute slept the night before they reached their tents, when they bore him home a captive. Here again he heard in the distance the voices of his pursuers and he hastened his steps. Presently he met a little old man sitting on the ground and cleaning cactus fruit. The old man had a sharp nose, little bright eyes, and a small moustache growing on each side of his upper lip. At once the Navajo recognized him as the Bushrat (*Neotoma mexicana*). The latter asked the traveler where he came from. "Oh, I am just roaming around here," was the answer. But the rat, not satisfied, repeated his question three times, in a manner which gave the Navajo to understand that his answer was not credited. So at last he answered truthfully that he was a Navajo who had been captured by the Ute, and that he was fleeing homeward from his captors, who were at that moment close behind him in pursuit. "It is well," said the rat, "that you have told me this, for I think I can save you. On yonder hillside there is a flat rock, and round about it are piled many little sticks and stones. It is my home, and I will guide you thither." He led the Indian to the rock and, showing him a small hole under it, bade him stoop low and place his head near the hole. As the Navajo obeyed the rat blew a strong breath on the hole, which at once opened wide enough to let the visitor in. The rat followed immediately behind him as he entered. Inside of the den there were an old woman, two young men, and two young women. These constituted the family of the Bush-rat, who left the den as soon as the stranger was safely housed. Soon the voices of the pursuing Ute were again heard around the rock and at the mouth of the den, and the Navajo sat a long time in silence listening to them. After a while the rat woman said to him: "You seem to be tired and hungry. Will you have something to eat?" and he answered, "Yes; I am very hungry and would like some food." On bearing this she went into one corner of her dwelling, where were many chips and bones and shells of seeds and skins of fruits, and she brought him some of these and offered them to him; but at this moment the wind god whispered into his ear and warned him not to partake of the refuse; so he said to the woman, "My mother, I can not eat these things." Then she went to another corner of the den, where there was another pile of débris; but again the wind god

prompted him and again he refused. After this she visited in turn two other piles of trash in the corners of her lodge and tried to make him accept it as food, but he still rejected it. Now, while he had been sitting in the lodge he had not failed to look around him, and he had observed a long row of wicker jars standing at one side. At one end of the row was a black vessel and at the other end a white vessel. When she at length asked him, "What food is it that you would have, my son?" the wind god whispered to him, "Ask her for that which is in the jars at the end of the row," and he replied, "I will take some food from the black jar and some from the white jar." She removed the stopples from the jars. From the black vessel she took nuts of the piñon and fruit of the yucca and from the white vessel she took cherries and cactus fruit, all of which he received in the folded corner of his elk robe. He was just about to partake of some of the nice fruit when again he heard the low voice of the wind god. This time it said, "But not the food of the rats in the home of the rate, if you would not become a rat; wait till you go out to-night." Much as he longed for the food, after bearing this, he tasted it not, but held it in the fold of the elk skin. Late in the day they were all astonished by hearing a loud rattling noise at the mouth of the cave, and, looking in that direction, saw the end of a big stick, which was thrust viciously from time to time into the opening and poked around in different directions; but it was not long enough to reach to the place where they sat. "What is that?" said the woman. "Oh," answered the Navajo, "that is the Ute, who have trailed me to this hole and hope to kill me by poking that stick in here." The old rat watched from a secret place outside all the actions of the Ute, and when he came home at night he asked his family if the stick had hurt any of them. "We saw only the end of it," they replied. He then turned to the Navajo and said, "Your pursuers have disappeared; you may go out without fear."

37. He trudged wearily on all night, and at dawn he was beside the high volcanic rocks at Çötsosi, another place, where his captors had halted with him. There is one place where the rocky wall is quite smooth. As he was passing this place he heard a voice saying, "Sh!" He looked all around him, but saw nothing that could have made the sound. He was about to pass on when he again heard the voice, and, looking around, he again saw no one. The fourth time that this happened, however, he observed in the smooth part of the rock a door standing open and a little animal called Kleyatcini looking out at him. As he stood gazing at the sharp nose and the bright eyes the distant voices of his pursuers sounded again in his ears and the little animal bade him enter and hide himself. As the Navajo entered the Kleyatcini passed out and closed the door behind him. The fugitive was not long in his place of concealment

when the clamor made by the foiled pursuers was again heard, but it ceased sooner than usual. It was not yet sunset when the little animal returned to announce that the Ute had gone from the neighborhood. When the Navajo stepped out of the hole in the rock, Kleyatcini pointed out to him the mountains in which his home lay and counseled him to travel directly towards them.

38. He pursued his way in the direction indicated to him all night, and at break of day he found himself walking between a pair of low hills of clay which stood close together, and once more he heard behind him the voices of his enemies and the trampling of their horses. But now his good friend Qastcèelçi appeared to him and said to him: "My grandchild, are you still here? Have you come only thus far?" "I am here," cried the Navajo, "and oh, my grandfather, I could do no better. Look at my limbs! See how sore and swollen they are I am exhausted and feel that I cannot flee much farther before my enemies." "Go, then," said Qastcèelçi, "to that hill which is the farther from us and climb to the top of it; but, when you are taking the very last step which will place you on the summit, shut your eyes as you make that step." The Navajo hastened to the hill, and, weary as he was, he soon ascended it. As he lifted his foot to take the last step he closed his eyes, as the yay had bidden him. When he felt his foot again on the earth he opened his eyes, and lo! instead of having a little hill under his feet, he stood on the summit of a great mountain peak, seamed with deep cañons, bordered with rugged rocks, and clothed with great forests of pine and spruce; while far away on the plain at the foot of the mountain--so far that he could scarcely discern them--were his baffled pursuers, and beside him stood Qastcèelçi. The latter pointed out to him many familiar places in the distance--the valley of the San Juan and Dsilyi`-qojòni (Beautiful in the Mountains), where he and his people first lived. He rested securely on the mountain top all day.

39. At sunset he went on his way again. When daylight began to appear he crossed the San Juan. Soon after, while journeying on over an open plain, he once more heard the Ute on his trail. He now felt very sad and hopeless, for his limbs were so stiff and swollen that every motion gave him pain and he could hardly drag himself along. But at this moment he became conscious that he was not alone, and glancing to one side he saw Niltci, the wind god, walking with him. And Niltci brought a great dark whirlwind, which roared a moment beside them and then buried its point in the ground and dug a deep hole there; it dug a cavern with four chambers. Then dark clouds gathered and rain began to fall. "Have you anything with you that may help you?" asked the god. "I have

nothing," said the Navajo, "but four sprays of spruce, which the Yàybichy bade me pluck from the tree on which I descended into the cañon the night I left the Ute camp." "They will do," said the wind god. "Make quickly four balls of mud and thrust through each ball a twig of the spruce, and lay them on the ground so that the tops of the twigs will point towards your enemies. The Navajo did as he was commanded. Then Niltci blew the twigs and mud balls in the direction of the pursuers and told the Navajo to descend into the retreat which the whirlwind had formed. He went down and rested secure, while he heard overhead great peals of thunder, the loud rushing of the tempest, and the heavy pattering of enormous hailstones, to bring which the mud balls had been made. The noises of the storm died away, and about midday Niltci came into the cave and said to the man: "Come forth; your enemies have been dispersed. Many have been killed by the hail, and the rest have gone towards their homes." Then the Navajo came up out of the ground and set out in the direction of his old home at Dsilìyì-qojòni.

40. It was about sunset when he reached the top of the mountain. The snow began to fall heavily and a strong wind began to blow. He walked on to the western brow of the mountain, where there was a great precipice. Here the storm blew with such violence that he could scarcely stand, and yet the precipice was so steep that he did not see how he could get down. But soon, as on a former occasion of this kind, he discovered a spruce tree which grew against the side of the precipice, and at the same time Qastcèèlçi appeared to him again and directed him to go down on the spruce tree. He did so, and when he reached the bottom he found the yay there awaiting him. He addressed Qastcèèlçi: "Oh, my grandfather, I am tired and sore and sleepy. I would like to lie down under this tree and sleep." But the god answered, "Go, my grandchild, to yonder fire and rest," and he pointed to a distant gleam on the side of a mountain which lay beyond a very deep valley. "No, my grandfather," cried the Navajo, "I am weary and my limbs are sore and weak; I can not travel so far." "I will help you," said the yay, and as he spoke he spanned the valley with a flash of lightning, over which he led the man to the distant mountain. They reached it at a point close to the fire; but the moment they stood again on the firm earth Qastcèèlçi and the fire vanished. The man was bewildered and at a loss what to do. He walked around the mountain a short distance and then changed his mind and walked back to the place from which he started. Here he found Qastcèèlçi awaiting him. The yay spoke not a word, but pointed down into the valley-and led the way thither. At the bottom of the valley they came to a great hole in the ground the yay pointed in and

again led the way. As they advanced into the cave the air grew warmer. In a little while they discovered a bright fire on which there was no wood. Four pebbles lay on the ground together: a black pebble in the east, a blue one in the south, a yellow one in the west, and a white one in the north; from these the flames issued forth. Around the fire lay four bears, colored and placed to correspond with the pebbles. When the strangers approached the fire the bears asked them for tobacco, and when the former replied that they had none the bears became angry and thrice more demanded it. When the Navajo fled from the Ute camp he had helped himself from one of the four bags which the council was using and had taken a pipe, and these he had tied up in his skin robe; so when the fourth demand was made he filled the pipe and lighted it at the fire. He handed the pipe to the black bear, who, taking but one whiff, passed it to the blue bear and immediately fell senseless. The blue bear took two whiffs and passed the pipe, when he too fell over in a state of unconsciousness. The yellow bear succumbed after the third whiff, and the white bear, in the north, after the fourth whiff. Now the Navajo knocked the ashes and tobacco out of his pipe and rubbed the latter on the feet, legs, abdomen, chest, shoulders, forehead, and mouth of each of the bears in turn, and they were at once resuscitated. He replaced the pipe in the corner of his robe. When the bears recovered they assigned to the Navajo a place on the east side of the fire where he might lie all night, and they brought out their stores of corn meal and tciltcin and other berries and offered them to him to eat; but Qastcèëlçi warned him not to touch the food and again disappeared. So, hungry as he was, the Indian lay down supperless to sleep. When he woke in the morning the bears again offered food, which he again declined, saying he was not hungry. Then they showed him how to make the bear kethàwns, or sticks to be sacrificed to the bear gods, and they drew from one corner of the cave a great sheet of cloud, which they unrolled, and on it were painted the forms of the yays of the cultivated plants. As he departed the bears said, "There are others in these parts who have secrets to tell you. Yonder is Tsenástci, where many dwell." So he set forth for Tsenástci (Circle of Red Stones.)

41. As he passed down the valley he heard a loud rushing noise behind him, and looking around he beheld a tornado. The air was filled with logs and uprooted trees, borne along by the great storm. It came nearer and seemed to be advancing to destroy him. He was terrified and cried out to the storm: "Ciyëëçe, Dsilyi` Neyáni. Qailàçi?" ("Tis I, Reared Within the Mountains. Who art thou?") The tempest recognized him and subsided, and in its place appeared four men in the shape of the glöi or weasel. The four weasel men showed him how to make the glöi-

bikeçan, or sacrificial sticks of the glòì. What name the Navajo bore before this time the ancient tale does not tell us; but from the moment he said these words he was called among the gods Dsilỳì Neyáni, and was afterwards known by this name among his people.

42. After this adventure he continued on his way to Tsenástci. He had not journeyed far when he met the wind god, who said to him: "Those whom you will meet at Tsenástci are evil ones; therefore I will be with you and will walk before you." When they came to Tsenástci they found a hole in the rocks guarded by two great rattlesnakes, one on each side, and covered by two piñon trees, for a door. When the travelers drew near, the serpents showed signs of great anger, and when the former approached the door the reptiles shook their rattles violently, thrust out their tongues, and struck at the intruders as though they would bite them; but they did not bite. Niltci thrust aside the piñon trees; he and his companions entered, and, when they had passed within, the piñon trees, moving of their own accord, closed the entrance behind them. Within they encountered a bald headed old man who had only a little tuft of hair over each ear. This was Klictsò, the Great Serpent. He asked Niltci who his human companion was, and the wind god answered that he was a Navajo who had been captured by the Ute, but had escaped from them and had suffered many hardships. On hearing this Klictsò showed the Indian how to make the kethàwns, now known to the Navajo shamans as klictsò-bikeçan, or sacrificial sticks of the Great Serpent, and he told him how to plant these sacrifices.

43. From the home of Klictsò they went to a place called Tse`binàyol (Wind Circles Around a Rock). When they drew near the place they heard loud peals of thunder and the lightning struck close to them in four different places. They were now approaching the home of the lightning gods; this is why destruction by the thunderbolt seemed to threaten them. Then the Navajo spoke to the lightning, as he had formerly spoken to the whirlwind, saying, "'Tis I, Reared Within the Mountains. Who art thou?" whereat the thunder and the lightning ceased,, and the travelers walked on until they entered a house of black clouds, inside of a mountain, which was the house of I`çni`, the Lightning. He was bald, like the Great Serpent, having only a little tuft of hair over each ear. . At each of the four sides of the room where I`çni` sat was a, lightning bird; that in the east was black, that in the south was blue, that in the west, yellow, and that in the north, white. From time to, time the birds flashed lightning from their claws to the center of the. room where the god sat, and the lightning was of the same color as the bird that emitted it. When the travelers entered I`çni` said to Niltci,

"Who is this that you have brought with you?" The latter answered, "It is a Navajo who has been a captive with the Ute and has escaped. He has suffered much. See how his knees and ankles are swollen." Then the Lightning showed him two kethàwns, such as the shamans now sacrifice under the name of i`çni`-bikeçan, or sacrificial sticks of the lightning, and, having instructed him how to make and to plant these, he bade his visitors depart.

44. The next place they reached on their journey was Sàï hyitsòzi (Narrow Sand Hills). They entered the hill and came to the house of Kaçlùgi, the Butterfly, a dwelling filled with butterflies and rainbows. They found Kaçlùgi and his wife sitting there, and also Atsòs-bebagàni (House of Feathers), who wore black. Here Niltci disappeared and the woman had to put her questions to the Navajo. She inquired, as the others had done, who he was, and he briefly told her his story. She arose, went out, and presently returned with a large basin made of a beautiful white shell; this was filled with water and soap root. She laid it before the Navajo, saying, "You are about to visit some fair and beautiful people, and it is proper that you should bathe your body and wash your hair well." When he had finished his bath he of the house of feathers took fine corn meal and applied it to the feet, the knees, the abdomen, and the other parts of the body which are usually touched in healing ceremonies. Then, under the directions, of Atsòs-bebagàni, the Navajo rubbed his whole body with meal to dry himself and painted his face white with glee (white earth). House of Feathers next brought in small bundles of the following plants: tcilçelgísi (*Gutierrezia euthantia*), çoikal (*Artemisia trifida*), tséji, and tlo`nasçási (*Bouteloua hirsuta*), burned them to charcoal, and directed the Indian to blacken his legs and forearms with this substance. When this was done he put spots of white on the black, and, in short, painted

him as the akáninili, or courier (Fig. 52) sent out to summon guests to the dance, is painted to this day in the ceremonies of the dsilyídje qaçal. When the painting was done Kaçlùgi Esçàya (Butterfly Woman) took hold of his hair and pulled it downward and stretched it until it grew in profusion down to his ankles. Then she pressed and worked his body and face all over until she molded him into a youth of the most beautiful form and feature. They gave him fine white moccasins and a collar of beaver skin with a whistle attached to it; they put the kàbaşçan, or plumed sticks to represent wings, on his arms, and altogether dressed and adorned him as the akáninili is dressed and adorned. The woman gave him white corn meal mixed with water to eat, and he slept all night in the house of the butterflies. In the morning the woman (or

goddess, as we might better call her) laid two streaks of white lightning on the ground and bade him stand on them with one foot on each streak. "Now," she said, "the white lightning is yours; use it how and when you will." Then she told him to go to the top of the hill in which their house lay. When he ascended he found another house on the top, and in it he again met Kačlùgi and his wife, who awaited him there. He observed a streak of white lightning that spanned a broad valley, stretching from the hill on which he stood to a distant wooded mountain. "There," said Kačlùgi Esçàya, pointing to the lightning, "is the trail you must follow. It leads to yonder mountain, which is named Bistcàgi."

45. He followed the lightning trail and soon arrived at the house of Estsàu-čigini (Holy Woman). The house was inside of a black mountain; but the lightning ended not until it went quite into the dwelling; so he had only to follow it to find his way in. The door was of trees. Within, on the east wall hung the sun and on the west wall hung the moon. Here he was shown the kethàwn which is called Estsàu-čigini-bikeçàn, or the sacrificial stick of the holy woman, and was told how to make it and how to bury it. As he was about to depart from this place two of the wind gods and the butterfly god appeared to him, and the whole party of four set out for Tcùckai (Chusca Knoll of our geographers).

46. At this place they entered a house which was inside of the mountain. It was two stories high; it had four rooms on the first story and four on the second. It had four doorways, which were covered with trees for doors; in the east was a black spruce tree, in the south a blue spruce tree, in the west a yellow spruce tree, and in the north a white shining spruce tree. Here dwelt four of the Tcikè-cac-nátlehi (Maiden that Becomes a Bear). Their faces were white; their legs and forearms were covered with shaggy hair; their hands were like those of human beings; but their teeth were long and pointed. The first Tcikè-cac-nátlehi, it is said, had twelve brothers. She learned the art of converting herself into a bear from the coyote. She was a great warrior and invulnerable. When she went to war she took out and hid her vital organs, so that no one could kill her; when the battle was over she put them back in their places again. The maidens showed him how to make four kethàwns and told him how to bury them in order to properly sacrifice them.

47. From Tcùckai they went to Ninà-qočezgòç (Valley Surrounded on All Sides by Hills), near Čepéntsà, where they found the house of the Tsilkè-čigini (Holy Young Men), of whom there were four. There were, in the dwelling, four rooms, which had not smooth walls, but looked

like rooms in a cavern; yet the house was made of water. A number of plumed arrows (kátso-yisçàn) were hanging on the walls, and each young man (standing one in the east, one in the south, one in the west, and one in the north) held such an arrow in his extended right hand. No kethàwn was given him; but he was bidden to observe well how the holy young warriors stood, that he might imitate them in the rites he should establish amongst men.

48. The next place they visited was Tse`ça-iskági (Rock that Bends Back), where they entered a house, striped within horizontally of many colors, and found eight more of the Tsilkè-çigini (Holy Young Men). Two stood at each cardinal point and each one grasped a sapling which he held over his upturned mouth, as if about to swallow it. One of the young men addressed him, saying "Do thus. There are eight of us here; but when you do this in the dance that you will teach your people you need not have eight young men--six will be enough."

49. From here they went to Tcétcel-hyitsò (Big Oaks), to visit the home of çigin-yosíni (yosíni is a species of squirrel). It was built of black water-slime (çraçlíç) and the door was of red sunbeams. On the east wall hung a big black log; on the south wall, a blue log; on the west wall, a yellow log; and on the north wall, a white log; in which logs the squirrels dwelt. Although they were squirrels, they were young men and young women, and looked very much like one another. All had red and black stripes on their backs. These taught him how to make and bury the kethàwns sacred to themselves.

50. Dsilninèla` (Last Mountain) is a conical, sharp pointed eminence, shaped like a Navajo hogán or lodge. It is black and has white streaks running down its sides. This was the next place they visited. Within the mountain was a house, whose door was of darkness and was guarded by Tcápani (the Bat) and an animal called Çantsò (of crepuscular or nocturnal habits). Here dwelt many young men and young women who were skunks (golíji), and they taught the Navajo wanderer how to make and how to bury the kethàwns which are sacred to the skunk.

51. The next place to which they went was Dsil-nikíçì-àgi (Mountain Comes Down Steep), and here they found the place where Glo`dsilkäi (Abert's squirrel, *Sciurus aberti*) and Glo`dsiljini dwelt. When the four entered, the squirrels said to them: "What do you want here? You are always visiting where you are not welcome." The gods replied: "Be not angry with us. This is a Navajo who was a captive among the Ute, but

he has escaped and has suffered much. I ʕni` (the Lightning) has bidden us to take him to the homes of all the ʕigini (holy ones, supernatural beings); therefore we have brought him here. "It is well," said the squirrels; "but he is hungry and must have some food." They brought him piñon nuts, pine nuts, spruce nuts, and service berries; but the gods told him not to partake of the nuts or he would be changed into a squirrel, to eat only of the service berries. When he had finished his meal, the squirrels showed him how to make two kethàwns and how to bury them.

52. Now Niltci whispered. "Let us go to Dsilyà-için" (Four Doorways Under a Mountain), where dwells ʕasàni (the Porcupine). His house was in a black mountain. At the eastern doorway there was a black spruce tree for a door. On the other sides there were no doors; the entrances were open. They found here four porcupine gods, two male and two female. They were colored according to the four cardinal hues. The black one stood in the east, the blue one in the south, the yellow one in the west, and the white one in the north. They instructed him concerning the kethàwns of the porcupines, and they offered him food, which consisted of the inner bark of different kinds of trees. But again, prompted by Niltci, he refused the food, saying that he was not able to eat food of that kind. "It is well," said the porcupines, "and now you may leave us."

53. "Off in this direction," whispered Niltci, pointing to the northeast, "is a place called Qoʕestsò (Where Yellow Streak Runs Down). Let us go thither." Here they entered a house of one room, made of black water. The door was of wind. It was the home of Tcal-ninéz (Long Frog), of ʕoklíç (Water Snake), of Klickà (Arrow Snake), and of other serpents and animals of the water. It was called Ahyèqoʕeçi` (They Came Together), because here the prophet of the dsilyidje qaçal visited the home of the snakes and learned something of their mysteries. The ceremonies sacred to these animals belong to another dance, that of the qojòni-qaçal (chant of terrestrial beauty); but in the mysteries learned in Ahyèqoʕeçi` the two ceremonies are one. Here he was instructed how to make and to sacrifice four kethàwns. To symbolize this visit of Dsilyi` Neyáni and this union of the two ceremonies, the first sand picture is made. (See Plate XV.)

54. The next place they visited was Açànkikè, where there was a house built of the white rock crystal, with a door made of all sorts of plants. It was called Tsegàçiniçini-behogan (House of Rock Crystal) and was the home of Tcikè-ʕigini (Supernatural Young Woman, or Young Woman

Goddess), who was the richest of all the ʕigìni. In the middle of the floor stood a large crystal in the shape of a kethàwn. Just as they were entering, Qastcèèlçi, who had disappeared from the Navajo's sight at the house of the bears, here rejoined him, and the party now numbered five. The apartment, when they came into it, was very small, but Qastcèèlçi blow on the walls, which extended thereat until the room was one of great size. The goddess showed the Navajo how to make two kethàwns and directed him how to dispose of them.

55. Thence they journeyed to Tsitsè-intyèli (Broad Cherry Trees), where, in a house of cherries with a door of lightning, there lived four gods named Dsilyi` Neyáni (Reared Within the Mountains). The Navajo was surprised to find that not only had they the same name as he had, but that they looked just like him and had clothes exactly the same as his. His companions said to him: "These are the gods in whose beautiful form the Butterfly goddess has molded you. These are the gods whose name you bear." The hosts bade their visitors be seated, and they ranged themselves around the fire, one at each of the cardinal points. Each held an arrow made of the cliff rose (*Cowania mexicana*) in his extended right hand. The head of the arrow was of stone, the fletching of eagle feathers, and the "breath feather" of the downy plume of the Tsenáhale (the Harpy of Navajo mythology). As they held the arrows they ejaculated, "ai`, ai`, ai`, ai`," as they who dance the kátso-yisçàn do in the ceremonies to this day, and after the fourth ai` each one swallowed his arrow, head foremost, until the fletching touched his lips. Then he withdrew the arrow and they said: "Thus do we wish the Navajo to do in the dance which you will teach them; but they must take good care not to break off the arrowheads when they swallow and withdraw them." Such is the origin of the dance of the kátso-yisçàn, or great plumed arrow. As they bade him good bye, one of them said to the Navajo: "We look for you , " i. e., "We expect you to return to us," an intimation to him that when he left the earth he should return to the gods, to dwell among them forever.

56. From this place they journeyed on until they reached Açàdsil (Leaf Mountain), and found the house that was made of dew-drops (ʕaçò-bebogan) and that had a door made of plants of many different kinds. This was the home of the Bitsès-ninéz (Long Bodies), who were goddesses. When they rose, as the strangers entered, the plumes on their heads seemed to touch the heavens, they were so very tall. The goddesses said to Dsilyi` Neyáni, "We give you no kethàwn, but look at us well and remember bow we appear, for in your ceremonies you must draw our picture; yet draw us not, as we now stand, in the east, the

south, the west, and the north; but draw us as if we all stood in the east." This is the origin of the second picture that is painted on the sand. (Plate XVI.)

57. Leaving the House of Dew they proceeded to Çonakäi (White Water Running Across). This was a stream which ran down the side of a hill and had its source in a great spring. Immediately above this spring was the home of Qastcèelçi. The latter, as they approached his home, stopped at the foot of the hill and four times ordered his companions to go in advance; but four times they refused. After the last refusal Qastcèelçi clapped his hands, uttered big cry of "hu` hu` hu` hu`!" and led the way. The house was of corn pollen; the door was of day light; the ceiling was supported by four white spruce trees; rainbows ran in every direction and made the house shine within with their bright and beautiful colors. Neither kethàwn nor ceremony was shown the Navajo here; but he was allowed to tarry four nights and was fed with an abundance of white corn meal and corn pollen.

58. Now Qastcèelçi took him to a place called Lejpáhiço (Brown Earth Water) and led him to the top of a high hill, from which they could see in the far distance Gángiço, where the prophet's family dwelt; for they had moved away from the valley in Çepéntsá, where he left them. Then the yaj showed him the shortest road to take and bade him return to his people.

59. When he got within sight of his house his people made him stop and told him not to approach nearer until they had summoned a Navajo shaman. When the latter, whose name was Red Queue, came, ceremonies were performed over the returned wanderer, and he was washed from head to foot and dried with corn meal; for thus do the Navajo treat all who return to their homes from captivity with another tribe, in order that all alien substances and influences may be removed from them. When he had been thus purified he entered the house and his people embraced him and wept over him. But to him the odors of the lodge were now intolerable and he soon left the house and sat outside. Seeing this, the shaman gave it as his opinion that the purification already made was not sufficient, and that it would be well to have a great dance over him. In those days the Navajo had a healing dance in the dark corral; but it was imperfect, with few songs and no kethàwns or sacrificial sticks. It was not until Dsilyi` Neyáni recounted big revelations that it became the great dance it now is among the Navajo.

60. It was agreed that before the dance began Dsilyi` Neyáni should be allowed four days and four nights in which to tell his story and that the medicine man should send out a number of young men to collect the plants that were necessary for the coming ceremony. For four nights and for four days he was busy in relating his adventures and instructing his hearers in all the mysteries he had learned in the homes of the ʕigini. Then they built the medicine lodge and got all things ready for the new rites and for the purification of the one who had returned. The shaman selected from among the plants brought him by the young men such as he thought would beat cleanse his patient of all the strange food he had taken among the alien Indians and in the houses of the supernatural ones whom he had visited. On the first day he gave him pine and spruce; on the second day, big and little willows; on the third day, a plant called liti and the aromatic sumac; on the fourth day, cedar and piñon. Of these the prophet drank cold and hot infusions in the morning by the fire.

61. During these four days the ceremonies which Dsilyi` Neyáni had introduced were in progress. On the fifth day it was proposed they should send out the akáninili (meal sprinkler) or courier to invite their neighbors to the great dance. There were two couriers to be sent: one was to go to the north, to a place called ʕògojilá` (Much Grease Wood), to invite some friendly bands of Ute, some distant bands of Navajo, and some Jicarilla who dwelt there; the other was to go to the south, to Tse`lakäi-silä (Where Two White Rocks Lie), to ask the Southern Apache, the White Mountain Apache, the Cohonino, and a tribe called ʕildjèhe, to attend. To the camp in the north it was a journey of two days and two nights, and it would take the fleetest runner the same time to return. To the home of their neighbors in the south it was as far. As these long journeys must be made on foot and running, they could not find a single young man in the camp who would volunteer for the task. The men counseled about the difficulty all day and tried much persuasion on the youths, but none were found willing to make either journey.

62. As night approached an old woman entered the medicine lodge and said: "I will send my grandson as an akáninili." This old woman's lodge was not far from where the medicine lodge was built and all present knew her grandson well. Whenever they visited her lodge he was always lying on the ground asleep; they never saw him go abroad to hunt, and they all supposed him to be lazy and worthless; so when she made her offer they only looked at one another and laughed. She waited

awhile, and getting no response she again offered the services of her grandson, only to provoke again laughter and significant looks.

A third and a fourth time she made her proposal, and then she said. "Why do you not at least answer me? I have said that I will let my grandson take your messages to one of these camps and you laugh at me and thank me not. Why is this?" Hearing her words, the chief medicine man, who came from a distant camp and did not know her, asked the men who were present who the woman was and what sort of a young man her grandson was; but again the men laughed and did not answer him either. He turned to the old woman and said: "Bring hither your grandson, that I may see him." The woman answered: "It is already late; the night is failing and the way is long. It is of no use for you to see him to-night; let us wait until the morning." "Very well," said the shaman; "bring him at dawn to-morrow." She left the lodge promising to do as she was bidden; and the moment she was gone the long suppressed merriment of the men broke forth. They all laughed inordinately, made many jokes about the lazy grandson, and told the medicine man that there was no use in sending such a person with the message when the best runners among them did not dare to undertake the journey. "He is too weak and lazy to hunt," said they; "he lives on seeds and never tastes flesh."

63. As soon as there was light enough in the morning to discern objects, a man who was looking out of the door of the medicine lodge cried out, "He comes," and those inside laughed and waited. Presently *Tlâcêşçini* (such was the name of the old woman's grandson) entered and sat down near the fire. All looked at him in astonishment. When last they saw him his hair was short and matted, as if it had not been combed or washed for three years, and his form was lean and bent. Now he appeared with thick glossy locks that fell below his knee; his limbs were large and firm looking; he held his head erect and walked like a youth of courage; and many said to one another, "This cannot be the same man." In a little while another young man named *Indsiskâi* (*Radiating White Streaks*), as fair and robust as the first, entered and sat down by the fire on the side opposite to where *Tlâcêşçini* sat. The white earth and the charcoal for painting the *akâninili* were already prepared; so some of the young men in the lodge, when they beheld this pair of fine couriers, arose without a word of debate and began to paint the latter and to adorn their persons for the journey. When the toilet was done, the medicine man sent the couriers forthwith many messages and injunctions and told them to blow on their whistles four times before they got out of hearing of the lodge. *Tlâcêşçini* went to the north and

Indsiskäi to the south, and they walked so slowly that all the spectators again laughed and made merry, and many said: "They will never reach the camps whither we have sent them." They passed out of sight just before the sun rose. Those who remained in camp prepared to amuse themselves. They cleared the ground for the game of ná'joj, and brought out their sticks and hoops. Some said: "We will have plenty of time for play before the couriers return." Others said: "At yonder tree we saw Tlà'ęęşini last. I suppose if we went there now we would find him asleep under it."

64. About the middle of the afternoon, while they were playing their games, one looked to the north, and, at a distance, he saw one of the messengers approaching them, and he cried out, "Here comes Tlà'ęęşini; he has wakened from his sleep and is coming back for something to eat." A moment later Indsiskäi was announced as approaching from the south. They both reached the door of the medicine lodge at the same time; but Tlà'ęęşini entered first, handed his bag to the medicine man, and sat down in the same place where he sat when he entered in the morning. Indsiskäi followed and, handing his bag to the shaman, sat down opposite his companion. Now, many who were without thronged into the lodge to enjoy the sport, and they laughed and whispered among themselves; but the couriers were grave and silent, and, while the medicine man opened the bags, they took off their ornaments and washed the paint from their bodies. In the bag of Tlà'ęęşini were found four ears of léjyipÄ•j (corn baked in the husk underground). They were still hot from the fire, and the shaman broke them into fragments and passed the pieces around. From the bag of Indsiskäi two pieces of noçá` (the hard sugar of the maguey), such as the Apache make, were taken. When the young men had finished cleaning themselves, they passed out in silence, without a glance for any one.

65. At nightfall they returned to the lodge, and entering, sat down in the West, one on each side of the medicine man, and Tlà'ęęşini addressed him, saying: "When we came to the lodge this afternoon, we did not give you an account of our journeys because the people who are with you are fools, who laughed when we came home from the long journey which they feared to undertake; but now we have come to tell you our adventures. I," continued Tlà'ęęşini, "went to the north. On my way I met another messenger who was traveling from a distant camp to this one to call you all to a dance in a circle of branches of a different kind from ours. When he learned my errand he tried to prevail on me to return hither and put off our dance till another day, so that we might

attend their ceremony and that they in turn might attend ours; but I refused, saying our people were in haste to complete their dance. Then we exchanged bows and quivers as a sign to our people that we had met and that what we would tell on our return was the truth. You observe that the bow and quiver I have now are not those with which I left this morning. We parted, and I kept on my way towards the north. It was yet early in the day when I reached Çògojilá, where the Jicarilla and friendly Ute were encamped. There I sprinkled meal on the medicine man and gave him my message. When I arrived they were just opening a pit in which they had roasted corn, and they gave me the ears which I have brought home. They promised to be here in our camp at the end of the third day, which will be the night of our dance."

60. When Tlàçesçini had done speaking, Indsiskäi gave the following account of himself: "It was but a little while after sunrise when I reached Tse`lakäi-silà and entered the camps of the four tribes. In one they were just taking some noçá` out of a pit, and they gave me those pieces which I brought home. I entered the lodge of a medicine man in each tribe, Scattered on him the sacred meal, and announced to him when our dance would take place. They all promised to be here with their people on the end of the third day, which will be on the night we hold our ceremony."

67. When the akáninilis came to tell their adventures to the medicine man, they were beautifully attired. They wore earrings and necklaces of turquoise, coral, and rare shells. They had on embroidered blankets of a kind we see no longer, but the gods wore them in the ancient days. They rustled like dry leaves. The blanket of one was black and that of the other was white. When they came out of the medicine lodge they went around among the huts and inclosures of those who were assembled, visiting the wives and the sweethearts of the silly men who had laughed at them in the morning; and everywhere the women smiled on the beautiful and well dressed youths. The next morning the men laughed and sneered at them no more, nor whispered in their presence, but glanced at them with sulky or shamefaced looks. During the day the akáninilis took part in the game of ná'joj with those who once jeered at them, and won many articles of great value.

68. On the afternoon of the third day following the one on which the akáninilis made their journeys, a great cloud of dust was observed on the northern horizon and a similar cloud was seen in the south. They grew greater and came nearer, and then the invited Indians began to arrive from both directions. They continued to come in groups until

nightfall, when a great multitude had assembled to witness the dance. After the guests began to arrive the young men set to work to cut trees for the corral, and when the sun had set the building of the dark circle of branches began. While the young men were making the circle the old men were making speeches to the multitude, for the old men always love to talk when the young men are hard at work. It was the greatest corral that has ever been built in the Navajo country. It was as broad as from Cañon Bonito to "the Haystacks" (a distance of about six miles), yet the visiting tribes were so numerous that they filled the circle full. In the mean time the sounds of singing and of the drum were heard all around, for many different parties of dancers, who were to take part in the night's entertainment, were rehearsing.

69. There was some delay after the inclosure was finished before the first dancers made their appearance. A man entered the corral and made a speech begging the *atsáleĩ*, or first dancers, to hasten, as there were so many parties from a distance who wished to perform during the night. Soon after he had spoken, the two *atsáleĩ* who led in the dance of the great plumed arrow entered, and, after them came six more, and performed this healing dance over *Dsilyi` Neyáni* as it is performed to this day. (See paragraph 131.) When this was concluded various groups from among the strangers entered, one after another, and conducted their different *alilis*, or shows, which the Navajo then learned and have since practiced when they sing their songs in the dark circle of branches.

70. When the dance began in the evening there was one of the invited tribes which, it was noticed, had not arrived. This was the *Beqai*, or *Jicarilla*. The Navajo asked the Ute where the missing ones were, and the Ute answered that they had passed the *Jicarilla* on the way; that the latter were coming, but had stopped to play a game of roulette, or *ná'joj*, and were thus delayed. Shortly before dawn the *Jicarilla*, came and entered the corral to exhibit their *alili* or show. It was a dance of the *ná'joj*, for the wands and implements of the dance were the sticks and wheels used in playing that game.

71. During the night a chief of the Navajo, while walking through the crowd, observed the grandmother of *Tlâ'cesçini* sitting on the ground. He approached her and said: "Your grandson and his friend have done a great deed for us; they have made a long journey. Many doubted whether they had really made it until we saw the multitude gathering in our camp from the north and from the south in obedience to their summons. Now we know that they have spoken the truth. Tell me, I beg

you, how they did this wonderful thing." She answered: "They are ʕigìni. My grandson for many years has risen early every morning and run all around Tsòtsil (Mount Taylor, or San Mateo) over and over again before sunrise. This is why the people have never seen him abroad during the day, but have seen him asleep in his hogán. Around the base of Tsòtsil are many tse'ná'djihi (heaps of sacrificial stones). These were all made by my grandson; he drops a stone on one of these piles every time he goes round the mountain."

72. When day began to dawn there were yet several parties who came prepared to give exhibitions, but had not had a chance; still, at the approach of day the ceremonies had to cease. At this time, before the visitors began to leave the corral, the Navajo chief who had spoken with the grandmother arose and addressed the assembly. He told them all he knew about the swift couriers and all the grandmother had told him. He remarked that there were yet many who could not believe that the young men had made the journey; so, to satisfy all, he proposed that within twelve days they should have a race between the two fleet akáninili around the base of Tsòtsil, if all would agree to reassemble to witness it, and he begged them to invite their neighbors of the Pueblo and other tribes to come with them. Then other chiefs arose to speak. In the end the proposition of the Navajo chief was agreed to. All promised to return within eleven days and decided that the race should take place on the morning following. Then they dispersed to their homes.

73. On the afternoon of the eleventh day, when they had reassembled according to their promises, the Navajo chief arose and addressed them. He invited the chiefs of the other tribes to come forward and complete the arrangements for the race. So the headmen all came together at the place where the Navajo was speaking, and, after some consultation, they agreed that the race should be around the peak of Tsòtsil, but not around the entire range of mountains. The Navajo separated themselves into one party and the alien tribes into another, the two parties standing at a little distance from one another. The aliens were given the first choice, and they chose Indsiskäi; therefore Tlàʕesçini fell to the Navajo. Then the betting began. The stakes consisted of strings of coral, turquoise, and shell beads, of vessels of shells as large as the earthen basins of the Zuñi, of beautifully tanned buckskins, of dresses embroidered with colored porcupine quills, and of suits of armor made of several layers of buckskin. The warriors in those days wore such armor, but they wear it no longer. The beads and shells were laid in one pile; the buckskins, the embroidered dresses, and the armor in another; and the piles were of vast size.

74. The homes of these young men were at Kaç-sakàç tsé`çqa (Lone Juniper Standing Between Cliffs), now Cobero Cañon. There is seen to day a rock shaped like a Navajo hogán. It stands near the wagon road and not far from the town of the Mexicans (Cobero). This rock was once the hut where Tlàçesçini dwelt. Not far from it is another rock of similar appearance, which once was the home of Indsiskäi. For this reason the runners were started at the Lone Juniper. They ran towards the west and live of the fleetest runners among the assembled Indians set out at the same time to see how long they could keep up with them. By the time these five men had reached the spur of the mountain opposite Çòsaço (Hot Spring, Ojo de los Gallinos, San Rafael), the two champions were out of sight. Then the five turned back; but before they could return to the Lone Juniper the runners had got in and the race was decided. Tlàçesçini had won by about twice the length of his own body, and all the wagered wealth of the other nations passed into the hands of the Navajo.

75. When all was done the strangers were dissatisfied; they mourned over their losses and talked about the whole affair among themselves for a long time. Finally they decided to give the Navajo another challenge if the latter would agree to a longer racecourse, which should include all the foothills of the San Mateo range. The Navajo accepted the challenge and agreed to have the race at the end of another twelve days. Early on the eleventh day the strangers began to assemble from all quarters; they continued to arrive all day, and when night fell they were all in. Then the headmen addressed them, explaining all the conditions of the challenge and describing carefully the race course decided on. The betting did not ran as high this time as before.

The Navajo bet only about one-half of what they won on the former race. Again they started the two runners, and in such time as you could just mark that the sun had moved, they were back at the goal; but this time Indsiskäi, the champion of the alien races, won by about the same distance as he had lost on the previous occasion.

76. Then the strangers were satisfied and said, "We will try no more. Many of our goods are still with the Navajo; but we have done well to rescue what we have." One of the wise men among them said, "Yes, you have done well, for had you lost the second race you would have lost with it the rain and the sunshine and all that makes life glad." It is because the Navajo won so much wealth on this occasion that they have been richer than the neighboring races ever since.

77. The ceremony cured Dsilyi` Neyáni of all his strange feelings and notions. The lodge of his people no longer smelled unpleasant to him. But, often he would say, "I know I cannot be with you always, for the yays visit me nightly in my sleep. In my dreams I am once more among them, and they beg me to return to them."

78. From Lejpáhiço the family moved to Dsildjoltcinçi (Mountain of Hatred). Thence they went to Tsinbiláhi (Woods on One Side), and from there to Tse`yuçáhia` (Standing Rock Above). In this place they encamped but one night, and next day they moved to Çepè-açaç (Sheep Promontory), and went onto Çepè Çasiçi (One Sheep Lying Down). Here again they camped for the night. Next day they traveled by Tse`atçâlçali (Rock Cracked in Two) to Tcoyàjnaskiç (Hill Surrounded With Young Spruce Trees), to Niğàqokai (White Ground), and to Tse`yistçi (Dipping Rocks, i. e., dipping strata), where they stopped to refit for the night. On the following day they journeyed to Çosakázi (Cold Water), in which place they encamped again.

79. When the morning came, Dsilyi` Neyáni said to his younger brother, "Let us go out and try to shoot some deer, so that we may wake beça` (deer masks), such as we wore in Çepéntsá, where we killed so many deer." The brothers departed on the hunt and came to a place called Dsil-ljín (Black Mountains), and they sat down on the side of the mountains looking towards Tsòtsil. As they sat there Dsilyi, Neyáni said: "Younger brother, behold the çigini!" (holy ones); but the younger brother could see no one. Then he spoke again, "Farewell, younger brother! From the holy places the gods come for me. You will never see me again; but when the showers pass and the thunder peals, 'There,' you will say, 'is the voice of my elder brother,' and when the harvest comes, of the beautiful birds and grasshoppers you will say 'There is the ordering of my elder brother.'"

80. As he said these words he vanished. The younger brother looked all around, and seeing no one he started for his home. When he returned to his people he told them of the departure of Dsilyi` Neyáni, they mourned as for one dead.

THE CEREMONIES OF DSILYÍDJE QAÇÀL.

81. It has been my lot to see portions of these ceremonies at various times. The most complete view I had of them was during a visit made to a place called Niçotlizi (Hard Earth), some twenty miles northwest from

Fort Wingate, New Mexico, and just within the southern boundary of the Navajo Reservation, This was the only occasion when I obtained full access to the medicine lodge on the later days of the ceremonies and had an opportunity of observing the wonderful pictures on sand which are illustrated in color in the accompanying plates.

82. On October 21, 1884, when I arrived at this place, the patient, for whose benefit the rites were celebrated and a few of her immediate relations were the only people encamped here. They occupied a single temporary shelter of brushwood, within a few paces of which I had a rude shelter erected for my own accommodation. The patient was a middleaged woman, who apparently suffered from no ailment whatever; she was stout, ruddy, cheerful, and did her full share of the household work every day; yet she was about to give away for these ceremonies sheep, horses, and other goods to the value of perhaps two hundred dollars. No ceremonies whatever were in progress when I came. Everything, so the Indiana said, was waiting for the qaçali. (Paragraph 2.) Some men were engaged in building a corral for the sheep that were to be slaughtered for the guests, and some old women were grinding corn to feast the men who were to work in the medicine lodge, which had been completed six days before.

83. This lodge was a simple conical structure of large, partly hewed piñon logs, set on end and inclined at an angle of about forty-five degrees, so as to join one another on top, where they formed the apex of the lodge. The circle of logs was incomplete in the east, where the openings for the door and the smoke hole were. A passage, or entry, about live feet high and three feet wide, led from the body of the lodge to the outer doorway, where some blankets hung as portières. The frame of logs was covered with sods and loose earth to keep out wind and rain. Internally, the lodge was eight feet in height under the apex of the cone and on an average twenty-five feet in diameter at the base. The diameter was increased at the east (to allow for the entry) and at the north. The irregularity in the circumference in the north was at first conjectured to be a mere accident; but in the ceremonies of the first night its use became apparent as affording a hiding place for the man dressed in evergreens. (Paragraph 96.)

84. THE FIRST FOUR DAYS' ceremonies in this case had been performed during the previous year. Such a division of the work is sometimes made, if more convenient for the patient and his friends, but usually all is done in nine consecutive days. These first days have less of interest than the others. Early each morning, before eating, all who

desire, men and women, enter the medicine lodge, where, in a stifling atmosphere, seated around a fire of dry wood of four different kinds--cedar, big willow, little willow, and spruce--they take the hot emetic infusion of fifteen different kinds of plants mixed together. A little sand is placed in front of each to receive the ejected material. After the emetic has acted the fire is removed, deposited some paces to the north of the lodge, and allowed to die out. Each devotee's pile of sand, is then removed (beginning with that of the man who sat in the east. and going round the circle) and deposited, one after another, in a line north of the sacred fire. Each succeeding day's deposits are placed farther and farther north in a continuous line. Next all return to the lodge, which has been allowed to cool; the shaman spits on each some, medicine which has been mixed with hoar-frost and is supposed to cool. When all have left the lodge, a new fire of ordinary wood is kindled, and the kethàwns, or sacrificial sticks, appropriate to the day are made.

85. FIFTH DAY. The chanter did not arrive until the afternoon of October 23. His ceremonies in the medicine lodge began on the morning of the 24th. The forenoon was devoted to the preparation and sacrifice of certain kethàwns (keçàn)--the sacrificial sticks, to the origin of which so much of the foregoing myth is devoted--and of sacrificial cigarettes. About eight o'clock the sick woman entered the medicine lodge, followed by the chanter. While she sat on the ground, with her limbs extended, he applied some powdered substance from his medicine bag to the soles of her feet, to her knees, breasts, shoulders, cheeks, and head, in the order named, and then threw some of it towards the heavens. through the smoke hole. Before applying it to the head he placed some of it in her mouth to be swallowed. Then, kneeling on a sheep skin, with her face to the east, and holding the bag of medicine in her hand, she recited a prayer, bit by bit, after the chanter. The prayer being, finished, she arose, put some of the medicine into her mouth, some on her head, and took her seat in the south, while the shaman went on with the preparation of the sacrifices

86. An assistant daubed a nice straight branch of cherry with some moistened herbaceous powder, after which he divided the branch into four pieces with a flint knife. Two of the pieces were each about two inches long and two each about four inches long. In each of the shorter ones he made one slight gash and in each of the longer ones two gashes. The sticks were then painted a shred of yucca leaf being used for the brush, with rings of black, red, and white, disposed in a different order on each stick. The two cigarettes were made by filling sections of some

hollow stem with a mixture of some pulverized plants. Such cigarettes are intended, as the prayers indicate, to be smoked by the gods.

87. While the assistants were painting the sticks and making the cigarettes the old chanter placed on a sheep skin, spread on the floor woolly side down, other things pertaining to the sacrifice: five bundles; of assorted feathers, five small pieces of cotton sheeting to wrap the sacrifices in, and two round flat stones, each about four inches in diameter. The upper surfaces of these he painted, one blue and one black, and he bordered each with a stripe of red. When the kethàwns and cigarettes were ready, the qaçàli distributed them along with the bunches of plumes, on the five pieces of cotton cloth, which were then rolled up around their contents, making five bundles of sacrifices. On the completion of this work there was prayer, song, and rattling; the medicinal powder was applied to the body of the patient as before (paragraph 85); two of the little sacrificial bundles were placed in her right hand, and while she held them she again repeated a prayer, following again phrase by phrase, or sentence by sentence, the words of the priest. The latter, when the prayer was ended, took the sacrifices from her hand and pressed them to different parts of her body in the order previously observed, beginning with the soles of the feet and going upwards to the head, but on this occasion touching also the back, and touching it last. Each time after pressing the sacrifices to her body he held them up to the smoke hole and blew on them in that direction a quick puff, as if blowing away some evil influence which the sacrifices were supposed to draw from her body. Then the three remaining bundles were pat in her hands and the rites observed with the former bundles were repeated in every respect, including the prayer, which was followed by singing and rattling. When the song had ceased some of the assistants took the bundles of sacrifices out of the lodge, no doubt to bury them according to the method proper for those particular kethàwns. The round painted stones were also carried out.

88. The prayers which the woman repeated varied but little. They all sounded nearly alike. The night the shaman arrived he rehearsed some of these prayers with the woman, at her own hogán, to make her familiar with them before she repeated them in the medicine lodge. The prayer addressed to Dsilyi` Neyáni, when she held in her hand the offering sacred to him, was as follows:

Reared Within the Mountains!
 Lord of the Mountains!
 Young Man!

Chieftain!

I have made your sacrifice.

I have prepared a smoke for you.

My feet restore thou for me.

My legs restore thou for me.

My body restore thou for me.

My mind restore thou for me.

My voice restore thou for me.

Restore all for me in beauty.

Make beautiful all that is before me.

Make beautiful all that is behind me.

Make beautiful my words.

It is done in beauty.

It is done in beauty.

It is done in beauty.

It is done in beauty. (Paragraphs 261-4.)

89. The next part of the ceremonies (or, shall I say, the treatment?) was a fumigation. The medicine man took from the fire a large glowing coal, placed it beside the woman, and scattered on it some powdered substance which instantly gave forth a dense smoke and a strong fragrance that filled the lodge. The woman held her face over the coal and inhaled the fumes with deep inspirations. When the smoke no longer rose, the coal was quenched with water and carried out of the lodge by the chief, Manuelito, probably to be disposed of in some established manner. Then the woman left the lodge and singing and rattling were resumed.

90. While the rites just described were in progress some assistants were busy with other matters. One made, from the spotted skin of a fawn, two bags in which the akáninilis or couriers were to carry their weal on the morrow's journey. Another brought in and hung over the doorway a bundle of dry, withered plants which he had just gathered. Glancing up at them I recognized the *Gutierrezia* and the *Bouteloua*. The bundle may have contained the other plants mentioned in the myth (paragraph 44). They were hung up there till the next day, to be then used in a manner which will be described (paragraph 101).

91. The sheepskin on which the sacrifices had been placed was taken away and a blanket was spread on the ground to receive some more

sacred articles from the bag of the chanter. These were five long notched wands, some tail feathers of the wild turkey, some small downy feathers of the eagle, and some native mineral pigments-yellow ocher, a ferruginous black, and a native blue. With the pigments the assistants painted the notched wands; with the plumes the chanter trimmed them. (See Fig. 51 and Plate XI.) Then they were called *çobolça*, a word of obscure etymology, or *inçia`*, which signifies sticking up or standing erect. They are called in this paper "plumed wands."

92. While some were making the *çobolça* others busied themselves grinding, between stones, large quantities of pigments, coarser than those referred to above, to be used in making the sand pictures or dry paintings of the ceremony. They made five colors: black, of charcoal; white, of white sandstone; red, of red sandstone; yellow, of, yellow sandstone; and "blue," of the black and white, mixed in proper proportions; of course this was a gray, but it was their only cheap substitute for the cerulean tint, and, combined with the other colors on the sanded floor, in the dim light of the lodge, it could not easily be distinguished from a true blue. It may be remarked in passing that the Navajo apply to many things which are gray the term they use for blue (*çolij*); thus the gray fox is called *mäi-çolij* (blue coyote) and a gray sheep is called a blue sheep. Yet that they make a distinction between these colors its, I think, fairly evident from the fact that in painting small articles, such as kethàwns and masks, they use the more costly articles of turquoise, Malachite, and indigo. These coarse pigments for the dry paintings were put for convenience on curved pieces of piñon bark.

From time to time, during this and the following days, as the heaps of colored powder diminished under the hands of the artists, more stones and charcoal were pulverized to replenish them.

93. About noon they cleared off that portion of the floor of the lodge which lay west of the fire, and brought, in blankets, a quantity of dry sand, which they spread out over the cleared portion of the floor in a layer of the nearly constant depth of three inches. They smoothed the surface with the broad oaken battens used in weaving. Now for a time all operations were suspended in the lodge while the chanter went out to plant the *bolça*, or plumed wands, in front of the medicine lodge, and to lay beside them the collars of beaver skins and the symbols for wings which the couriers were to wear next day. (Fig. 51.) These articles, it was said, were placed outside as a sign to the gods that the holy pictures were being drawn; but it is not improbable that they were intended also as a sign to uninitiated mortals. However that may be, they were taken

in as soon as the picture was finished. The great painting was begun about 1 o'clock p. m., was finished about 3, and was allowed to remain until the ceremonies at night were concluded. It will be described later. (Paragraphs 160 et seq.)

94. When the picture was completed food was brought in, and there was a good deal of eating and sleeping and smoking done. Being informed that nothing more would be done until after nightfall, I went to my own shelter, to elaborate some of my more hasty sketches while matters were still fresh in my mind. At 7 o'clock a messenger came to tell me that ceremonies were about to be resumed. During my absence the principal character in the night's performance--a man arrayed in evergreens--had been dressed.

95. I found, on returning to the lodge, a number of spectators seated around close to the edge of the apartment. The fire burned in the center. The sick woman, with some companions, sat in the south. The qaçàli, with a few assistants who joined him in singing and shaking rattles, was seated at the north, at the place where the circumference of the lodge was enlarged. (Paragraph 83.) There was a space about two feet wide and six feet long between them and the wall, or roof if you choose so to call it, of the lodge. I was assigned a place in the west. The sick woman was directed to move from the position she occupied east and west and straight lines north and south, like their symbols for the chain and sheet lightnings, by stepping over her in different directions, and by rattling. When she had apparently recovered, he pressed the plumed wands and the symbols for wings to different parts of her body, in the order and with the ceremonies described when referring to previous application made to her body.

99. There were no more ceremonies that night. I remained in the medicine lodge until it was quite late. The men occupied their time in singing, rattling, gambling, and smoking. After a while some grew weary and lay down to sleep. Being repeatedly assured that nothing more would happen until the whistle sounded in the morning, I left the lodge to roll myself in my blankets. Yet frequently during the night, fearing I might have been deceived, I stealthily arose and visited the medicine lodge, only to find all slumbering soundly.

100. SIXTH DAY. At five in the morning (Saturday, October 25) the whistle sounded and I hastened to the medicine lodge. There was much

to be done; the couriers were to be dressed and sent on their way, and a large picture was to be painted; so the work had to begin early.

101. The first thing done was to burn to charcoal the bundle of plants which had been gathered on the previous morning and hung over the door of the lodge inside. (Paragraph 90.) The charcoal was used in painting the limbs of the akáninilis, or couriers. A basin of water containing soap root or amolë (the root of *Yucca baccata* and other species of yucca) was brought in, and after the medicine man had dabbed them with a little of the suds the akáninilis-elect washed themselves with it from head to foot, cleaning their hair well. When the bath was done, they were dabbed by the qaçali with some other mixture contained in a waterproof wicker basin and were made to inhale the fragrant fumes of some vegetable powder scattered on a live coal, which, as usual, was "put out," in a double sense, when the fumigation was over. Then the young men were dressed and adorned to look like Dsilyi` Neyáni after his toilet in the house of the butterflies. (Paragraph 44.) Their legs and forearms were painted black, to represent the storm cloud. The outer aspects of these members were decorated with white zigzag streaks, to indicate the white lightning. Their faces were painted partly white and small white spots were scattered over their bodies. Downy eagle feathers were fastened to their hair; necklaces of shell and coral were hung around their necks, and over these were laid collars of beaver skin, with whistles attached, which had lain in front of the lodge the day before, near the plumed wands. (Paragraph 93, Fig. 51.) Small objects to represent wings were tied to their arms. Each was given one of the fawn skin bags (paragraph 90) with corn meal in it. In the hand of the akáninili who was to go to the south was placed one of the çobolça, or plumed wands, whose stem was painted black, the color of the north, as a sign to all he might meet that he was a duly authorized messenger from a medicine lodge in the north. In the hand of the other akáninili was placed a blue shafted wand, to show that he came from the south. Thus equipped they were all ready for the journey.

102. The chanter gave them his messages, telling them where to go, what places they were to visit, what other chanters they were to see, what dancers they were to invite, and what gifts they were authorized to offer to the visiting performers for their trouble. Having given these special instructions, he closed with the general instructions, which are always given to the akáninili, as follows:

These [pointing to the eagle feathers on the head] will make for you a means of rising as you progress.

These (pointing to the wing symbols on the arm] will bear you onward.

This (pointing to the collar of beaver skin] will be a means of recognition for you. For this reason it hangs around your neck.

Sprinkle meal across a little valley, across a big arroyo.

Across the roots of a tree sprinkle meal and then you may step over.

Sprinkle meal across a flat rock.

Then the plumed wand. For this purpose you carry it, that they will recognize you as coming from a holy place.

103. The akáninili on his journey scatters meal before him as directed in these charges. He also scatters it on the medicine men whom he visits, and for this reason he is called akáninili, which signifies meal sprinkler.

104. When the last word of the instructions was uttered, the couriers departed, one to the north and one to the south. It was not later than 7 o'clock when they left. As soon as they were gone, the work of painting the picture appropriate to the day was begun. It was much more elaborate than the painting of the previous day. Although a dozen men worked on it, it was not finished until two o'clock. About the time it was done, the akáninili from the south returned. He was carefully divested of all his ornaments. The white paint was scraped carefully from his body and preserved in the medicine bags of those who scraped it off. Then he was led out of the lodge.

105. When the picture was finished, the shaman, having applied pollen in three places to each god, stuck around it in the ground, at regular intervals, the three plumed wands which had stood before the door of the lodge all day and the wand which the akáninili from the south had just brought back with him. This wand he placed at the south of the picture, and laid beside it the collar, wings, and plumes which the akáninili had worn. The fifth, or north, wand was still absent with the courier who went to the north.

106. All was ready now for the treatment of the sick woman. She was sent for, and a crier went to the door of the lodge to announce that song and ceremony were to begin. Accompanied by another woman, she entered, carrying a basket with corn meal in it. This she sprinkled

lightly over the picture and then handed it to some of the assistants, who finished the work she had begun by strewing the meal plentifully on the figures. She sat on the form of the god in the east, facing the door, with her feet extended, and her companion sat on the figure of the cornstalk in the southeast. (Plate XVI.) In the mean time the medicine man had made a cold infusion in an earthen bowl and placed it on the hands of the rainbow figure (paragraph 169), laying over it a brush or sprinkler made of feathers, with a handle of colored yarn. When the women were seated, the chanter dipped his brush in the solution; sprinkled the picture plentifully; touched each divine figure with the moistened brush in three places--brow, mouth, and chest; administered the infusion to the women, in two alternate draughts to each; drained the bowl himself; and handed it to the bystanders, that they might finish the dregs and let none of the precious stuff go to waste. Next came the fumigation. The woman whom we have designated as the companion rose from her seat on the picture and sat on the ground beside the door. The principal patient retained her seat on the eastern god. Near each a live coal was laid on the ground. On the coal a strong scented but rather fragrant mixture was thrown, and as the fumes arose the women waved them towards their faces and breathed them in as before. The coal was extinguished and carefully removed, as on previous occasions. The application of the sacred dust to the body of the patient followed. The shaman moistened his hands with saliva and pressed them to the feet of all the gods. Some of the powder, of course, stuck to his palms. This he applied to the feet of the patient. Thus he took dust from the knees, abdomens, chests, shoulders, and heads of the figures and applied it to corresponding parts of the patient's form, making a strong massage with each application.

107. When the patient had departed many of the spectators advanced to the picture and gathered the corn pollen (paragraphs 105 and 112), now rendered doubly sacred, and put it in their medicine bags. Some took portions of the remaining dust from the figures, after the manner of the shaman, and applied it to ailing portions of their persons. If the devotee had disease in his legs, he took dust from the legs of the figures; if in his head, the dust was taken from the heads of the figures, and so on.

108. By the time they were all done the picture was badly marred; yet its general form and some of the details were quite distinguishable. Then it became the province of the chanter to completely obliterate it. He began with the white god in the east and took in turn the figures in the southeast (corn), south, southwest, west, center, northwest, north, and northeast. Next, the figure of the rainbow was erased from foot to head,

and, on his way, the chanter knocked down, with rather vicious blows, the plumed wands which stood up around the picture. When he came to the round figure in the center he dug up a cup which had been buried there. He erased the picture with a long slender wand and sang in the meantime, to the accompaniment of the rattling of his assistants, a plaintive chant in a minor key, which was perhaps the most melodious Indian song I ever heard. All was over at half past 2 in the afternoon.

109. Later in the day it was announced that the other akáninili was approaching from the north. He could then be observed about a mile away in all open plain. As he advanced the sound of his whistle was heard. At exactly half past 4 he entered the medicine lodge, where the chanter motioned him to a seat in the south. Singing and rattling were at once begun and the akáninili was divested of his trappings in the following order: head plumes, beaver collar, necklace, right wing, left wing, belt, sash, moccasins. The white paint was removed and preserved as on the former occasion. He was led out of the lodge, where he was well washed from head to foot in a hot decoction of the detergent amolë and dried with corn meal. Two large blood blisters were to be seen on the inner aspects of his thighs, brought on by the friction of his breechcloth in running. He said that he had ran constantly when not in sight from our camp, had traveled a long way since morning, and was very tired. It seems to be the custom with the akáninili to walk slowly when near camp and to run when out of sight, probably to follow the mythic examples of Tlàcēsçini and Indsiskäi. (Paragraph 63.)

110. With the toilet of the akáninili the ceremonies of the day ended. He returned to the lodge to relate his adventures and get some food. During the day visitors arrived occasionally from distant camps. In the afternoon there were several young men present, who busied themselves in grubbing and clearing the ground where the corral was to be built and the great dance of the last night was to be held. I remained in the lodge until it was quite late, and I frequently rose during the night to see if anything was going on; but the night passed without event, like the previous one.

111. SEVENTH DAY. The painting of the picture and the treatment of the sick woman were the only works performed on this day (Sun. day, October 26). The whistle sounded from the lodge at 6 a. m., but already the plumed wands and the beaver collars had been placed before the door of the medicine lodge and the sand for the groundwork of the picture had been brought in. As the picture (Plate XVII) was to be larger

than those which preceded it, the tire was moved quite near to the door; the heated earth which lay under the fire in its former position was dug up and replaced with cold earth, probably for the comfort of the artists.

112. The work of the painters was begun soon after 6 a. m. and was not completed until about 2 p. m. About a dozen men were engaged on it, and it occupied them, as we have seen, about eight hours. As usual, the qaçali did very little of the manual labor; but he constantly watched the work and frequently criticised and corrected it. When the painting was done, it became his duty to apply the sacred corn pollen to the brow, month, and chest of each of the gods and to set up the bounding çobolça or plumed wands. After this he placed a bowl of water on the left hand of the white god--the form second from the north--threw into it some powdered substance to make a cold decoction, and laid the sprinkler on top of it. (Paragraph 106.)

113. The whistle was blown. The herald announced that all was ready. The sick woman and her companion entered, and one after the other cut meal upon the floor. the former took off her moccasins and sat on the ground near the door while a song was sung. Then she sat on the form of the white god, her companion sat on the form of the blue god, and the singing and rattling wore resumed. Without interrupting his song the chanter sprinkled the picture with the infusion, applied the moistened sprinkler to the breast, head, and brow of each of the gods in the following order: white, blue, yellow, black, and sat down to finish his chant. He administered the decoctions to his patient in two draughts, to her companion in two draughts, to himself (honest physician!) in the same manner, and gave as before (paragraph 106) the dregs to the bystanders. He applied the dust from different parts of the divine figures to the sick woman, in much the same manner as on the previous day, and while doing this he obliterated the pictures of the little animals over the head of the white god. The fumigation of both women was repeated with exactly the same rites as on the second day, and the fumes had precisely the same odor on this occasion as on that. When the coats were extinguished and taken out, the chanter said to the women, "kaç" (now), whereat they arose and left the lodge.

114. As soon as they were gone the work of obliteration began. The figures of the gods were rubbed out in the usual order (white, blue, yellow, black, rainbow), the erasure in each case proceeding from foot to head. The plumed wands fell as before, simultaneously with the destruction of the rainbow. The sand was carried out at half past 2 &clock and no further rites were performed during the day.

115. EIGHTH DAY. The picture painted on Monday (October 27) was of a simple character, and hence did not occupy much time. The work was begun at 7 a. m. and was finished at 10 a. m. Of the four shorter or interior arrows (Plate XVIII), that which stands second from the north was regarded as the arrow of the east and was began first. On this arrow the sick woman was placed, sitting with her face to the east, when she came to be treated and fumigated. The bowl of infusion was laid on the point of the arrow immediately to her left, regarded as the arrow of the north. The medicine man put the pollen on the base, on the red cross lines near the center, and on the white tips. All the ceremonies which took place between the completion and the obliteration of the picture (the planting of the five plumed wands, the sprinkling of the picture with meal, the sprinkling and administration of the infusion, the application of the colored dust to the person of the patient, the fumigation of the two women, the whistling, the singing, and rattling) were essentially the same as those observed on the previous day. In taking the dust from the picture, however, the shaman applied his hands only to the bases of the arrows. The ceremony of obliteration was also a repetition of the rites of the previous day.

116. The building of the great stack of wood (Fig. 53) which was to furnish the fire in the center of the corral on the last night went on simultaneously with the painting of the picture. Both tasks were begun and ended about the same time. The wood in the big pile was dead, long seasoned juniper and cedar, fuel of the most inflammable character. The pile was about twelve feet high and sixty paces in circumference. Large quantities of this dry wood were also brought and placed outside the space allotted to the corral, to replenish the fires when needed.

117. In the afternoon there were no ceremonies in the medicine lodge. The qaçali and his assistants took a half holiday, and not without deserving it, for they had wrought well for three days and they had a long day's work and along nights work still before them. A large number of people had by this time assembled, and from time to time more arrived. Throughout the sparse grove which surrounded us, little temporary corrals and huts of boughs were going up in every direction. In more secret spots in the rugged walls of a cañon, about half a mile from the medicine lodge, other shelters were erected, where visiting performers were to prepare themselves on the last night. Many young men were busy in the afternoon cutting down the trees and lopping off the branches which were to form the great corral (the *ilnásjin*, the dark circle of branches) on the next day. Some of the visiting women were

busy grinding meal and attending to different household duties; others played cards or engaged in the more aboriginal pastime of *ázçilçil*, a game played with three sticks and forty stones, the latter for counters.

118. The friends of the sick woman prepared the *alkàn*, a great corn cake baked in the earth, the manufacture of which gave evidence of the antiquity of the process. The batter was mixed in one large hole in the ground lined with fresh sheepskin. It was baked in another hole in which a fire had been burning for many hours, until the surrounding earth was well heated. The fire was removed; the hole lined with corn husks; the batter ladled in and covered with more cornhusks; hot earth and hot coals were spread over all. The cake was not dug up until the following day, and was designed chiefly for the special entertainment of those who were at work in the medicine lodge.

119. NINTH DAY (UNTIL SUNSET). On Tuesday (October 28) the work in the lodge consisted in preparing certain properties to be used in the ceremonies of the night. These were the wands to be used in the first dance, the *kátso-yisçàn* or great plumed arrows, and the trees which the dancers pretended to swallow.

120. The wand of the *nahikài* was made by paring down a straight slender stick of aromatic sumac, about three feet long, to the general thickness of less than half an inch, but leaving a head or button at one end. A ring was fashioned from a transverse slice of some hollow or pithy plant, so that it would slide freely up and down the slender wand, but would not pass over the bead. Eagle down was secured to the wooden head and also to the ring. In the dance (paragraph 129) the eagle down on the stick is burned off in the fire while the ring is held in the palm of the hand. When the time comes for the wand to grow white again, as the name *nahikài* expresses it, the ring is allowed to leave the palm and slide to the other end of the stick.

121. The great plumed arrows were deceptions somewhat similar in character to the wands. One-half of the arrow was made of a slender hard twig of cliff rose; the other half was formed of some pithy suffruticose herb which I could not determine satisfactorily, as I saw only the cut sections and was not permitted to handle these. The pith was removed so as to allow the wooden part to move into the herby part with a telescopic mechanism. The herbaceous portion was so covered with feathers that nothing could be seen of its surface. A large stone arrowhead was attached to the wooden shaft. When the actor

pretended to swallow this he merely held the stone point firmly between his teeth and forced the upper or plumed shaft down on the lower or wooden shaft. It was an excellent deception, and presented to the ordinary observer all the appearance of genuine arrow swallowing.

122. The piñon saplings, which the dancers also pretended to swallow, had no deceptive arrangement. They were slender little trees trimmed at the butt into a broad, thin, wedge shaped point, which was carefully smoothed by rubbing it with sandstone, so that no offensive splinters should present themselves to the lips of the dancers. The smooth end was painted red, probably to make the spectators, at night, by the uncertain firelight, suppose that the dissemblers had torn their throats in their great efforts. Sometimes the saplings have all their branches removed, and are then trimmed with cross pieces and circles of evergreen sprays. In most cases, however, I have seen the sapling used in its natural condition.

123. As each set of implements was completed there was a ceremony with singing and rattling, the men who were to use them at night partook of powdered medicines on their extended tongues, from the hands of the chanter, and then practiced themselves in the use of the implements. Although they well knew the deceptive nature of these articles and fully understood the frauds they were preparing to perpetrate on the public, these young men seemed to view the whole work with high reverence and treat it with the greatest seriousness. For instance, when, in the secrecy of the lodge, they went through the motions of swallowing the trees they showed indubitable signs of fear: all looked anxious, some trembled quite perceptibly, and one looked as pale as a live Indian can look. They probably dreaded the displeasure of the gods if all were not done well.

124. LAST NIGHT. Just after sunset the old chanter posted himself some paces to the east of the great woodpile, on the spot where the gate of the corral was to be, and began a song. Simultaneous with the beginning of the song was the commencement of the building of the dark circle. All the young and middleaged men in camp assisted. They dragged the branches from where they had been cut down in the neighboring woods and put them in position in the circle with great celerity. The work was all done in less than an hour, during which time the chanter ceased not for an instant his song and rattle. When the fence was finished to his satisfaction he stopped his song and the labors of the workmen ceased with the sound. When finished the corral averaged about forty paces in

diameter, and the fence was about eight feet high, with an opening left in the east about ten feet wide.

125. The moment the dark circle of branches was finished it inclosed sacred ground. Any dog who dared to enter was chased out with shouts and missiles. The man, or woman who came must, on the first occasion, pass around to the left, i. e., to the south of the great woodpile. No one was allowed to peep through the fence or look over the edge of it to witness the ceremonies. That part of the auditorium was reserved for the spirits of the bears and other ancestral animal gods. No horse might be led into the inclosure until after sunrise next morning, when the fence was razed and all became common soil once more.

126. When the night began to fall many of the visitors moved all their goods into the corral and lighted there a number of small fires close to the fence, temporarily abandoning their huts and shelters outside. Those who did not move in left watchers to protect their property; for there are thieves among the Navajo. The woods around the corral were lighted up in various directions by the fires of those who had not taken their property into the great inclosure and of parties who were practicing dances and shows of an exoteric character.

127. The nocturnal performances of *this* evening (Tuesday, October 28, 1884) were as meager as any I have seen within the dark circle of branches. The best show I ever witnessed in the circle was one which took place at Keam's Cañon, Arizona, on, the 5th of November, 1882. For this reason I will make the notes taken on the latter occasion the basis of my description of the "corral dance," adding as I proceed such comments as may be justified by subsequent observation and information.

128. At 8 o'clock a band of musicians which I will call the orchestra entered, sat down beside one of the small fires in the west, and began to make various vocal and instrumental noises of a musical character, which continued with scarcely any interruption until the close of the dance in the morning. At the moment the music began the great central fire was lighted, and the conflagration spread so rapidly through the entire pile that in a few moments it was enveloped in great flames. A storm of sparks flew upward to the height of a hundred feet or more, and the descending ashes fell in the corral like a light shower of snow. The heat was soon so intense that in the remotest parts of the inclosure it was necessary for one to screen his face when he looked towards the

fire. And now, all was ready to test the endurance of the dancers who must expose, or seem to expose (paragraph 149), their naked breasts to the torrid glow.

129. First Dance (Plate XII). When the fire gave out its most intense beat, a warning whistle was heard in the outer darkness, and a dozen forms, lithe and lean, dressed only in the narrow white breechcloth and moccasins, and daubed with white earth until they seemed a group of living marbles, came bounding through the entrance, yelping like wolves and slowly moving around the fire. As they advanced in single file they threw their bodies into divers attitudes--some graceful, some strained and difficult, some menacing. Now they faced the east., now the south, the west, the north, bearing aloft their slender wands tipped with eagle down, holding and waving them with surprising effects. Their course around the fire was to the left, i. e., from the east to the west, by way of the south, and back again to the east by way of the north, a course taken by all the dancers of the night, the order never being reversed. When they had encircled the fire twice they began to thrust their wands toward it, and it soon became evident that their object was to burn off the tips of eagle down; but owing to the intensity of the beat it was difficult to accomplish this, or at least they acted well the part of striving against such difficulty. One would dash wildly towards the fire and retreat; another would lie as close to the ground as a frightened lizard and endeavor to wriggle himself lip to the fire; others sought to catch on their wands the sparks flying in the air. One approached the flaming mass, suddenly threw on himself on his back with his head to the fire, and swiftly thrust his wand into the flames. Many were the unsuccessful attempts; but, at length, one by one, they all succeeded in burning the downy balls from the ends of their wands. As each accomplished this feat it became his next duty to restore the ball of down. The mechanism of this trick has been described (paragraph 120), but the dancer feigned to produce the wonderful result by merely waving his wand up and down as he continued to run around the fire. When he succeeded he held his wand up in triumph, yelped, and rushed out of the corral. The lost man pretended to have great difficulty in restoring the down. When at last he gave his triumphant yell and departed it was ten minutes to 9. The dance had lasted twenty minutes.

130. In other repetitious of this ceremony the writer has witnessed more of burlesque than on this occasion. Sometimes the performers have worn immense false mustaches, exaggerated imitations of spectacles and of other belongings of their white neighbors. Sometimes the dance

has assumed a character which will not be described in this place (paragraphs 146), It is called nahíkàï-alil, The former word signifies "it becomes white again" and, refers to the reappearance of the eagle down. 131. The show is said to have been introduced among the Navajo at the great dance mentioned in the myth (paragraphs 69-72) by a tribe from the south named ʕildjèhe. It is no essential part of the rites of the dark circle, yet I have never known it to be omitted, probably because it is a most suitable dance for the time when the fire is the hottest.

131. Second dance. After an interval of three-quarters of an hour, the dance of the kátso-yisçàn, the great plumed arrow, the potent healing ceremony of the night, began. There were but two performers. They were dressed and arrayed much like the akáninili, but they bore no meal bags, wore no beaver collars, and the parts of their bodies that were not painted black--legs and forearms--were daubed with white earth. Instead of the wand of the akáninili, each bore in his hand one of the great plumed arrows. While they were making the usual circuits around the fire, the patient (a man on this occasion) was placed sitting on a buffalo robe in front of the orchestra. They halted before the patient; each dancer seized his arrow between his thumb and forefinger about eight inches from the tip, held the arrow up to view, giving a Coyote-like yelp, as if to say, "So far will I swallow it" (Fig. 54), and then appeared to thrust the arrow, slowly and painfully, down his throat (Fig. 55) as far as indicated. While the arrows seemed still to be stuck in their throats, they danced a chassé, right and left, with short, shuffling

steps. Then they withdrew the arrows, and held them up to view as before, with triumphant yelps, as if to say, "So far have I swallowed it." Sympathizers in the audience yelped in response. The next thing to be done was to apply the arrows. One of the dancers advanced to the patient, and to the soles of the feet of the latter lie pressed the magic weapon with its point to the right, and again with its point to the left. In a similar manner he treated the knees, bands, abdomen, back, shoulders, crown, and mouth in the order named, giving three coyote-like yelps after each application. When the first dancer had completed the work, the other took his place and went through exactly the same performance. This finished, the sick man and the buffalo robe were removed. The bearers of the arrows danced once more around the fire and departed.

132. The plumed arrow is frequently referred to in the songs of this rite. It seems to be the most revered implement and the act in which it appears the most revered alili of the night. All the other shows may be

omitted at will, but the dance of the kátso-yisçàn, it is said, must never be neglected. I have witnessed other performances where the arrow swallows reappeared with their numbers increased to six or eight. The additional dancers all pretended to swallow arrows, but they did not apply them to the patient. The origin of this alili is well accounted for in the myth (paragraphs 47, 55, and 69), and the peculiar significance of the injunction not to break the arrow is easily understood when we know how the arrow is made.

133. *Third dance.* At 10 o'clock the sound of the whistle again called the spectators to attention and a line of twenty-three dancers came in sight. The one who led the procession bore in his hand a whizzer (Fig. 56) such as schoolboys use, a stick tied to the end of a string; this he constantly whirled, producing a sound like that of a rain storm. After him came one who represented a character, the Yèbaka (anglicized, Yaybaka), from the great nine days' ceremony of the klèdji-qaçàl, or night chant, and he wore a blue buckskin mask that belongs to the character referred to. From time to time he gave the peculiar hoot or call of the Yàybichy, "hu`hu`hu`hu" (paragraph 32). After him followed eight wand bearers. They were dressed like the bearers of the great plumed arrows; but instead of an arrow each bore a wand made of grass, cactus, and eagle plumes. The rest of the band were choristers in ordinary dress. As they were all proceeding round the fire for the fourth time they halted in the west, the choristers sat and the standing wand bearers formed a double row of four. Then the Yaybaka, began to hoot, the orchestra to play, the choristers to sing, the whizzer to make his mimic storm, and the wand bearers to dance. The latter, keeping perfect time with the orchestra, went through a series of figures not unlike those of a modern quadrille. In our terpsichorean nomenclature the "calls" might have thus been given: "Forward and back. Chassez twice. Face partners. Forward and back. Forward and bow. Forward and embrace. Forward and wave wands at partners," &c. When several of these evolutions had been performed in a graceful and orderly manner, the choristers rose, and all went singing out at the east.

134. Three times more the same band returned. In the third and fourth acts the wands were exchanged for great piñon poles (eight to ten feet long), portions of which they pretended to swallow, as their predecessors had done with the arrows. (Paragraph 48.) That the simple and devoted Pueblo Indian does actually, in dances of this character, thrust a stick far down his gullet, to the great danger of health and even of life, there is little reason to doubt; but the wily Navajo attempts no such prodigies of deglutition. A careful observation of their movements

on the first occasion convinced me that the stick never passed below the fauces, and subsequent experience in the medicine lodge only strengthened the conviction.

135. The instrument designated above as the whizzer is a thin, flat, pointed piece of wood, painted black and sparkling with the specular iron ore which is sprinkled on the surface; three small pieces of turquoise are inlaid in the wood to represent eyes and mouth. One whizzer which I examined was nine inches long, one and three-fourths inches broad, and about a quarter of an inch thick in the thickest part. (Fig. 56.) To it was attached a string about two feet long, by means of which the centrifugal motion was imparted to it. It is called by the Navajo tsín-*ǵe`nî*, or groaning stick. It is used among many tribes of the southwest in their ceremonies. The Navajo chanters say that the sacred groaning stick may only be made of the wood of a pine tree which has been struck by lightning.

136. In the *Fourth dance* there were about thirty choristers, in ordinary dress, bearing piñon wands; there was a man who shook a rattle, another who whirled the groaning stick, and there were three principal dancers, wearing fancy masks and representing characters from the rites of the klèdji qaçàl or dance of the "Yàybichy." These three danced a lively and graceful jig, in perfect time to the music, with many bows, waving of wands, simultaneous evolutions, and other pretty motions which might have graced the spectacular drama of a metropolitan theater. Three times they left the corral for a moment, and returning varied the dance, and always varied to improve, The wands they bore were large light frames of reeds adorned with large eagle plumes.

137. After this there was an interval of nearly an hour, which passed slowly with those in the corral. Some smoked and gossiped; some listened to the never ceasing din of the orchestra or joined in the chant; some brought in wood and replenished the waning fires; some, wrapped in their serapes, stretched themselves on the ground to catch short naps.

138. *Fifth dance.* It was after midnight when the blowing of a hoarse buffalo horn announced the approach of those who were to perform. the fifth dance, the tcòhanoai alili or sun show. There were twenty-four choristers and a rattler. There were two character dancers, who were arrayed, like so many others, in little clothing and much paint. Their heads and arms were adorned with plumes of the war eagle, their necks

with rich necklaces of genuine coral, their waists with valuable silver studded belts, and their loins with bright sashes of crimson silk. One bore on his back a round disk, nine inches in diameter, decorated with radiating eagle plumes to represent the sun. The other carried a disk, six and a half inches in diameter, similarly ornamented, to symbolize the moon. Each bore a skeleton wand of reeds that reminded one of the frame of a great kite; it was ornamented with pendant eagle plumes that swayed with every motion of the dancer. While the whole party was passing round the fire in the usual manner wands were waved and heads bowed towards the flames. When it stopped in the west the choristers sat and sang and the rattler stood and rattled, while the bearers of the sun and the moon danced at a lively rate for just three minutes. Then the choristers rose and all sang and danced themselves out of eight. A second performance of this dance came between the first and second repetitions of the next show.

139. I have recorded one story (but have heard of another) accounting for the origin of this dance; it is as follows: When Dsilyi' Neyáni visited the mountain of Bistcàgi, the home of Etsàn ɕigìni, these divine beings had for ornaments on their walls the sun and the moon. When the great mythic dance was given they were among the guests. They brought their wall decorations, and when the time for their alili came they wore the sun and the moon on their backs when they danced.

140. *The Sixth dance*, that of the standing arcs, was both picturesque, and ingenious. The principal performers were eight in number, as usual: with scanty clothing. Their hair fell loose and long over back and shoulders and each bore in front of him, held by both hands, a wooden arc, ornamented with eagle plumes. The ends of the arc (which was a full semicircle) showed tufts of piñon twigs, and they were evidently joined together by a slender string, which was invisible to the audience. Besides the eight principal actors, there was a rattler, a bearer of the groaning stick, and a chorus. While all were making the fourth circuit of the fire, frequent shouts of "Çòhe! Çòhe!" (Englished, Thòhay--"Stand! stand!" or "Stay! stay!") were heard, the significance of which soon became apparent. When they stopped in the west, the eight character dancers first went through various quadrille-like figures, such as were witnessed in the third dance, and then knelt in two rows that faced one another. At a word from the rattler the man who was nearest to him (whom I will call No. 1) arose, advanced to the man who knelt opposite to him (No. 2) with rapid, shuffling steps, and amid a chorus of "Thòhay! Thòhay!" placed his arc with caution upon the head of the latter. Although it was held in position by the friction of the piñon tufts

at each ear and by the pressure of the ends of the arc, now drawn closer by the subtending string, it had the appearance of standing on the head without material support, and it is probable that many of the uninitiated believed that only the magic influence of the oft-repeated word "Thòhay" kept it in position. When the arc was secured in its place, No. 1 retreated with shuffling steps to his former position and fell on his knees again. Immediately No. 2 advanced and placed the arc which he held in his hand on the head of No. 1. Thus each in turn placed his arc on the head of the one who knelt opposite to him until all wore their beautiful halo-like headdresses. Then, holding their heads rigidly erect, lest their arcs should, fall, the eight, kneeling figures began a splendid, well timed chant, which was accentuated by the clapping of hands and joined in by the chorus. When the chant was done the rattler addressed the arc bearers, warning them to be careful; so they cautiously arose from their knees and shuffled with stiffened spines out of the corral, preceded by the choristers. This dance was repeated after the second performance of the fifth dance.

141. *Seventh dance.* The arc bearers had scarcely disappeared when another troupe entered the circle, the buffalo horn announcing their coming. A man with a whizzer led the procession. The choristers, in ordinary dress, were thirteen in number. The principal dancers were but two; they wore the usual sash and belt; the uncovered skin was painted white; they had on long blue woolen stockings of Navajo make and moccasins. Each bore a slender wand of two triangles of reeds, adorned at the corners with pendant plumes. They saluted the fire as they danced around it. They halted in the west, where the choristers sat down, and the two wand bearers danced for three minutes in a lively and graceful manner, to the music of the whizzer, the rattle, the choristers, and the drum of the orchestra. These returned twice more, making some variation in their performance each time. In the second act the rattler brought in under his arm a basket containing yucca leaves, and a prayer was said to the sun. It is possible that this dance was but a preliminary part of the eighth dance, but it must be described as a separate alili.

142. *Eighth dance.* In this there were sixteen performers, in ordinary Navajo dress. One of these bore the whizzer, and led the procession; another, who came in the center of the line, carried a hewn plank, or puncheon, about 12 feet long and 4 inches broad, painted with spots and decorated with tufts of piñon branchlets and with eagle plumes; immediately behind the bearer of the plank walked a man who had in a basket an effigy of the sun, formed of a small round mirror and a

number of radiating scarlet plumes. Having walked around the fire as usual, the whole party gathered in the west in a close circle, which completely excluded from the sight of the audience the operations of the actors. Singing, rattling, and cries of "Thòhay!" were heard. In a few minutes the circle opened and the hewn plank, standing upright on a small Navajo blanket, without any apparent prop or support, was disclosed to view. At the base of the plank was the basket holding the figure of the sun. Singing was continued and so were the uproarious cries of "Thòhay"--cries anxious, cries appealing, cries commanding--while the bearer of the rattle stood facing the pole and rattling vigorously at it. At length, seemingly in obedience to all this clamor, the solar image left the basket and slowly, falteringly, totteringly, ascended the plank to within a few inches of the top. Here it stopped a moment and then descended in the same manner in which it rose. Once more was it made to rise and set, when the circle of dancers again closed, the plank, sun, and basket were taken in custody, and the dancers departed. Taking into consideration the limited knowledge and rude implements of the originators (for this alili is not of modern origin), this was a well performed trick. The means used for supporting the pole and pulling up the sun could not be detected. The dancers formed a semicircle nearly ten feet distant from the pole and the light of the central fire shone brightly upon all.

143. *Ninth dance.* It was after 1 o'clock in the morning when the dance of the hoshkàwn (*Yucca baccata*) began. (Fig. 57. See paragraph 3.) The ceremony was conducted in the first part by twenty-two persons in ordinary dress. One bore, exposed to view, a natural root of yucca, crowned with its cluster of root leaves, which remain green all winter. The rest bore in their hands wands of piñon. What other properties they may have had concealed under their blankets the reader will soon be able to conjecture. On their third journey around the fire they halted in the west and formed a close circle for the purpose of concealing their operations, such as was made in the eighth dance. After a minute spent in singing and many repetitions of "Thòhay," the circle opened, disclosing to our view the yucca root planted in the sand. Again the circle closed; again the song, the rattle, and the chorus of "Thòhay" were heard, and when the circle was opened the second time an excellent counterfeit of the small budding flower stalk was seen amid the fascicle of leaves. A third time the dancers formed their ring of occultation; after the song and din had continued for a few seconds the circle parted for the third time, when, all out of season, the great panicle of creamy yucca, flowers gleamed in the firelight. The previous transformations of the yucca had been greeted with approving shouts and laughter; the

blossoms were hailed with storms of applause. For the fourth and last time the circle closed, and when again it opened the blossoms had disappeared and the great, dark green fruit hung in abundance from the pedicels. When the last transformation was completed the dancers went once more around the fire and departed, leaving the fruitful yucca behind them.

144. In a moment after they had disappeared the form of one personating an aged, stupid, short sighted, decrepit man was seen to emerge slowly from among the crowd of spectators in the east. He was dressed in an old and woefully ragged suit and wore a high, pointed hat. His face was whitened and he bore a short, crooked, wooden bow and a few crooked, ill made arrows. His wretched appearance provoked the "stoic" audience to screams of laughter, and his subsequent "low comedy business" which excelled much that I have seen on the civilized stage, failed not to meet with uproarious demonstrations of approval. Slowly advancing as he enacted his part, he in time reached the place where the yucca stood, and, in his imbecile totterings, he at length stumbled on the plant and pretended to have his flesh lacerated by the sharp leaves. He gave a tremulous cry of pain, rubbed saliva on the part supposed to be wounded, and muttered his complaints in a weak and shaking voice. He pretended then to seek for the plant, and was three times wounded in his efforts to find it. At length, kneeling on the ground, with his face buried in the leaves, he feigned to discover it, and rejoiced with querulous extravagance over his success. When he had marked the spot and the way back to it with an exaggerated burlesque of the Indian methods of doing these things, he went off to find his "old woman" and bring her to pick the fruit. Soon he returned with a tall, stalwart man, dressed to represent hideous, absurd looking old granny. The latter noted his part throughout the rest of the drama with a skill fully equal to that of his comrade.

145. There were scenes in this drama which may not be told in this connection. It will suffice to say here that when the yucca fruit was picked and put in the basket the old man helped the "woman" to shoulder her load and the pair left the corral. The *hackàn-inçá`* does not invariably appear in the corral dance. I have attended one ceremony where it was omitted. I have heard two descriptions of the dance which differed very much from the one given above.

146. Many facts concerning not only the *hackàn-inçá`*, but other parts of the mountain chant, have not been allowed to appear in this essay.

Recognized scientists may learn of them by addressing the author through the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology.

147. *Tenth dance.* At twenty minutes past three an uninteresting performance called the "bear dance", began. A man entered on all fours; his face was painted white; he wore around his loins and over his shoulders pieces of some dark pelt which may have been bear skin, but looked more like the skin of a black sheep. The fire had now burned low and the light was dim. He was accompanied by two attendants, one of whom carried a rattle. He went twice around the ring, imitating the lumbering gait of the bear. He occasionally made a clumsy lunge sidewise at some of the spectators, as though he would attack them; but on these occasions the man with the rattle headed him off and rattling in his face directed him back to the usual course around the fire. This show lasted five minutes.

148. *The Eleventh dance* was the fire dance, or fire play, which was the most picturesque and startling of all. Some time before the actors entered, we heard, mingled with the blowing of the buffalo horn, strange sounds, much like the call of the sand-hill crane; they will, for convenience, be called trumpeting. These sounds continued to grow louder and come nearer until they were heard at the opening in the east, and in a second after, ten men, having no more clothing on than the performers in the first dance, entered. Every man except the leader bore along thick bundle of shredded cedar bark in each hand and one had two extra bundles on his shoulders for the later use of the leader. The latter carried four small fagots of the same material in his hands. Four times they all danced around the fire, waving their bundles of bark towards it. They halted in the east; the leader advanced towards the central fire, lighted one of his fagots, and trumpeting loudly threw it to the east over the fence of the corral. He performed a similar act at the south, at the west, and at the north; but before the northern brand was thrown he lighted with it the bark bundles of his comrades. As each brand disappeared over the fence some of the spectators blew into their hands and made a motion as if tossing some substance after the departing flame. When the fascicles were all lighted the whole band began a wild race around the fire. At first they kept close together and spat upon one another some substance of supposed medicinal virtue. Soon they scattered and ran apparently without concert, the rapid racing causing the brands to throw out long brilliant streamers of flame over the hands and arms of the dancers. Then they proceeded to apply the brands to their own nude bodies and to the bodies of their comrades in front of them, no man ever once turning round; at times the dancer

struck his victim vigorous blows with his flaming wand; again he seized the flame as if it were a sponge and, keeping close to the one pursued, rubbed the back of the latter for several moments, as if he were bathing him. In the mean time the sufferer would perhaps catch up with someone in front of him and in turn bathe him in flame. At times when a dancer found no one in front of him he proceeded to sponge his own back, and might keep this up while making two or three circuits around the fire or until he caught up with some one else. At each application of the blaze the loud trumpeting was heard, and it often seemed as if a great flock of cranes was winging its way overhead southward through the darkness. If a brand became extinguished it was lighted again in the central fire; but when it was so far consumed as to be no longer held conveniently in the hand, the dancer dropped it and rushed, trumpeting, out of the corral. Thus, one by one, they all departed. When they were gone many of the spectators came forward, picked up some of the fallen fragments of cedar bark, lighted them, and bathed their hands in the flames as a charm against the evil effects of fire.

149. Did these dancers, next day, hide sore and blistered backs under their serapes? I think not, for I have seen and conversed with some of the performers immediately after the fire show, and they seemed happy and had nothing to complain of. Did the medicine they spat on one another save them? Certainly not, although the Indians claim it is a true prophylactic against burns and call it *azè-sakázi* or cold medicine. But it is probable that the cedar bark ignites at a low temperature, and more than probable that the coating of white earth with which their bodies were covered is an excellent non-conductor. However, the thought that their bodies might have been thus ingeniously protected lessened little, if any, the effect produced on the spectator. I have seen many fire scenes on the stage, many acts of fire eating and fire handling by civilized jugglers, and many fire dances by other Indian tribes, but nothing quite comparable to this in all its scenic effects.

150. The closing ceremonies I did not witness on this occasion, but I saw them at subsequent dances. Shortly before sunrise an assistant passed around the fire four times and sprinkled a little water on the mass of smoldering embers, while the medicine man chanted the appropriate song. Later, three gaps were torn in the circle of branches--one in the south, one in the west--and one in the north--making, with the original gate in the east, four entrances to the corral. (See Plate XIV.) Just after sunrise the entire circle of branches was razed, but the branches were not carried away. The traveler through the Navajo country often encounters withered remains of these circles. In the ceremony of

October, 1884, the chanter, having another engagement which was pressing, packed up his sacred utensils and left soon after sunrise. The patient, it was said, was not permitted to sleep until after sunset.

151. *Other dances.* In subsequent dances I saw exhibitions which did not occur in the ceremony of November 5, 1882, just described, and I have learned of other shows produced on the last night, which I have never had an opportunity to witness. All the alilis may be modified. I have rarely seen two performances of the same dance which were just alike.

152. On two occasions I have witnessed a very pretty dance, in which an eagle plume was stuck upright in a basket and by means of some well hidden mechanism caused to dance in good time to the song, the beat of the drum, and the motions of the single Indian who danced at the same time; not only this, but the feather followed the motions of the Indian: if he danced toward the north, the feather leaned to the north while making its rhythmical motions; if he moved to the south, it bent its white head in the same direction, and so on. On one occasion it was a little boy, five years old, son of the chief Manuelito, who danced with the eagle plume. He was dressed and painted much like the akáninili, or the arrow swallows (Figs. 54, 55), on a diminutive scale. The sash of scarlet velvet around his hips was beautifully trimmed with feathers. They said he had been several weeks in training for the dance, and he certainly went through his varied motions with great skill. I have rarely seen a terpsichorean spectacle that struck my fancy more than that of the little Indian child and his partner, the eagle plume.

153. It might be thought that the word "thòhay," so often used to make inanimate objects pay attention, was one of very sacred import. So it is, no doubt; yet I have seen it broadly burlesqued. It was on the occasion of the last "chant" which I attended. A number of boys, from twelve to fifteen years of age they seemed, led by a pleasant looking old man with a skeptical twinkle in his eye, came into the dark circle. One of the party carried a deep Indian basket, from the top of which a number of spruce twigs protruded. They formed what has been designated as the ring of occultation, and while doing so they shouted and screamed and puffed the talismanic "thòhay" in a way that left no doubt of their intention to ridicule. Their extravagant motions added to the significance of their intonation. When the ring opened the boys sat on the ground and began to sing and beat a dram. The old man sat at a distance of about three paces west of the basket. Presently the nose of a little weasel (the image being probably a stuffed skin) appeared among the spruce boughs. All the timid, inquiring motions of the little animal were well mimicked:

the nose was thrust forward and pulled back, the whole head would emerge and retreat, and at rare times the shoulders would be seen for a moment, to be quickly drawn in among the screening spruce twigs. All these motions were made in perfect time to the singing and drumming. The old man who pulled the actuating strings made no secret of his manipulations. The play was intended for a farce, and as such the spectators enjoyed it.

SACRIFICES OF DSILYÍDJE QAÇÀL.

176. The sacrifices made to the gods during these ceremonies consist, of nothing more than a few sticks and feathers, with the occasional addition of strings and beads--a form of sacrificial offering common among various tribes of the Southwest, including the sedentary Indiana, of the pueblos. During the six days' work in the medicine lodge and the corral, I saw but one lot of these sticks prepared (paragraphs 96, 87); but I think this lot represented two sets, i. e., sacrifices to two different mythical beings. It is, however, indicated in the myth that a considerable number of these sacrifices, called by the Navajo *keçàn* (Englished, *kethàwn*), belong to the mountain chant and may properly be offered during its celebration. I have seen among the Navajo a few varieties of these devotional offerings and I have obtained descriptions of many. Although I cannot rely on the minute accuracy of these descriptions, I will present them for such value as they may possess in illustrating the general character of this system of worship, a system which might profitably occupy for years the best labors of an earnest student to elucidate.

178. A *kethàwn* pertaining also to the *klèdji-qaçàl*. It is called *keçàn-yalci*, or talking *kethàwn*. The sticks are willow. The one to the left is painted black, to represent a male character (*Qastcèbaka*) in the myth and ceremony of *klèdji-qaçàl*. The other stick is painted blue, to denote a female character (*Qastèbaäd*) in the same rites. The blue stick has a diagonal face at the top to indicate the square topped female mask (paragraph 168). The naturally round end of the black stick sufficiently indicates the round male mask. The cord wrapped around the two sticks is similar to that described in the paragraph immediately preceding. About the middle of the cord is a long white shell bead, shown in the cut. The breast feathers of the turkey and the downy feathers of the eagle are attached to the sticks. This *kethàwn* I saw once in the possession of a Navajo *qaçàli*. I was permitted to sketch it, but could not purchase it. The interpretation given of its symbolism is that of the *qaçàli* who owned it. In the myth of *klèdji-qaçàl* it is said that the

beneficent god Qastcèelçi used this kethàwn when he removed from the prophet Co the evil spell which had been cast on the latter by the wind god.

179. In Schoolcraft's Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge, Philadelphia, 1860, Vol. III, page 306, is a cut illustrating an article undoubtedly of a similar nature to that shown in Fig. 59. It is a sacrificial plume stick of the Moki. The Moki interpreter explained to Mr. Schoolcraft that it contained a message from the Indians to the President and the particulars of this message are fully set forth in his text. At first I doubted if the object could have any other purpose than a sacrificial one and was inclined to discredit the statement of the Moki interpreter. But on learning that the Navajo had a similar arrangement of sticks and feathers, which was called by the significant name of keçàn-yalçi, or talking kethàwn, I was more inclined to believe that some of these kethàwns may answer a double purpose and be used to convey messages, or at least serve as mnemonic aids to envoys.

180. The cac-bikeçàn (bear kethàwn) spoken of in the myth consisted of two sticks, each a span long, one painted black (male), the other painted blue (female). Each had red and blue bands at the ends and in the middle. There were no feathers or beads.

181. The glöi-bikeçàn, or sacrifices to the weasels, were four in number, two yellow and two white. In preparing the sticks one end was always; to be held to the north, the other towards the south. At each end a narrow circle of red and a narrow circle of blue were painted; the red being to the north, i. e., outside of the blue at one end and inside of it at the other. The weasel men directed that the sticks should be buried in the ground in the same direction in which they were held when being made, lying from north to south with the outer red ring at the north.

182. Four sticks pertained to the klictsö-bikeçàn: one was black, with four white deer tracks painted on it; another was blue, with four yellow deer tracks; a third was white, with four black deer tracks; the fourth was yellow, with four blue deer tracks. The Great Serpent said to the Navajo prophet: "Then are certain moles who, when they dig in the ground, scatter the earth in a long winding heap like the form of a crawling snake. In such a heap of earth will you bury these kethàwns."

183. There are two sticks belonging to the kethàwn of the lightning god (içni`-bikeçan). One is black, with a white zigzag stripe from end to end; the other blue, with a yellow zigzag stripe from end to end.

184 The Estsàn-çigìni, or Holy Women, showed the prophet but one kethàwn stick. It was painted white and decorated with three pair's of circular bands, red and blue, the blue in each case being next to the body of the painter while he holds the stick in decorating it. This kethàwn must be buried at the base of a young spruce tree, with the first blue circle next to the tree. (Paragraph 455.)

185. Four sticks were shown by the Tcikè-cac-nátlehi. They were black, sprinkled with specular iron ore to make them shine; decorated with three pairs of bands, red and blue, applied as in the kethàwns of the Estsàn-çigìni; and buried under a young piñon, with the first blue band or circle next to the tree. (Paragraph 46.)

186. The two kethàwns seen by Dsilyi` Neyáni at Big Oaks, the home of the çigin-yosíni, were both banded at the ends with blue and red and had marks to symbolize the givers. One was white, with two pairs of stripes, red and blue, running lengthwise. The other was yellow, with many stripes of black and yellow running lengthwise.

187. At Last Mountain, the home of the skunks, two kethàwns, evidently intended to symbolize these animals, were shown to the Prophet and his divine companions. Both the sticks were black: one had three white longitudinal stripes on one side; the other had three longitudinal rows of white spots, three spots in each row, on one side.

188. The two sticks shown by the squirrels, Glo`dsilkäi and Glo`dsiljini, were painted blue, sprinkled with specular iron ore, and surrounded at the ends with red and blue bands. One was to be planted at the base of a pine tree and one at the base of a spruce tree.

189. At Dsilyi`-için the porcupines exhibited two kethàwns. They were very short, being equal in length to the middle joint of the little finger. One was black and one was blue. Each had red and blue terminal bands and each had a number of white dots on one side to represent porcupine quills. "Bury them," said çasàni, "under a piñon tree."

190. At Qoçestsò four kethàwns, rather elaborately decorated, were shown. Two were half white and half black, the black part having white

spots and the white part having black spots on it. The other two were half blue and half yellow, the yellow beings potted with blue and the blue with yellow. There were red and blue rings at the ends.

191. The Tçikè-Çigini showed their visitors two kethàwns, one black and one blue. Each was a span long and was surrounded with three pairs of bands, blue and red, put on in the manner observed in making the kethàwns of the Estsàn-Çigini. (Paragraph 184.) To the center of the black kethàwn five blue feathers were tied. To the center of the

blue kethàwn five yellow feathers were fastened. Five black beads were interred with the black stick--one tied to the center, one stuck in the end, and three laid loose in the ground. Five blue turquoise beads were similarly buried with the blue stick. Such kethàwns must be buried at the foot of a spruce tree, with the beads towards the mountains of Çepéntsá. By "head" is meant the end held the farther from the body of the painter when the paint is applied, the end having the red band at its extremity.

ORIGINAL TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF SONGS, &C.

192. The songs of the dsilyídje qaçàl are very numerous and their recitation is governed by many rules, a few of which only have been discovered by the writer.

193. A list has been recorded of thirteen sets of songs which may properly be sung at night in the medicine lodge, When the ceremonies of the day are done, and in the corral on the last night, when there is no special song in progress pertaining to a particular alili or dance.

The list which follows exhibits the order in which these songs may be sung on any particular night. For example, if the singers begin with a song from set III, they cannot follow immediately with a song from sets I or II, but must select from some of the following sets, as set IV or V. Again, in each set the songs have a certain order of sequence which must not be reversed. For convenience these will be called

SONGS OF SEQUENCE.

Order	Indian name of	English name of set.	Nu
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	set.		number in each set
I.	Atsálei Bigin	Songs of the First Dancers	16
II.	Tsintsò Bigin	Songs of the Great Stick, or Plumed Wand	12
III.	Ɔepè Bigin	Songs of the Mountain Sheep	12
IV.	Γ Ɔni` Bigin	Songs of the Lightning	12
V.	Tsilké-Ɔigini Bigin	Songs of the Holy Young Men	12
VI.	Tcikè-cac-nátlehi Bigin	Songs of Young Women Who Become Bears	16
VII.	Dsilyi` Neyáni Bigin	Songs of Reared Within the Mountains	8
VIII.	Tsáhagin	Awl songs	8
IX.	Nahikài-gin	Whitening songs	8
X.	Ɔasàni Bigin	Songs of the Porcupines	7
XI.	Nanisè Bigin	Songs of the Plants	8
XII.	TsinƆilçöi Bigin	Songs of the Exploding Stick	26
XIII.	Yikài-gin	Daylight songs	16
	Total		161

194. Besides those referred to in the above list, there are more which are appropriate to different acts in the ceremony, such as the songs sung at the obliteration of the pictures, at the building of the corral, at the departure of the akáninili, &c.

195. In some cases a number of songs in the same set are nearly alike; the addition or substitution of one verse, or even of one word, may be the only difference. Such songs usually follow one another in immediate succession; often, on the other hand, we find a great variety in subject and in style.

196. Some songs are self-explanatory or readily understood, but the greater number cannot be comprehended without a full knowledge of the mythology and of the symbolism to which they refer; they merely hint at mythic conceptions. Many contain archaic expressions, for which the shaman can assign a meaning, but whose etymology cannot now be learned; and some embody obsolete words whose meaning is lost even to the priesthood. There are many vocables known to be meaningless and recited merely to fill out the rhythm or to give a dignified length to the song. For the same reasons a meaningless syllable is often added or a significant syllable duplicated.

197. Other poetical licenses are taken, such as the omission of a syllable, the change of accent, the substitution of one vowel for another. The most familiar words are often distorted beyond recognition. For these various reasons the task of noting and translating these songs is one of considerable difficulty.

198. FIRST SONG OF THE FIRST DANCERS.

Qaniè qàò yaè, qaniè qàò yaè
Qaniè iè oayè oayè.

1. Qadjinäia qàò yaè,
2. Kaç dsil çilhyíli qàò yaè,
3. `Çaltsoi tsèè qàò yaè,
4. Cija cigèlgo qàò yaè.
Náhi ìni èhi oayè, náhi ìni èhi oöhè.

5. Niqoyastcàdje qàò yaè,
6. Kaç dsil çolji qàò yaè,
7. Kini bitsèè qàò yaè,

8. Cija cigèlgo qaò yaè.
Náhi ini, etc.

9. Qadjinäia qaò yaè,
10. Kaç dsil litsöi qaò yaè,
11. Bitselitsöi qaò yaè,
12. Cija cigèlgo qaò yaè.
Náhi ini, etc.

13. Niqoyastcàdje qaò yaè,
14. Kaç dsil lakàie qaò yak,
15. A`a`i tsèe qaò yaè,
16. Cija cigèlgo qaò yaè.
Náhi ini, etc.

199. *Translation.*--1, 9. Qadjinäi, "Place-where-they-came-up," a locality in the San Juan Mountains where, according to their mythology, the Navajo emerged from the lower world to this. 5, 13. Niqoyastcàdje, another name for Qadjinäi. 2, 6, 10, 14. Kaç, now; dsil, mountain; çilhyíli, black; çolíji, blue; litsöi, yellow; lakàie, white. These verses refer to four mountains surrounding Qadjinäi, which are designated by colors only to indicate their topographical positions. 3, 7, 11, 15. `Çalsöi = açá litsöi, "yellow wing," a large bird of prey; kini, hen hawk; bitselitsöi, "yellow tail," a bird of undetermined species; a`a`i, magpie; tse, a tall; bitse, its tail. 4, 8, 12, 16. Cija, my treasure; cigèl, my desideratum, my ultimatum, the only thing I will accept. When supposed to be said by a god, as in this song, it means the particular sacrifice which is appropriate to him. In this case probably the feathers spoken of are "cigèl" and the mountains "cija." The refrain "qaò yaè" is a poetic modification of qaa`, it looms up, or sticks up, said of some lofty object visible in the distance, whose base cannot be seen.

200. *Free translation.*

Place-whence-they-came-up looms up,
Now the black mountain looms up,
The tail of the "yellow wing" looms up,
My treasure, my sacrifice, loom up.

Laud-where-they-moved-out looms up,
Now the blue mountain looms up,

The tail of the hen-hawk looms up,
My treasure, my sacrifice, loom up.

Place-whence-they-came-up looms up,
Now the yellow mountain looms up,
The tail that is yellow looms up,
My treasure, my sacrifice, loom up.

Land-where-they-moved-out looms up,
Now the white mountain looms up,
The tail of the magpie looms up,
My treasure, my sacrifice, loom up.

201. FIRST SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN SHEEP.

1. Yiki Ɔasizini,
2. Kaç Tsilkè-Ɔigini,
3. Kaç kátso-yisçàni,
4. TsíƆa baälili,
5. Bija-yeƆigingó.

6. Kaç Tcikè Ɔigini,
7. Kátsoye yisçàni,
8. Yiki Ɔasizini,
9. TsíƆa baälili,
10. Bija-yeƆigingó.

202. *Translation.*--1, 8. Yiki, upon it; Ɔasizin, he stands on high. 2, 6. Kaç, now, tsilkè; young man; tcikè, young woman; Ɔigini, holy. 3. Kátso-yisçàn, the great plumed arrow; kátsoye yisçàn, with the great plumed arrow. 4, 9. TsíƆa, truly, verily; baälili, an alili, a show, a rite, or implement used in a dance for him. 5, 10. Bija, his treasure, his special property, his peculiar belonging; ye, with, a prefix forming nouns which denote the means; Ɔigingó, positively holy or supernatural. Bija-yeƆigingó might be translated "charm" or "talisman."

203. *Free translation.*

He stands high upon it;
Now the Holy young Man [Young Woman, in Second stanza],

With the great plumed arrow,
 Verily his own sacred implement,
 His treasure, by virtue of which he is truly holy.

204. A reference to the myth and the description of the ceremonies will probably be sufficient to give the reader an understanding of this song. This set of songs, it is said, was first sung by the black sheep which stood on the rock as a sign to the Navajo fugitive; hence the name. (See paragraphs 35, 47, 48, 54.)

205. SIXTH SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN SHEEP.

Binaçoöläe (four times) oäyèhe oöhè.

1. Kaç Tsilkè-çigìni,
2. Ca`bitlòli yèè,
3. Tsíçá bialili,
4. Bíja yeçigíngo,
5. Binaçoöläe oäyèhe oöhè.

6. Kaç Tsilkè-çigìni,
7. Natsilíçi yèè,
8. Tsíçá bialili,
9. Bíja yeçigíngo,
10. Binaçoöläe oäyèhe oöhè.

206. *Translation.*--1, 6. Kaç, now; tsilkè, young man; tcikè, young woman; çigìni, holy one, god or goddess. 2. Ca`bitlòl, Sunbeam, sunbeams; ye, with. 3, 8. Tsíçá, verily; bialili (paragraph 3), his dance or sacred implement. 4, 9. Bíja, his special property, his treasure; yeçigíngo, that by means of which he is çigín, i. e., holy or supernatural. 5, 10. Binaçoölä, it is encircled. 7. Natsilíç, the rainbow.

207. *Free translation.*

Now the Holy Young Man,
 With the sunbeam,
 Verily his own sacred implement,
 His treasure which makes him holy,
 Is encircled.

Now the Holy Young Woman,
 With the rainbow,
 Verily her own sacred implement,
 Her treasure which makes her holy,
 Is encircled.

208. Which is to say that the great plumed arrows which they bear are adorned with sunbeams and rainbows. They "shine in glory." (See references in paragraph 204.)

209. TWELFTH SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN SHEEP.

1. Nayunáni tcènia,
2. Kaç biçëiltsos tcènia,
3. Biqolçègo, tcènia.

4. Nayunáni tcènia,
5. Kaç biçènackòji tcènia,
6. Biqolçègo, tcènia.

210. *Translation.*--1, 4. Nayunáni, again on the other side, i. e., across two valleys. 2. Biçè, his horns; iltsos, slender; biçëiltsos, slender horns, i. e., the deer, by metonymy. 3, 6. Biqolçègo, it is becoming to him. 5. Biçè, his horns; nackòj, turgid, filled out, stuffed; biçènackòji, turgid horns--metonymically, the mountain sheep, *Oris montana*. The refrain, tcènia, he appears, he comes in sight.

211. *Free translation.*

Far beyond he appears;
 Now "Slender Horn" appears.
 His antlers are becoming. He appears.

Far beyond he appears;
 Now "Turgid Horn" appears.
 His horns are becoming. He appears.

212. This song, it is said, refers to the time when the prophet saw the vision of the black sheep on the rock. (Paragraph 35.) The reason for introducing the deer into the song is not obvious.

213. FIRST SONG OF THE THUNDER.

1. Çòna! Çòna! A`âiyèhe oöhè [repeat]
2. Yùçakoö ani`;
3. Γ`çai` djiëë ani`;
4. Kos çilhyíl biyì` dje,
5. Nàbizaç qolègo,
6. Çòna! Çòna! A`âiyèhe oöhè.

7. Çòna! Çòna! A`âiyèhe oöhè [repeat],
8. Yùyakoö ani`;
9. Anilçàni ani`;
10. Nánise biçqàko,
11. Nàbizaç qolègo,
12. Çòna! Çòna! A`âiyèhe oöhè.

214. *Translation.*--1, 6, 7, 12. Çòna, an imitation of the thunder, not a word. 2, 8. Yùçako, above; yùyako, below; ani`, any sound, the sound of the voice. 3. Γ`çai` dji, pertaining to the thunder. 4. Kos, cloud; çilhyíl, black, dark; biyì` dje, within, or toward within it. 5, 11. Nàbizaç qolègo, again and again sounds his moving voice. 9. Anilçàni, a general name for large meadow grasshoppers.--10. Nánise, plants in general; biçqàko, in among them.

215. *Free translation.*

Thonah! Thonah!
 There is a voice above,
 The voice of the thunder.
 Within the dark cloud,
 Again and again it sounds,
 Thonah! Thonah!

Thonah! Thonah!
 There is a voice below,
 The voice of the grasshopper.
 Among the plants,
 Again and again it sounds,
 Thonah! Thonah!

216. TWELFTH SONG OF THE THUNDER.

Aïena.

Beqojònigo ani`i [four times] oöhè.

1. Yùçakoö; ani`i;
2. Γƒai`djeë ani`i;
3. Kos ƒilhyíl biyì`dje,
4. Nàbizaç qolègo,
5. Beqojònigo ani`i, oöhè.

6. Yùyakoö ani`i;
7. Anilçani ani`i;
8. Nánise biçqàko,
9. Nàbizaç qolègo,
10. Beqojònigo ani`i, oöhè.

217. *Translation.*-- Aïena, a meaningless beginning to many songs, which way be omitted. 1. Yùçako, above. 2. Γƒai`dji, pertaining to the thunder. 3. Kos, cloud; ƒilhyíl, dark; biyì`dje, within it. 4, 9. Nàbizaç his voice again, his voice repeated; qolègo, sounds along, sounds moving. 5, 10. (Be, a prefix forming nouns of the cause or instrument; qojòni, local or terrestrial beauty; go, a suffix to qualifying words); beqojònigo, productive of terrestrial beauty; ani`, a voice, a sound. 6. Yùyako, below. 7. Anilçani, grasshopper. 8. Nánise, plants; biçqàko, in among thorn.

218. *Free translation.*

The voice that beautifies the land!
 The voice above,
 The voice of the thunder
 Within the dark cloud
 Again and again it sounds,
 The voice that beautifies the land.

The voice that beautifies the land!
 The voice below;
 The voice of the grasshopper
 Among the plants
 Again and again it sounds,
 The voice that beautifies the land.

219. FIRST SONG OF THE HOLY YOUNG MEN, OR YOUNG MEN
 GODS.

1. Oöc `çqa nagâïë,
2. Kaç Tsilkè-çigini,
3. Dsil çilhyíl biyàgi,
4. Biyàji naïlè.

5. Aie `çqa nagâïë,
6. Kaç Tcikè-çigini,
7. Dsil çolij biyàgi,
8. Biyàji naïlè.

220. *Translation.*--1, 5. `Çqa = biçqa, amid or among them; nagai, that, there. 2. Kaç, now; Tsilkè-çigini, Holy Young Man; Tcikè-çigini, Holy Young Woman. 3, 7. Dsil, mountain; çilhyíl, black; çolij, blue; biyàgi, at the foot of, at the base of. 4, 8. Biyàji, his child; naïlè, he lays down, he leaves.

221. *Free translation.*

There amid [the mountains],
 Now the Holy Young Man,
 At the foot of the black mountain,
 Lays down his child.

There amid [the mountains],
 Now the Holy Young Woman,
 At the foot of the blue mountain,
 Lays down her child.

222. The characters of Tsilkè-çigini and Tcikè-çigini are in the myth. The black mountain pertains to the male, the blue to the female. Although not told with the rest of the myth, it was subsequently related to the writer that Tsilkè-çigini said to the prophet, "Whoever learns our songs will thenceforth be Our child." The above song, it is said, has some reference to this promise; but a fuller explanation, no doubt, remains to be discovered.

223. SIXTH SONG OF THE HOLY YOUNG MEN.

Aïena.
 Altsàcië çigini oöhè.

1. Altsàcië ¶igini, altsàcië ¶igini, altsàcië ¶igini oöhè.
2. Kaç Tsilkè-¶igini, bakàgië ¶igini,
3. Dsil ¶ilhyíli eë, bakàgië ¶igini,
4. Tsintsoï ¶ilhyíli e bakàgië ¶igini,
5. Tsí¶a bialili, bíja ye¶igíngo, bakàgië ¶igini, oöhè.

Altsàcië ¶igini oöhè.

6. Altsàcië ¶igini, altsàcië ¶igini, altsàcië ¶igini oöhè.
7. Kaç Tcikè-¶igini, bakàgië ¶igini,
8. Dsil çolji eë, bakàgië ¶igini,
9. Tsintsoï çolji, bakàgië ¶igini,
10. Tsí¶a bialili, bíja ye¶igíngo, bakàgië ¶igini, oöhè.

224. Translation.--1, 6. Altsàcië, on each side; ¶igini, a holy one, a god. 2, 7. Kaç, now; tsilkè, young man; tcikè, young woman; bakàgi, on the summit, on top of it. 3, 8. Dsil, mountain; ¶ilhyíl, dark, black; çolji, blue. 4, 9. Tsintsoï, great stick, a notched stick used as a musical instrument in the dance. 5., 10. Tsí¶a bialili, truly his dance implement; bíja ye¶igíngo, his holy treasure, his talisman, his charm, his magic wand.

225. Free Translation

There's a god on each side.
 Now the Holy Young Man
 Is the god on top of the black mountain,
 With his black notched stick,
 The implement of his dance, his magic wand.

There's a god on each side.
 Now the Holy Young Woman
 Is the god on top of the blue mountain,
 With her blue notched stick,
 The implement of her dance, her magic wand.

226. This song is said to refer to that part of the myth where it is related that the prophet, flying from the Ute, climbed a hill which was transformed into a mountain. (Paragraph 38.) Each mountain was supposed to have a holy one on it, who could, by means of his notched stick, produce the metamorphosis. The mountains were not necessarily colored black and blue, but are thus described to indicate that they lay north and south of the prophet's path.

227. TWELFTH SONG OF THE HOLY YOUNG MEN.

Eâîèa qàla éla yaináhe oôhè.
 Eâîèa qàla éla yainooò yaaà yooò [three times],
 Eâîèa qàla éla yainà, qàla éla qainàhe oôhè.

1. Dsil ilhyíli inlòooò yaaà, yooò,
2. Tsintsoi ¢ilhyíli inlòooò yaaà yeeè.
3. Ci cigèlgo yainà,
 Qàla éla qainàhe oôhè.

4. Dsil çolíji inlòooò yaaà yooò,
5. Tsintsoi çolíji inlòooò yaaà, yeeè,
6. Ci cigèlgo yainà,
 Qàla éla qainàhe oôhè.

228. *Translation.*--1, 4. Dsil, mountain; ¢ilhyíl, black; çolíj, blue. 2,5. Tsintsò, a notched stick used in ceremonies to make music; inlo (inla'), they lie there (two long hard things lie). 3, 6. Cigèl, my ultimatum, my desideratum (said of the peculiar sacrifice which belongs to each god), something I (the god) will have and accept nothing in place of it, my special sacrifice.

229. *Free translation.*

There lie the black mountains:
 There lie the black sticks;
 There lie my sacrifices.

There lie the blue mountains;
 There lie the blue sticks;
 There lie my sacrifices.

230. This is supposed to be a part of the instructions which the Holy Young Men and Holy Young Women gave to the prophet. The tsintso is made of cherry, which grows only on high mountains in the Navajo country. The sticks are painted black and blue. (See paragraph 171.) The song alludes to all these facts.

231. EIGHTH SONG OF THE YOUNG WOMEN WHO BECOME BEARS.

Çoçiginiça oyàhe oöhè,
 Çoçiginiça oyà oyà ooyàya
 Hâiyàya hâiyàya hâiyàye, oöhè.

1. Kaç Tsilkè-çiginië; çoçiginça hâiyàhe, oöhè.
2. Bitsintsòie ië çoçiginça hâiyàhe, oöhè
3. Tsíça bialilië; bîja-yeçiginië, oyà, oyà, oyàya,
 Hâiyàya hâiyàya hâiyàye, oöhè.

Çoçiginiça oyàhe oöhè,
 Çoçiginiça oyà oyà ooyàya
 Hâiyàya hâiyàya hâiyàye, oöhè.

4. Kaç Tcikè-çiginië; çoçiginça hâiyàhe, oöhè.
5. Bitsintsòie ië çoçiginça hâiyàhe, oöhè
6. Tsíça bialilië; bîja-yeçiginië, oyà, oyà, oyàya,
 Hâiyàya hâiyàya hâiyàye, oöhè.

232. *Translation.*-- Çoçiginiça, çoçiginça, he is not a god; it is not holy; it is not divine. 1, 4. Kaç, now; tsilkè, young man; tcikè, young woman; çigini, holy, supernatural. 2, 4. Bitsintsòie, his great notched stick. 3, 6. Tsíça, verily; bialili, his implement of the dance or rite; bîja-yeçigini, his treasure which makes holy; his magic wand.

233. *Free translation.*

The Holy Young Man is not divine;
 His great notched stick is not holy;
 His magic wand is not holy.

The Holy Young Woman is not divine;
 Her great notched stick is not holy;
 Her magic wand is not holy.

234. This is supposed to refer to an altercation between these two gods, in which they tried to belittle each other.

235. I have another song of this series, in which the idea is conveyed that their powers depend on their magic wands or notched sticks.

236. ONE OF THE AWL SONGS.

Òwe òwe òwe yàni yàì owàⁿ na a [repeat three times],
Owe òwe ini áhe oöhè,

1. `Ke-cac-natlèhi natcagàhi,
2. Kaç dsil çilhyíli bakàgi natcagàhi,
3. Kaç ni` inzàç inçi çoholniça òna,
4. Kaç ni` inzàç inçi çoniòça òna.

5. Tcikè-çigini natcagàhi,
6. Dsil çoliji bakàgi natcagàhi,
7. Kaç ni` inzàç inçi çoholniça òna,
8. Kaç ni` inzàç inçi çoniòça òna.

237. *Translation.*--Ke, an abbreviation of tcikè; Tcikè-cac-natlèhi, maiden who becomes a bear; natcagà', she travels far, she walks or wanders far around. 2. Kaç, now; dsil çilhyíl, black mountain; bakàgi, on top of. 3, 4, 7, 8. Ni', earth, land; inzàç, distant; inçi, it lies, it stretches; çoholniça, seems not to be; çoniòça, not obscure or dint like a faint distance. 6. Dsil çoliji bakàgi, on top of the blue mountains.

238. *Free translation.*

The Maid Who Becomes a Bear walks far around
On the black mountains, she walks far around.
Far spreads the land. It seems not far [to her].
Far spreads the land. It seems not dim [to her].

The Holy Young Woman walks far around
On the blue mountains, she walks far around.
Far spreads the land. It seems not far [to her].
Far spreads the land. It seems not dim [to her].

239. FIRST SONG OF THE EXPLODING STICK.

Aïena.

Aïeyà âîa aïeyà iè eè ieèè [three times] iè laⁿ.

1. 'Ke-cac-natlèhi dsilyi` çicílkoⁿ iè naⁿ,
2. Dsilyi` çolkòlkoⁿ; dsil bekoⁿniçe iè naⁿ,
iè naⁿ yahà hâîa iè naⁿ aï.

3. Çabasçini ço`yi` ƒiƒilkoⁿ ië naⁿ,
4. Ço`yi ƒolkòlkoⁿ; ço`bekoⁿnìçe ië naⁿ,
ië naⁿ yahà hàîà ië naⁿ aï,

240. *Translation.*--1,3. 'Ke-cac-natlèhi = Tcikè-cac-natlèhi, Young Woman Who Becomes a Bear; Çabasçin, the Otter; ƒiƒilkoⁿ, he or she set on fire in many places. 2, 4. Dsil, mountains; dsilyi`, in the mountains; ço`, water, waters. ço`yi`, in the waters; ƒolkòlkoⁿ, he set on fire as he went along; bekoⁿnìçe, its fires in a line, its string of fires.

241. *Free translation.*

Young Woman Who Becomes a Bear set fire in the mountains
In many places; as she journeyed on
There was a line of burning mountains.

The Otter set fire in the waters
In many places; as he journeyed on
There was a line of burning waters.

242. It is related that in the ancient days, during a year of great drought, these holy ones, on their way to a council of the gods, set fire to the mountains and the waters. The smoke arose in great clouds, from which rain descended on the parched land. The song alludes to this legend.

243. LAST SONG OF THE EXPLODING STICK.

Hiè ieeè naâîà i a ai aⁿ aⁿ [twice] ie.

1. Tcikè-cac-nátlehië ƒigini qayikàlgo; bàniya âîè.
2. Dsil aga ƒazàgië ƒigini qayikàlgo; bàniya âîè.
3. Tsíƒa ci cigèliye ƒigini qayikàlgo; bàniya âîè.
4. Yàne ƒoòlànegoö ƒisitsaàye.
Hiè ieeè naâîà, etc.

5. Kaç Tcikè-ƒigini ƒigini qayikàlgo; bàniya âîè.
6. Kos aga ƒazàgië ƒigini qayikàlgo; bàniya âîè.
7. Tsíƒa ci cigèliye ƒigini qayikàlgo; bàniya âîè.
8. Yàne ƒoòlànegoö ƒisitsaàye.
Hiè ieeè naâîà, etc.

244. *Translation.*--1,5. Tcikè-cac-nátlehi, young Woman Who Becomes a Bear; Tcikè-çigìni, Holy Young Woman, or young woman goddess; çigìni qayikàl, she journeyed seeking the gods; bàniya, she found them, she met them. 2, 6. Dsil, mountains; kos, clouds; aga, peak, summit; çazà`, many pointing upwards; (dsil aga çazàgi, on many mountain peaks). 3,7. Tsíca, truly or true; cigèl, my desideratum, my special sacrifice. 4, 8. çoöläne = çoöläçca, some one does not believe it; çisitsà I have heard; yàne and other vocables are meaningless.

245. *Free translation.*

Maid Who Becomes a Bear sought the gods and found them;
On the high mountain peaks she sought the gods and found them;
Truly with my sacrifice she sought the gods and found them.
Somebody doubts it, so I have heard.

Holy Young Woman sought the gods and found them;
On the summits of the clouds she sought the gods and found them;
Truly with my sacrifice she sought the gods and found them.
Somebody doubts it, so I have heard.

246. These songs are accompanied, in beating the drum, with a peculiar sharp strike like a sudden outburst or explosion. Hence, they say, the name, Tsinçilçöi Bigin.

247. FIRST DAYLIGHT SONG.

Çahizçile, çahizçile, ya ahâia, laⁿ [four times].

1. Kaç Yikâi-acikè çahizçile, ya ahâia laⁿ,
2. Qaïyolkâlçce çahizçile, ya ahâia laⁿ,
3. Bitsídje yolkàlgo çahizçile, ya ahâia laⁿ,
4. Bikèçce yolkàlgo çahizçile, ya ahâia laⁿ.
5. Bitsídje qojògo çahizçile, ya ahâia laⁿ,
6. Bikèçce qojògo çahizçile, ya ahâia laⁿ,

7. BizàçƆe qojògo çahizƆile, ya ahâîà laⁿ.
 ÇahizƆile, çahizƆile, etc.
 8. Kaç yikâî-açèç, çahizƆile, ya ahâîà laⁿ,
 9. NaqotsòïƆe çahizƆile, ya ahâîà laⁿ.

[Verses 3 to 7 are here repeated.]
 ÇahizƆile, çahizƆile, etc.

248. *Translation.*-- ÇahizƆile = çahizƆel, it hangs as a curtain or festoon; it hangs supported at both ends, i. c., the white curtain of dawn so hangs. 1. Yikâî-acikè the Daylight Boy, the Navajo dawn god. 2. QayolkâlƆe, from the place of dawn. 3. Bitsídje, before him; yolkàlgo, as it dawns, as the night passes away. 4. BikèçƆe, from behind him. Qojògo, in a beautiful (earthly) manner. 7. BizàçƆe, from his voice. 8. Yikâî-açèç, the Daylight Girl-the dawn goddess. 9. NaqotsòïƆe, from the land of yellow light (horizontal terrestrial yellow).

249. *Free translation.*

The curtain of daybreak is hanging,
 The Daylight Boy (it is hanging),
 From the land of day it is hanging;
 Before him, as it dawns, it is hanging;
 Behind him, as it dawns, it is hanging.
 Before him, in beauty, it is hanging;

Behind him, in beauty, it is hanging;
 From his voice, in beauty, it is hanging.

The Daylight Girl (it is hanging),
 From the land of yellow light, it is hanging, &c.
 (substituting her for him and his).

250. LAST DAYLIGHT SONG.

Loleyèe, Loleyèe. Loleyèe, Loleyèe.
 Loleyèe, Loleyèe. Yahâîèe qanaâî.

1. Qayolkàgo, Loleyèe.
 2. Kaç Yikâî-acikèe. Loleyèe.
 Loleyèe, Loleyèe. Yahâîèe qanaâî.

3. Kaç aça yiskàgo. Loleyèe.
4. Kaç Yikâi-açèçe. Loleyèe.
Loleyèe, Loleyèe. Yahâièe qanaâi.

251. *Translation.*--1. Qayolkàgo, in the place of dawn. 2, 4. Yikâi-acikè and Yikâi-açèç, Daylight Boy and Daylight Girl (see paragraph 248). 3. Aça yiskàgo, it is day all around. Refrain, loleyè, lullaby, a meaningless expression, to indicate sleepiness.

252. *Free translation.*

Lullaby, lullaby.
It is daybreak. Lullaby.
Now comes the Daylight Boy. Lullaby.

Now it is day. Lullaby.
Now comes the Daylight Girl. Lullaby.

253. As the daylight songs are sung just at dawn, in the corral, before the dance ceases, their significance is apparent.

OTHER SONGS AND EXTRACTS.

264. SONG OF THE PROPHET TO THE SAN JUAN RIVER.

Aïena.

1. Nagâi çonilînië, nagâi çonilînië
2. Biçhyísgo cinì` çeyà`
Hañiyèa, hañiyèa, âièe niò hañeyàhe, oòhè.
3. Nagai çointyèlië, nagâi çonilînië,
4. Biçhyísgo cinì` çeyà`
Hañiyèa, etc.
5. Nagâi saⁿ biçòië, nagâi çonilînië,
6. Biçhyísgo cinì` çeyà`
Hañiyèa, etc.

255. *Translation.*--1. Nagâi, that; çonilîni, flowing water, a river. 2, 4, 6. Biçhyísigo, across it; cinî`, my mind; çeyà`, it goes, or, it comes, it wanders to or from. 3. Çointyèli, broad water. 5. Saⁿ biçò, water of old age.

256. For origin and free translation of this song, see paragraph 22.

257. SONG OF THE BUILDING OF THE DARK CIRCLE.

Oeà oeà, èà èà, he he;
Oeà oeà, èà èèà, he he, ee naⁿ a.

1. Dsilyi` Neyáni, cayolèli cayolèli;
2. Tcoyaj çilhyíli, cayolèli cayolèli;
3. Tsíca alili, cayolèli cayolèli;
4. Bîja çigíngo, cayolèli cayolèli;

5. Tcikè-çigîni, cayolèli cayolèli;
6. Tcoyaj çolîji, cayolèli cayolèli;
7. Tsíça alili, cayolèli cayolèli;
8. Bîja cigíngo, cayolèli cayolèli.

258. *Translation.*--1. Dsilyi` Neyáni, Reared Within the Mountains, the prophet who instituted these ceremonies; cayolèli, he carries [something long and flexible, as a branch or sapling] for me. 2, 6. Tcoyaj, a spruce sapling, diminutive of tco, spruce; çilhyíl, black; çolîj, blue. 3, 7. Tsíça alili (usually tsíça alili), truly a dance implement. 4, 8. Bîja çigíngo (usually bîja-yeçigíngo), a holy treasure, a magic wand.

259. *Free translation.*

Reared Within the Mountains carries for me;
A black spruce sapling, he carries for me;
An implement of the rites, he carries for me;
A holy treasure, he carries for me.

The Holy Young Woman carries for me;
A blue spruce sapling, she carries for me;
An implement of the rites, she carries for me;
A holy treasure, she carries for me.

260. The evergreen poles used in the dance and in making the "dark circles," to both of which this song probably refers, were, in all cases where I have observed them, made of piñon and not of spruce; but all dances I have witnessed were at altitudes of about six thousand feet, where piñon was abundant and spruce rare. In those portions of the Navajo country with which I am familiar the spruce (*Pseudotsuga douglassii*) grows plentifully at the height of eight thousand feet, sparsely below that. There is good reason for believing that the spruce is the true sacred tree of these rites and that the piñon is only a convenient substitute. The song is called Iluásjin Beniça, "that with which the dark circle is built." It is sung by the shaman at the eastern gate, while the young men are building the corral. (Paragraph 124.) I have other slightly different versions of it, probably suitable for different occasions. The form given above is recited, under ordinary circumstances, when the patient is a woman.

261. PRAYER TO DSILYI' NEYÁNI.

1. Dsilyi` Neyáni!
2. Dsil banaça!
3. Tsilkè!
4. Naçàni!
5. Nigèl icla`.
6. Naçè hila`.
7. Cikè caäçilil.
8. Citcàç caäçilil.
9. Citsès caäçilil.
10. Cini` caäçilil.
11. Cinè caäçilil.
12. Qojògo qaçàlçe aciçilil.
13. Citsídje qojolel.
14. Cikèçe qojolel.
15. Cizàç qaqojolel.
16. Qojòni qaslè,
17. Qojòni qaslè,
18. Qojòni qaslè,
19. Qojòni qaslè,

262. *Translation.*--1. The name of the prophet. 2. Dsil, mountains, banaça, chief (or master for them. 3. Tsilkè, young man. 4. Naçàni, chieftain. 5. Nigèl, your peculiar sacrifice, i. e., the keçàn; icla`, I have made. 6. Naçè, a smoke, i. e., the cigarettes (paragraph 87), for you; hila`, is made. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Cikè, my feet; Citcàç, my lower extremities; citsès, my body; cini`, my mind; cinè,

my voice; caäçilil, for me restore (as it was before) thou wilt. 12. Qojògo, in a beautiful manner; qaçalçe, repaired, mended; aciçilil, restore me thou wilt. 13, 14. Citsidje, in the direction before me; cikèçe, from behind me; qojolel, wilt thou terrestrially beautify. 15. Cizàç, my words; qaqojolel, wilt thou personally beautify. 16, 17, 18, 19. Qojòni, in earthly beauty; qaslè, it is made, it is done.

263. In other prayers, closely resembling this in form, the shaman adds: it Beautify all that is above me. Beautify all that is below me. Beautify all things around me."

264. The division into verses is that of the chanter. He pronounces the name in the first line; the patient repeats it after him. Then he gives out the words in the second line, and so on. For free translation, See paragraph 88.

265. SONG OF THE RISING SUN DANCE.

Oöniyàye, oöniyàye, oöniyàye yáhe yáhe heyiyòè [twice]

1. Qanaïçácøe
2. Tsilkè-çigini
3. Kátso-yisçàni
4. Yiyolnakòe
5. Qano qakòsko.
6. Tcihanoâie
7. Akos nisínle.
Yáhe yáhe eïa âi.

Oöniyàye, etc.

8. Inaïçácøe
9. Tcikè-çigini
10. Awètsal-yisçàni
11. Yiyolnakòe
12. Qano qakòsko.
13. Klehanoâie
14. Akos nisínle.
Yáhe yáhe eïa âi.

266. *Translation.*--1. Qanaïçácøe, from where it (the sun) rises. 2. Tsilkè-çigini, Holy Young Man. 3. Kátso-yisçàni, the great plumed arrow. 4, 11. Yiyolna`, he swallowed slowly or continuously. 5, 12. Qano qakòsko, it comes out by degrees. 6. Tcihanoâie, the sun. 7, 14. Akos nisín, he is

satisfied. 8. Inaiçáœ, from where it acts. 9. Tcikè-çigini, Holy Young Woman. 10. Awètsal-yisçani, prepared or plumed cliff rose, i. e., cliff rose arrow. 13. Klehanoâie, the moon.

267. *Free translation.*

Where the sun rises,
The Holy Young Man
The great plumed arrow
Has swallowed
And withdrawn it.
The sun
Is satisfied.

Where the sun sets,
The Holy Young Woman
The cliff rose arrow
Has swallowed
And withdrawn it.
The moon
Is satisfied.

268. This song is sung during the dance or alil described in paragraph 142. The conception of the poet seems to be that, the dance of the great plumed arrow having been properly performed, the sun should be satisfied and willing to do the bidding of the dancers, i. e., rise when desired, on the pole.

269. INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE AKÁNINILI

1. Çi` betcána nili`lel.
2. Çi` ç`a` naniltyèlç`o.
3. Çi` beniqoç`ilsinlel. Aïbinigi nize` ç`ela`.
4. ç`a`yiltsísigo, ç`a`bokògo tse`na akàn hyisç`inile.
5. Tsi` etlol akàn bàçhyis hyisç`inile; ako bàçhyis hyisç`ilç`ále.
6. Tse` elkâgi akàn hyisç`inile.
7. Akoï kátso-yisçân; aïbinigi djoç`ile, qoç`igínç`e behoèqoç`ilsin.

270. Translation.--1. Çi`, this; betcána, a thing to rise with (as you progress); niliⁿlel, will make for you. 2. Çi`, this; ¢a`naniltyèl¢o, will carry you along anywhere. 3. Beni¢o¢ilsinlel, by means of it people will know you; aĩbinigi, for this reason, or purpose; nizè, your neck; ¢ela`, it hangs (once) around. 4. ¢a`yiltsisgo, at any little valley (yiltsis, a little valley); ¢a`bokògo, at any gully or arroyo (boko`, arroyo); tse`na, across; akin, meal; hyis¢inile, he sprinkles always across. 6. Tsiⁿ etlol, the root of a tree; akàn, meal; bàçyis, across it; hyis¢inile, he sprinkles across; ako, then; hyis¢ilçále, he steps across. 6. Tse` elkàgi, on flat rocks; akàn, meal; hyis¢inile, he sprinkles across. 7. Akoĩ, then, next; kátso-yisçàn, the great prepared arrow--so says the chanter, but he really refers to the in¢ia`, or çobolçà, the plumed wand which akáninili carries; aĩbinigi, for this purpose; djoçile, he carries it (in the hand); qo¢igínçe, from a holy place (origin, holy); behoèqo¢ilsin, by means of it people know him.

271. For free translation, see paragraph 102.

279. PRAYER OF THE PROPHET TO HIS MASK

1. ¢a`andje qahasdsigo ançèlini, ciliⁿ.
2. Hyininàleni, ciliⁿ.
3. Ayàⁿ¢aⁿ çocisyi`go¢olèl¢a, ciliⁿ.
4. Cai¢inilil.

273. Translation.--1. ¢a`andje, at any time to you; qahasdsigo, when I spoke; ançèlini, always you made or did it, i. e., granted my request or assisted me; ciliⁿ, my domestic animal, my pet. 2. Hyininàleni, you were alive (once); ciliⁿ, my pet. 3. Ayàⁿ¢aⁿ, be sure, take care; ço¢a, negative; cisyi`go, that I die; ¢olèl, I desire, I beg (the divided negative makes one word of the sentence). 4. Cai¢inilil, watch thou for me) or over me.

274. For free translation, see paragraph 27.

275. LAST WORDS OF THE PROPHET.

1. Aqalàni, citsili.
2. Cakaĩçe ye qo¢igín¢e.
3. ¢a`çonasiçilsèl¢a.
4. ¢a`hoelçigo ¢a`eltçilgo, nagâiga cinài anila dsinisínle,
5. ¢a`no`çilgo ayàc in¢i¢alàgo, anilçàni in¢i¢alàgo nagâiga cinài binibikègola` dsinisínle.

276. *Translation.*-1. Aqalàni, greeting (farewell, in this case); citsili, my younger brother. 2. Cakailçe, for me they have come; ye, the yays, the gods; qoçiginçe, from a holy or supernatural place. 3. (ça`, any, on any occasion, etc.; çoça, negative; na, again; siçilsèl, you will see me); ça`çonasiçilsèlça, you will never see me again. 4. ça`hoelçigo, on any occasion as the rain passes, i. e., whenever it rains; ça`çeltçilgo, whenever it thunders; nagâiga, in that; cinài, my elder brother, anila, is his voice; dsinisinle, you will think so. 5. Ça`no`çilgo, whenever they (crops) are ripening, i. c., in harvest time; ayàc, small birds; inçicalàgo, of all kinds; anilçani, grasshoppers; nagâiga, in that, in those; cinài, my elder brother; binibikègola`, is his ordering, his design (the trail of his mind); dsinisinle, so you will think.

277. For free translation, see paragraph 79.

ADDENDUM: THE SUPPRESSED SECTIONS FROM THE 1884 EDITION OF THE MOUNTAIN CHANT

Matthews printed the following censored portions of the preceding document privately in 1892, in a five page pamphlet "The Suppressed Part of "The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony," Fort Wingate, New Mexico, Feb. 26. 1892.

The present pamphlet contains the information suppressed in the original. The author begs the pardon of his correspondents for having so long delayed the fulfillment of his promise.

After paragraph 130 of "The Mountain Chant," read the following:

While the dancers are circling around the fire in the dance of Nahikai, if one is found in a stooping or kneeling attitude before the fire, trying to burn the down on his want, another may come up from behind him, mount him and imitate, without actual pederasty, the pederastic motions of an erotic dog. While thus engaged a third dancer may mount the second and a fourth may mount the third and enact a like play--just as a number of dogs are often seen engaged.

Sometimes one or more of the actors wear large imitation penes, made of rags or inflated sheep-gut; such may enact the part of dogs, feign to masturbate or to manipulate the part to produce erection.

Sometimes, when the down has been burned from the wand and before it has been restored, they treat the wand as if it were a penis; hold it erect or semi-erect between the thighs, rub it and manipulate it. This is done mostly by the last remaining dancers, who effect to have difficulty in restoring the down to the ends of their wands.

Their motions are of such a nature that many white spectators of this play have conjectured that the dance of Nahikai is symbolic of the sexual act; that the down on the wand represents the desire which is destroyed in the flame of gratification, and, with trouble, restored; and this seems not an unreasonable conjecture.

After paragraph 145 of "The Mountain Chant, read the following:

That portion of the drama which succeeds the finding of the hoshkawn or yucca, I have seen enacted with varying detail and dialogue, but with the essential parts always similar. To preserve the unity, I will describe it as seen on the night of November VI, 1882. (See "Mountain Chant," par. 127.)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE--The old hunter and the man dressed as a woman, who will be referred to as He and She.

He.--Come, my wife, I have found something good. This is what I have looked for. Are you not glad I have found it?

She.--Yes, I am very glad, my sweet.

He.--It tastes like you. (He gives her a piece to eat.)

She.--It is sweet, but not as sweet as you.

(After this compliment he draws close to her and begins to dally, not over decently. One act is to put his hand under her clothes, withdraw it and smell it, At length he puts his hand in at the neck of her dress as if to feel her bosom and draws forth a handkerchief hidden there. He become furious.)

He (Squealing in feeble wrath).--Where did you get this?

She.--My aunt lost it at the spring and, when I went for water, I found it there.

He.--I don't believe you! You have been cohabiting with someone else. This is your pay.

She.--No, truly, my aunt lost it.

He (Still in a jealous fury, lights a cigarette and tries to smoke, presently throws cigarette peevishly away).--I will go away and never see you again.

She.--Don't leave! Don't Leave! You are a fool!

He.--Yes, I know it; but I will be one no longer. Now I go away. (He moves off.)

She. (Pouts a moment, then takes a pinch of dust in her fingers, blows it toward him and says:)--Thus do I blow away my regard for you. I will follow you no more.

(With head averted, and sitting, she watches him furtively till he shuffles off out of sight, among the crowd of spectators; then she runs after him and soon reappears dragging him back.)

He.--You were not strong enough to blow me away, I am so sweet. (Again they sit side by side and indulge in dalliance and loud kisses).

He.--I don't like you to cohabit with others while I am away hunting. I find you food and sweet things to eat, but you are bad.

She.--Do not leave me. I will never touch another man again. (They eat together of the yucca fruit.)

He.--How sweet this fruit is! Let us see which is the sweeter, this or coition. (Each puts a piece in the mouth and they proceed with the most complete realism of action, but without exposure, to imitate the sexual act. When through, he tumbles off with a groan as if completely exhausted.)

She (Spitting the fruit from her mouth).--The hoshkawn is sweet, but not half so sweet as what we have been doing. (She rises, takes a handful of dust from the ground, and acts as if scattering it on the vulva. They put the fruit into a basket and depart.)

The spectators of this scene are persons of both sexes--married and unmarried--and of all ages; a most promiscuous audience.

The act of dusting the vulva I have heard of as done by Indian women of other tribes in the and region after the act of coition at fresco.

The dialogue given above was obtained for me by Mr. A. M. Stephen of Keam's Canyon, Arizona, who witnessed with me the night ceremonies, of November 5, 1882, and next day, learned the words of the play from the man who enacted the part of the woman. I have since heard other versions of the dialogue, but none superior to this.

W. M.

Zuni Ritual Poetry

Zuni Ritual Poetry, By RUTH L. BUNZEL, From The Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

INTRODUCTION

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF PRAYER

Spoken prayer in Zuni is called t?ewusu p?ena:we, "prayer talk." This includes personal prayers, all the set prayers of rituals, chants, the origin myth in its ritual forms, the "talk" of komosono and other set speeches. It is also used for urgent requests. (t?ewusu p?eye?a--" he speaks prayers, i. e., begs, implores.")

Prayer is never the spontaneous outpouring of the overburdened soul; it is more nearly a repetition of magical formulae. A good deal has already been said about the rôle of prayer in the ritual. The prayers

constitute the very heart of a ceremony. Like fetishes, they are sacred and powerful in themselves. Their possession is a source of power; their loss or impairment a great danger. Zuñis will describe esoteric ceremonies fully and vividly, but there are two things which they are equally reluctant to do--to exhibit sacred objects or to repeat the words of a prayer. There is much less reticence about songs, except for a few special, secret songs. Prayer frequently forms part of set rituals. Then whether publicly declaimed or muttered so as to be inaudible to profane ears, the efficacy of the prayer depends in no small measure on its correct rendition. The prayers for individual use, such as accompany offerings of prayer meal, food, or prayer sticks, requests for medical service, etc., are also fixed in form and content, although they are individually varied in degree of elaboration. "Some men who are smart, talk a long time, but some are just like babies." There are certain occasions on which men can display their skill in handling the poetic medium when they are visited in their houses by the *katchinas*; when they are called upon to take part in the games of the *Koyemci*; when they are appointed to office; or otherwise signaled out for honor or blessing by the supernaturals. In such cases one must improvise quickly and handle correctly the ritual vocabulary, rhythms, characteristic long periods, and, above all, speak without any hesitation or fumbling and for as long as possible. There is no time limit, no admonitions to be brief and to the point.

The set prayers must be formally learned--they are not just picked up. The most formal instruction is that connected with the transmission of the prayers of the *Ca?lako*. Each *kiva* has a *Ca?lako wo?le*, who, among his other duties, keeps the prayers. Immediately after the winter solstice the *Ca?lako* appointees come to him to be taught the necessary prayers. The *wo?le* meets with them for the four nights following each planting of prayer sticks, and as often besides as may be necessary. The *Saiyataca* party, whose ritual is the most elaborate, meets every night. Most of this time is given to the "long talk," the litany that is declaimed in the house of the host on the night of their final ceremonies. There are many other prayers that accompany all their activities--prayers for the making and planting of prayer sticks, for getting their mask from the people who keep it and returning it, for various stages in dressing and in their progress toward the village, for the dedication of the house, for blessing the food, for thanking the singers and the hosts, for going away. However, the "long talk" and the "morning talk" are chanted aloud in unison and must be letter perfect. The method of instruction is for the *wo?le* to intone the prayer, the pupils joining in as they can. One-half of the chant is taken each night. The phraseology of the prayers is so

stereotyped that the principal difficulty in learning a long prayer is to keep the sequence. For this purpose certain cult groups have special mnemonic devices. The K^äklo "talk" recorded in text by Mrs. Stevenson is such a record. It is an outline naming in order the various personages called and the places visited, it being assumed that the performer can fill in the outline from his knowledge of the poetic forms. It takes the men appointed to impersonate the gods all of the year to learn their prayers. As the time for the ceremony approaches great concern is felt, and sometimes the ceremony is postponed because the men are not ready. On the night after the ceremony the men go once again to the wo?le and give the prayer back. They recite it for him. At the close he inhales, and they do not, and so he takes from them the spirit of the prayer.

The instruction in prayers that are not publicly performed is less formal. Boys learn the a, b, c's of religious participation, including elementary prayers, from their fathers. After initiation into a medicine society a man goes at once to his ceremonial father to learn to make the prayer sticks of the society, and at the same time learn prayers for the making and offering of prayer sticks. He makes some payment to his father for this information--a shirt or a headband or a few pieces of turquoise. Women do not make their own prayer sticks, but they go similarly to their "fathers" to learn the required prayers. So every additional bit of knowledge is acquired. As more esoteric information is sought, the expense for instruction increases greatly. A certain old man in one of the priesthoods knew a particular prayer and the order of events in a rarely performed ceremony. He refused to teach these things to anyone. When he was very old and his death was expected his colleagues wished to learn this prayer from him. He was finally persuaded to teach them for a consideration. The woman member of the priesthood contributed a woman's shawl, the men things of greater value, to his fee. He taught the prayer but withheld the other information, and finally died without communicating it. Sometimes a man who is apt and curious and wealthy may collect prayers, the way men in other societies accumulate oil paintings or other works of art, and eventually turn them to profit. The cost of most information is not so excessive that a poor man can not, with the practice of a little thrift, acquire whatever he wishes to know.[1] He can, if he wishes, and if he has friends, learn the prayers of the Ne?we:kwe without actually joining their society. His ceremonial affiliations restrict his right to use these prayers, but many men go to expense to learn prayers they have no intention of using. The Saiyataca texts recorded in the following pages and many others were given me by a man who had never impersonated Saiyataca and never expected to.

They were verified after the informant's death by the Saiyatata wo?le, who wondered how and why the informant had learned them. I myself heard the actual chant twice after recording the text and know it to be correct.

ZUÑI POETIC STYLE

As might be expected, prayers are highly formalized in content and mode of expression. Nearly all prayers are requests accompanying offerings. They have three sections, which always appear in the same order: A statement of the occasion, a description of the offering, and the request. In long and important prayers the statement of the occasion is a synoptic review of ritual acts leading up to the present moment of a ceremony. Thus, Saiyatata's chant begins with a description of the winter solstice ceremony when the appointment was made and follows the Saiyatata party through all the minor ceremonies of the year, even enumerating the various shrines at which prayer sticks were offered. The prayers over novices at their initiation ceremony begin with a formal description of their illness and cure. In prayers which do not mark the culmination of long ceremonies the statement of the occasion may be no more than a statement of the time of day or the season of the year, and some veiled allusion to the special deities who are being invoked.

[1. In Zuñi a "poor man" is one who has no special knowledge or position in the ceremonial system. A "valuable" man has knowledge and prestige. "Knowledge" (anikwanan:e) is the word for supernatural power.]

There is always a formal request for all the regular blessings--long life, old age, rain, seeds, fecundity, riches, power, and "strong spirit." This formal request closes the prayer. Any special request, such as those for summer storms and winter snows, safety in war, rescue from disease, precede this. Requests that are strictly personal never figure in prayer. One prays always for "all good fortune," never for special and particular benefit. The only exceptions are in the case of prayers in sickness and the prayer of a widower to his dead wife with the request that she should not pursue him.

Zuñi prayers are distinctly matter of fact. They deal with external events and conditions rather than inner states. Outside of the request, their content is limited to two fields: Natural phenomena, such as sunrise,

sunset, dawn, night, the change of seasons, the phases of the moon, rainstorms, snowfall, the growth of corn; and ritual acts, especially the making of prayer sticks, setting up of altars, and transfer of authority. Rituals of a more intimate and personal character, such as fasting and abstinence, are never mentioned. In their prayers Zuñis do not humble themselves before the supernatural; they bargain with it.

There are regular stereotyped phrases for all things commonly alluded to in prayer. The sun always "comes out standing to his sacred place," "night priests draw their dark curtain," the corn plants "stretch out their hands to all directions calling for rain," the meal painting on an altar is always "our house of massed clouds," prayer sticks are "clothed in our grandfather, turkey's, robe of cloud." Events are always described in terms of these stereotypes, which are often highly imaginative and poetic.[2] These fixed metaphors are the outstanding feature of Zuñi poetic style. There are not very many of them; they are used over and over again, the same imagery appearing repeatedly in one prayer. A prayer recorded by Cushing more than 50 years ago contains all of the same stereotypes and no turns of expression different from those in use to-day. A comparison of Cushing's texts[3] with mine shows a rigidity of style in oral tradition.

The sentence structure is that of continued narrative in the hands of a particularly able story-teller. Zuñi is a language that is very sensitive to skillful handling. Oratory is a recognized art, and prayer is one of the occasions on which oratory is used. The best prayers run to long periods—the longer the better, since clarity of expression is not necessary, nor particularly desirable.

Zuñi, like Latin, is a highly inflected language and can handle effectively involved sentences that can not be managed intelligibly in

[2. Some of the most striking passages have been quoted. (See pp. 483-486.).

3. Unfortunately Cushing has published only short texts which do not do justice to Zuñi style. One long text which he recorded is to be published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* with a parallel modern version.]

English. These features, which are difficult enough of translation in prose, are emphasized in the poetry. The long period is a characteristic feature. The typical Zuñi word order is subject, object, verb; the verb always holding the final position. The usual method of expressing

temporal or causal subordination is by means of participial or gerundive clauses, fully inflected, preceding the principal proposition. These participial clauses are impossible in English. In the translation it has been necessary, therefore, to break up the original sentences. Thereby an important and effective stylistic feature is unavoidably lost. But the reader should think of the Zuni sentences rolling on like the periods of a Ciceronian oration to their final close.

Another difficulty of translation, which will be alluded to frequently in the following pages, is the impossibility of translating the word plays with which the texts abound. To quote one example: The root *lhea*: means, in its intransitive inflection, to wear or hold in the hand; in its transitive inflection, to clothe or to give into the hand. There the sentence *li:lh ho? t?o? telik^inan a:lhea?u* means both, "I here hand you these prayer sticks," or "I clothe you with these prayer sticks." Folk tales and religious beliefs utilize this double entendre. It is believed, for instance, that when people neglect to plant prayer sticks to the gods their clothing wears out. The passage where the word *ci:pololon:e* is used with the double meaning of "smoke" and "mist" is a striking example. The suppliant offers smoke of the sacred cigarette to the rain makers. They are conceived as taking the cigarette and smoking in turn. They "send forth their smoky breath," i. e., mist or fog.

Word play is used with still greater subtlety in the description of the prayer-stick offering. Many Zuni roots are neutral; i. e., can be inflected to form both nouns and verbs.[4] *ikwi*: is to tie something about something else; *ikwin:e*, literally a tying about, is the usual word for belt. To say, therefore, "I tie the cotton about it," is precisely the same as to say "I belt him with a cotton belt." So the whole image of the making of the prayer stick or the dressing of an idol is built up linguistically. It is very difficult to tell how much is word play, how much metaphor, and how much is actual personification. The Zuni finds these ambiguities intriguing.

This leads us to the third form of word play, the deliberate use of ambiguity, both verbal and grammatical. There are passages where subject and object are deliberately confounded, although there are excellent means for avoiding such ambiguity. These sentences are perfectly grammatical and can be correctly interpreted in two ways.

[4. This is not, strictly speaking, true in precisely these terms. As a matter of fact these stems are probably verbal, but a complete demonstration of their character would take us into linguistic subtleties beyond the scope of this paper.]

The use of obsolete or special words has occasioned some difficulty. The expression *k[^]acima t[?]apela* for ladder is one case. *Tapela*, the Zúñi say, is an "old word" for ladder. *T[?]apelan:e*, however, was a load of wood tied up as it used to be in the days when wood was brought on foot. Wood is no longer brought in this way, but the word, fixed in metaphor, has survived. There are a number of similar examples. In such cases the old translation has been retained.

It has been impossible, of course, to render the original rhythm. One characteristic feature, however, has been retained, namely, its irregularity, the unsymmetrical alternation of long and short lines. Cushing, in his commendable desire to render Zúñi verse into vivid and intelligible English verse, committed the inexcusable blunder of reducing the Zúñi line to regular short-line rhymed English stanzas. If one were to choose a familiar English verse form it should be the line of Milton or, better still, the free verse of the King James version of the psalms. I have tried to retain the sense in the original of the fluidity and variety of the verse form. In reading the translations one must be mindful of Zúñi methods of declamation. The short lines are declaimed slowly and with marked emphasis, the long lines are spoken rapidly, unaccented syllables are slurred or elided, and the word accents pile up on each other. The two types of line are like the booming of the surf and the rushing of the brook.

Zúñi poetry has no feminine endings.[5] The heavy accent with noticeable lengthening on the final syllable can not be transferred to English. The translation therefore suffers greatly from loss of sonority and vigor. In the original every line is like the declaration of a creed--an effect which no translation can adequately render. It is interesting to note that although the natural cadence of Zúñi is trochaic, the poetic rhythm is predominantly iambic. The principal word accent in Zúñi is invariably on the first syllable, with a secondary accent, in words of four or more syllables, on the penult. The final syllable is always unaccented, yet the important poetic stress is always on the final syllable of the line, which gives the verse a curious syncopated quality, very difficult of reproduction. The final syllable is usually distinguished by prolongation and a high falling tone.

[5. Every line ends in a vowel. Most Zúñi words terminate in vowels, but words ending in consonants--for example, the participles in *-nan* and *-ap* take special forms *-na* or *-nana* and *-ap[?]!a* when occurring finally; *-a* is the most usual vocalic ending, but there is no true rhyming.]

I. PRAYERS TO THE ANCIENTS

AN OFFERING OF FOOD TO THE ANCESTORS

The offering of food to the dead forms an important part of Zuñi household ritual. Cushing states that a bit of food is offered in the fire at each meal by all partaking, and that no child is weaned until he is able to make this offering with a suitable prayer. At the present time the practice is by no means universal. It is made, with very little ceremony, by priests and the female heads of their houses. The female heads of houses holding ceremonial objects make offerings to these objects before serving food. Each appointee to ceremonial office makes offerings at nightfall in the river, about a mile west of Zuñi. The food thus offered is carried by the river to the supernaturals at the village of the masked gods. Offerings of food are conspicuous at any ceremonial meal, and each man holding ceremonial office receives a package to be offered later in the river. With offerings in the house no prayer is spoken-at most only a few words are mumbled: "Eat; may our roads be fulfilled," or "May we be blessed with life." With outdoor offerings, long prayers are spoken. Offerings, whether of food, corn meal, or prayer sticks, are never made specifically to one's own ancestors, but to *the* ancestors.

After the crops are harvested in fall ghosts' day or grandmothers' day is announced by the sakisti (sacristan of the ancient mission church).[2] On this day large quantities of food are prepared, only products of that year's harvest being used, a lamb of that spring's lambing, bread made of new wheat and corn, and anything else that has been raised. The melons are gone by that time, but some are always saved for the grandmothers. Before eating the evening meal women make their offerings in the fire, a few ears of corn, a dish of lamb stew, a loaf of bread, a roll of paper bread. After dark the men take even greater quantities to the river. The following prayer is used, probably, with this special offering.

This day my children,
For their fathers,
Their ancestors,

[3. In 1927 it fell on November 9. For the probable Catholic origin of the feast in All Souls' Day, see Parsons All Souls' Day at Zuñi, Acoma, and Laguna; Journal of American Folk Lore 30:495.]

5 For you who have attained the far off place of waters,[3]
 This day
 My children
 Have prepared food for your rite.
 10 Now our sun father
 Has gone in to sit down at his sacred place.[4]
 Taking the food my children have prepared at their fireplaces
 (I have come out.)
 15 Those who hold our roads,[5]
 The night priests,[6]
 Coming out rising to their sacred place
 Will pass us on our roads.
 20 This night
 I add to your hearts.
 With your supernatural wisdom
 You will add to your hearts,
 Let none of you be missing
 25 But all add to your hearts.
 Thus on all sides you will talk together.
 From where you stay quietly
 Your little wind-blown clouds,
 Your fine wisps of cloud,
 30 Your massed clouds you will send
 forth to sit down with us;
 With your fine rain caressing the earth,
 With all your waters
 You will pass to us on our roads.
 With your great pile of waters,
 35 With your fine rain caressing the earth,
 With your heavy rain caressing the earth,
 You will pass to us on our roads.
 My fathers,
 Add to your hearts.
 40 Your waters,
 Your seeds,
 Your long life,[7]
 Your old age
 You will grant to us.

[3. That is, the dead.

4. The sun has two resting places: One above, to which he "comes out standing" at sunrise; one below the world, to which he "goes in to sit down" at sunset.

5. A:wonawil?ona--used of any supernaturals who influence human affairs. This is not a special deity, as Mrs. Stevenson believes.

6. That is the night itself, anthropomorphically envisaged.

7. Onaya:nak^ä--literally "road fulfilling."]

45 Therefore I have added to your hearts.

To the end, my fathers,

My children:

You will protect us.

All my ladder descending children [8]

50 Will finish their roads;

They will grow old.

You will bless us with life.

THE PREPARATION OF PRAYER STICKS AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

Twice during the winter solstice ceremony each adult male makes prayer sticks. The first time he makes for himself offerings to the sun, and to the ancestors. For the grown women of the family he makes offerings for the moon and the ancestors; children offer to the ancestors. If he is a member of a society he makes the special offering appropriate to his rank in the society. These solstice offerings are quite different from monthly society offerings.

The offerings of each family are deposited in an excavation in the family field, generally the cornfield, despite the fact that these are at greater distances from the village. After the offerings are made everyone is supposed to abstain from animal food, in addition to the usual requirement of sexual continence. Abstinence from meat is required because of the offering to the sun, which employs only downy feathers, which are especially potent and carry with thorn the pledge of abstinence. Among the younger people only those who belong to societies fast from meat. The others would consider it wrong to do so. "While we were away at school we ate meat, and it is a bad thing to break one's custom."

On the fourth day each initiated male offers to the katcinas, and each male society member offers to the beast gods. These offerings are made in the cornfield or in the fields to the east of the village. That night, after dark, special offerings are made in the corrals for the increase of horses, cattle, and sheep, for clothing and ornaments, and for medicine. Each man uses a different kind of stick and guards this secret knowledge jealously.

There are prayers to be said at each stage of the process of prayer stick making. Prayers are always offered to the trees before cutting the sticks. Corn meal is offered to the "lucky" tree. This is not cut, but another is taken. The rest of the prayers are generally

[8. That is, human, the inhabitants of Zuñi.]

omitted until the stick is finished. Then the following brief prayer is spoken over it before it is set aside until the time comes to plant it:

This many are the days
 Since our moon mother
 Yonder in the west[9]
 Appeared, still small;
 When but a short space yet remained
 Till she was fully grown,
 Then out daylight father,[10]
 Pekwin of the Dogwood clan,
 For his sun father
 10 Told off the days.
 This many days we have waited.
 We have come to the appointed time.
 My children,
 15 All my children,
 Will make plume wands.
 My child,
 My father,[11] sun,
 20 My mother, moon,
 All my children will clothe you with prayer plumes.[12]
 When you have arrayed yourselves in these,
 With your waters,
 25 Your seeds
 You will bless all my children.
 All your good fortune
 You will grant to them all.
 To this end, my father,
 30 My mother:
 May I finish my road;
 May I grow old;
 May you bless me with life.

AN OFFERING OF PRAYER STICKS AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

This many are the days
 Since at the new year
 For those who are our fathers,

[9. The new moon, first appearing at sunset in the west.

10. Our human father. Father is a courtesy term applied to all supernaturals, all men who hold high office.

11. "My father, my child," the most intimate form of address, used only in relations of implying intense affection. "My father, my child," and "my mother, my child," are sometimes used as great endearments between husband and wife.

12. A common play upon words a'lhea'u means either to give into one's hand or to clothe one. Likewise i'lhea'u (reflexive) means either to take in one's hand or to clothe oneself.

13. Literally "the water object in the dish," the rain-bringing fetish of the priests. (M. C. Stevenson, 23d Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, p. 163.)]

5 Tcu'eto:we,[14]

The days[15] were made.

From all the wooded places

Breaking off the young straight shoots

Of the male willow, female willow,

10 In our hands we held them fast.

With them we gave our plume wands human form.

With the striped cloud wing

The one who is our father,

Male turkey,

15 We gave our plume wands human form.[16]

With the flesh of our mother,

Cotton woman,

Even a poorly made cotton thread,

20 With this four times encircling the plume wands,

And tying it about their bodies,

We finished our plume wands.

Having finished our plume wands

25 And offering our fathers their plume wands

We make their days.[17]

Anxiously awaiting their days.

We have passed the days.

After a little while

30 Your massed clouds,

Your rains,
 We shall desire.
 We have given you plume wands.
 That with your waters,
 35 Your seeds,
 Your riches,[18]
 Your long life,
 Your old age,
 You may bless us--
 40 For this I have given you plume wands.
 To this end, my fathers,
 May our roads reach to dawn lake:[19]
 May our roads be fulfilled;
 May we grow old;

[14. The other half of the priestly fetish. This is the corn fetish.

15. The retreat of the priests.

16. Fashioned like human beings. The stick is the body, the feathers, the robes, the cotton cord is the belt, the paint is the flesh. This is the order of processes in the making of prayer sticks.

17. "To make days" is to observe the taboo period.

18. Clothing and ornaments, which constitute personal property, hence wealth.

19. The water that lies on the easternmost rim of the world. This is where the sun comes out, and stands, therefore, as the symbol of fulfillment.]

45 To where the road of our sun father goes
 May our roads reach;
 May our roads be fulfilled;
 May we grow old;
 50 May we be blessed with life.

A MONTHLY OFFERING OF PRAYER STICKS

At each full moon (in some societies at the new moon) each member of a society offers prayer sticks. In addition to special offerings prescribed by the society there are two to four short black sticks for the ancestors and, for males, one similar black stick, with the addition of a duck feather, for the katchinas. The sticks are buried in the corn field or at Red Earth, a point on the river bank east of the

town. The prayer sticks are deposited with the following prayer, which was secured from one of the headmen of the Wood Society.

This many are the days
 Since our moon mother,
 Yonder in the west
 Appeared still small.
 When she became fully grown
 Seeking yonder along the river courses
 The ones who are our fathers,
 Male willow,
 Female willow,
 Four times cutting the straight young shoots,
 To my house
 I brought my road.
 This day,
 With my warm human hands
 I took hold of them.
 I gave my plume wands human form.
 With the striped cloud tail
 Of the one who is my grandfather,
 The male turkey,
 With eagle's thin cloud tail,
 With the striped cloud wings
 And massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer,
 With these four times I gave my plume wands human form.
 With the flesh of the one who is my mother,
 Cotton woman,
 Even a poorly made cotton thread,
 Four times encircling them and tying it about their bodies,
 I gave the plume wands human form
 With the flesh of the one who is our mother,
 Black paint woman,
 Four times covering them with flesh,
 I gave my plume wands human form.
 In a short time the plume wands were ready.
 Taking the plume wands,
 I made my road go forth.
 Yonder with prayers
 We took our road.
 Thinking, "Let it be here,"
 Our earth mother
 We passed upon her road.
 Our fathers,
 There on your earth mother,
 There where you are waiting your plume wands
 We have passed you on your roads.

There where you are all gathered together in beauty
 Now that you are to receive your plume wands,
 You are gathered together.
 This day I give you plume wands.
 By means of your supernatural wisdom
 You will clothe yourself with the plume wands.
 Wherever you abide permanently,
 At the place of the first beginning,
 Touching one another with your plume wands,
 You will bend down to talk together.
 From where you abide permanently,
 Your little wind-blown cloud,
 Your thin wisps of cloud,
 Your hanging stripes of cloud,
 Your massed up clouds, replete with living waters,
 You will send forth to stay with us.
 They will come out standing on all sides.
 With your fine rain caressing the earth,
 With your weapons, the lightning,
 With your rumbling thunder,
 Your great crashes of thunder,
 With your fine rain caressing the earth,
 Your heavy rain caressing the earth,
 With your great pile of waters here at Itiwana,[20]
 With these You will pass us on our roads.
 In order that you may come to us thus
 I have given you plume wands. My fathers,
 When you have taken your plume wands,
 With your waters,
 Your seeds,
 Your riches,
 Your power,
 Your strong spirit,
 Will all your good fortune whereof you are possessed,
 Me you will bless.

Corn meal is then sprinkled on the prayer sticks with the following prayer:

This day, my fathers,
 I have given you plume wands.
 The source of our water of life.
 The source of our flesh,
 Flesh of the white corn
 Prayer meal
 I give to you.
 Taking your plume wand,
 Your prayer meal,
 with your waters,

Your seeds,
 Your riches,
 Your long life,
 Your old age,
 With all your good fortune
 You will bless us.
 This is all.

PRAYERS TO DEAD WIFE, WITH OFFERINGS OF PRAYER MEAL AND PRAYER STICKS

When a man's wife dies for four days he observes the most stringent taboos. He remains continent; he abstains from eating meat, grease, and salt. He sits alone, away from the fire, and must not be touched. He should not speak or be spoken to. Each morning at dawn he drinks an emetic and goes out on the eastern road to offer black corn meal to the dead spouse. He holds the black meal in the left hand, passes it four times over his head, and throws it away as rite of exorcism. Then, using the right hand, he scatters white meal, and prays. These taboos are the same as those offered by a warrior who has taken a scalp, and are directed to the same ends, the removal of contamination and the propitiation of the ghost. The ghost, who is lonely, will try to visit her husband in dreams. To prevent this he uses black corn meal, "to make the road dark" or "to forget."

After the four days he plants prayer sticks and resumes normal life. For 12 months he should remain continent, lest the dead wife become jealous. During this period he is "dangerous." At the end of this period he has intercourse with a stranger to whom he gives a gift, the instrument for removing the contamination. She throws this away. Next day both plant prayer sticks. If he desires to shorten the period, he gets some man with esoteric knowledge to make him especially potent prayer sticks two or four sets-planted at intervals of four days, which are offered to the dead wife with the following prayer. These same rites are observed also by a widow and a warrior who has taken a scalp.

This is the only example which has come to my knowledge of any offering made to an individual, and even in this the ancestors are included. This prayer is also used with offerings of prayer sticks to the dead, on the fourth day after death, the day in which the spirit is believed to reach the land of the dead.[21]

My fathers,
 Our sun father,
 Our mothers,
 Dawn
 5 As you arise and come out to your sacred place,
 I pass you on your road.
 The source of our flesh,
 White corn,

[21. Two versions follow, one dictated by a man, the other taken from the autobiography of a woman, in the account of the death of her first husband.]

10 Prayer meal,
 Shell,
 Pollen,
 I offer to you.
 Our sun father,
 15 To you I offer prayer meal.
 To you we offer it.
 To you we offer pollen.
 According to the words of my prayer
 Even so may it be.
 20 There shall be no deviation.
 Sincerely
 From my heart I send forth my prayers.
 To you prayer meal,
 Shell I offer.
 25 Pollen I offer.
 According to the words of my prayer
 Even so may it be.
 Now this day,
 My ancestors,
 You have attained the far-off place of waters.[22]
 This day,
 5 Carrying plume wands,
 Plume wands which I have prepared for your use.
 I pass you on your roads.
 I offer you plume wands.
 10 When you have taken my plume wands,
 All your good fortune whereof you are possessed
 You will grant to me.
 And furthermore
 You, my mother,[23]
 15 Verily, in the daylight
 With thoughts embracing,
 We passed our days
 Now you have attained the far-off place of waters.
 I give you plume wands,

[22. The dead, whose abiding place is a lake.

23. A term of endearment used for one's wife or child in moments of great tenderness. Often "my mother, my child."]

{Plume wands which I have prepared for your use.
 Drawing your plume wands to you,
 And sharing my plume wands,
 Indeed, under no conditions shall you take anyone away. 24
 Among all the corn priests' ladder descending children,
 All the little boys,
 The little girls,
 30 And those whose roads go ahead,
 Was one, perhaps even a valuable man,
 Who, his heart becoming angry be cause of something,
 Injured you with his power.[25]
 35 That one only you will think to drag down.
 All of your good fortune whatsoever
 May you grant to us.
 40 Preserving us along a safe road,
 May our roads be fulfilled.

[24. The dead are lonely without the living and try to draw them away. The wife longs for her living husband, the mother for her children. Therefore these individuals stand in grave danger of death.

25. The sorcerer whose ill will caused the fatal illness.]

II. PRAYERS TO THE SUN

PRAYER AT SUNRISE

Now this day,
 My sun father,
 Now that you have come out standing to your sacred place,
 5 That from which we draw the water of life,
 Prayer meal,
 Here I give to you.
 Your long life,
 Your old age,
 10 Your waters,
 Your seeds,
 Your riches,
 Your power,

Your strong spirit,
15 All these to me may you grant.

PRESENTING AN INFANT TO THE SUN

On the eighth day of life an infant's head is washed by his "aunts"--that is, women of his father's clan, his most important ceremonial relatives. Corn meal is placed in his hand and he is taken outdoors, facing the east, at the moment of sunrise. Corn meal is sprinkled to the rising sun with the following prayer, spoken by the paternal grandmother:

Now this is the day.
Our child,
Into the daylight
You will go out standing.
5 Preparing for your day,
We have passed our days.
When all your days were at an end,
When eight days were past,
Our sun father
10 Went in to sit down at his sacred place.
And our night fathers
Having come out standing to their sacred place,
Passing a blessed night
15 We came to day.
Now this day
Our fathers,
Dawn priests,
Have come out standing to their sacred place.

Our sun father
Having come out standing to his sacred place,
Our child,
25 It is your day.
This day,
The flesh of the white corn,
Prayer meal,
To our sun father
30 This prayer meal we offer.
May your road be fulfilled
Reaching to the road of your sun father,
When your road is fulfilled

35 In your thoughts (may we live)
 May we be the ones whom your thoughts will embrace,
 For this, on this day
 To our sun father.
 40 We offer prayer meal.
 To this end:
 May you help us all to finish our roads.

THE P?EKWIN SETS THE DATE FOR THE SUMMER SOLSTICE

Before the summer solstice the p?ekwin makes daily observations of the sunset from a shrine east of the village. When the sun sets behind a certain point in the mesa he begins to count days with offerings of prayer sticks. There are six such offerings according to Mrs. Stevenson.[1] At dawn of the morning following the last offering he announces from the highest housetop in Zuñi that the summer solstice will take place after eight days.

Now that those who hold our roads,
 Dawn ancients,
 Youths,
 Matrons,
 5 Maidens,
 Over their sacred place,
 Have raised their curtain.
 Here, on the corn priests' housetop
 I stand up.
 10 My fathers,
 My sun father,
 We have made your days.
 Divine ones,
 Remember your days.

[1. Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 148.]

15 When this many days, eight days, are past,
 On the ninth day.
 All together
 We shall reach your appointed time.
 This many days anxiously waiting
 20 You shall pass the days.
 I think it is this many days, eight days,

And then on the ninth day.
You will grant that all of us finish our roads.

PRAYER OF THE FIRE KEEPER AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

The keeper of the New Year fire is appointed by the priests on the ninth day following the p?ekwin's announcement of the solstice. This is the day on which all people cut prayer sticks. During the day he collects wood from houses in the village and in the evening builds the New Year fire in he'?iwa kiva. On this evening the images of the gods of war are taken to the kiva for their all-night ceremony. The fire keeper must be a man of the Badger clan or a child of that clan. He is called tsu'pal-i'lona (the one who has the blood pudding; the fire is his tsu'palon:e, or blood pudding). During the ensuing ten days he must observe continence and eat no meat or other animal food. He sleeps and eats at his own house, but returns to the kiva to tend the fire, which must be kept burning throughout the period. He visits every house in the village to get wood for his fire.

At sundown on the ninth day of the second period[2] he comes to the kiva. Here p?ekwin has made a meal painting and set up an altar. When all the priests have arrived p?ekwin goes to summon the impersonators of P?a'utiwa and the four Sa'yalhia. They come unmasked, their masks having been taken to the kiva earlier in the day.

At sunset Ci'tsuk^a and Kwe'lele, gods from the east, enter the village from the east. They dance for a few minutes on the roof of the kiva and then go in. After brief prayers they go to the house of the Great Fire Society to eat. The masks belong to this society, and the impersonators must be chosen from the Great God order of the society.

Late at night they are again summoned to the kiva. Here are the priests, the impersonators of P?a'utiwa and the Sa'yalhia, men of the Dogwood and Sun clans who dress P?a'utiwa, and singers from He'iwa kiva. With Ci'tsuk^a and Kwe'lele go the headmen of the Great Fire Society and a group of singers from that society. The two choirs sing alternately and Kwe'lele and Ci'tsuk^a dance. The fire keeper sits all night beside the fireplace, within a circle of meal across which he must not step.

At the first sign of dawn P?a'utiwa dresses. When he is ready the chief of the Great Fire Society kindles fire with the ancient drill which Kwe'lele carries. As soon as the fire appears Kwe'lele lights his torch.

The fire keeper takes a brand from his fire and, accompanied by Kwe'lele with his torch, p?ekwin, Ko'mosona, P?a'utiwa, and the four Sa'yalhia, goes out to the east. At a point well beyond the last house they pause. The fire keeper lays down his brand, and Kwe'lele extinguishes his torch. All pray and sprinkle meal. Then the party returns to the kiva.

This is the sign to the village that the fire taboo is ended, and immediately everyone hastens to take out their fire and sweepings. When they return to the kiva the fire keeper and p?ekwin pray. Then the people go to their houses to take out the fire from their hearths. They return immediately, and the masked gods dance until daylight. At this time anyone may enter the kiva to receive the blessings of the gods.

The following prayer is spoken by the fire keeper when he returns from the east in the morning. It was dictated by a member of the Great Fire Society.

This many are the days
 Since the sun, who is our father,
 Stood yonder beside his left hand sacred place.[3]
 5 Then our fathers
 Having prepared plume wands for the rite of their ancestors,
 And having breathed their prayers upon the plume wands,
 With their sacred cigarette,
 Their prayer meal
 10 My fathers
 Laid hold of me.
 When the sun who is our father
 Had yet a little space to go
 To go in to sit down at his sacred place,
 Our two fathers,
 16 The ones who hold the high places,[4]
 Once more assuming human form.
 With their sacred possessions,
 With their house chiefs,
 Their p?ekwins,
 Their bow priests,
 With all of these,
 They made their roads come in,

[3. i. e. the north, therefore the winter solstice.

4. The War Gods whose shrines are on mountain tops.]

25 And sat down quietly.
 Then the one who is my daylight father
 Laid hold of me.
 Presenting me yonder to all the directions,
 30 He seated me,
 Giving me the world.
 After a blessed night
 We came to day.
 Next day
 35 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 Our two fathers
 Yonder passed their elder brothers on their roads.[5]
 As they counted up the days for us
 40 Eagerly awaiting their days
 We passed the days.
 When all of their days were past,
 Then our two fathers
 K[^]?ä'wulhia P?a'utiwa
 45 We passed at their middle day.
 Yesterday
 When our sun father
 Had yet a little space to go
 To go in to sit down at his sacred place,
 Yonder our fathers of all directions,
 Water bringing birds,[6]
 P?ekwin, priest,
 From where he stays quietly
 55 Making his road come forth,
 Making his road come hither,
 Thinking, "Let it be here,"
 Fashioned his fathers massed cloud house,[7]
 60 Spread out their mist blanket,
 Sent forth their life-giving road,
 Prepared their spring.
 Then our two fathers,
 K[^]?a'wulhia
 65 P?a'utiwa
 To his house chiefs,
 His p?ekwins,
 To his bow priests,
 To all of these,

[5. The idols are taken to the mountain shrines.

6. The birds who sing before the rain. They are believed to be messengers of the supernaturals, sent to announce the rain. Hence p'ekwin, the speaker of the priests and announcer of ceremonies, is called figuratively "water birds."

7. The meal painting on the altar.]

70 Made his road come in.
 They sat down quietly.
 Yonder toward the east,
 To our two fathers
 White masked god,[8]
 75 Black masked god,[9]
 To where they were made ready
 The prayers reached;
 Carrying their waters,
 Carrying their seeds,
 80 Making their road come hither,
 Going along one road,
 They sat down quietly.
 After a blessed night,
 With our children we came to day.
 85 When the ones who are our fathers,
 Dawn old men,
 Dawn youths,
 Dawn boys,
 Dawn old women,
 90 Dawn matrons,
 Dawn maidens,
 Dawn girls,
 Had risen standing to their sacred place,
 95 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 Four times
 Drawing up our grandmother,[10]
 And making her arise,
 Making her go ahead
 100 Yonder toward the east
 With prayers
 We made our roads go forth.
 How the world will be,
 How the days will be,
 105 We desired to know.

Perhaps if we are lucky
 Our earth mother
 Will wrap herself in a fourfold robe
 Of white meal,
 110 Full of frost flowers;
 A floor of ice will spread over the world,
 The forests,
 Because of the cold will lean to one side,
 115 Their arms will break beneath the weight of snow.
 When the days are thus
 The flesh of our earth mother
 Will crack with cold.
 Then in the spring when she is replete with living waters

[8. Citsuk^ä.

9. Kwelele.

10. The fire.]

120 Our mothers,
 All different kinds of corn
 In their earth mother
 We shall lay to rest.
 With their earth mother's living waters
 125 They will be made into new beings;
 Into their sun father's daylight
 They will come out standing;
 Yonder to all directions
 130 They will stretch out their hands calling for rain.
 Then with their fresh waters
 (The rain makers) will pass us on our roads.
 Clasp their young ones in their arms
 They will rear their children.
 135 Gathering them into our houses,
 Following these toward whom our thoughts bend,
 With our thoughts following them,
 140 Thus we shall always live.
 That this may be
 Eagerly we have awaited your day.
 Now that all their days are at an end,
 145 Eagerly waiting until another day shall come,
 We shall pass our days.

Indeed it is so.
 Far off someone will be my father,
 The divine one,
 150 He of the Badger clan.
 Asking for his life-giving breath
 His breath of old age,
 His breath of waters,
 His breath of seeds,
 155 His breath of fecundity,
 His breath of all good fortune,
 Asking for his breath.
 And into my warm body
 Drawing his breath,
 160 I shall add to your breath.
 Do not despise the breath of your fathers,
 But into your bodies
 Draw his breath,

165 That yonder to where the life-giving road of your sun father comes
 out
 Your roads may reach;
 That you may finish your roads;
 For this I add to your breath.
 170 To this end, my fathers,
 My children,
 May all of you be blessed with light.

[11. Plural verb with singular subject, due possibly to rhythmic requirements.
 The correct form would be *telia?u*. Byron does this, too, and Blake.]

III. PRAYERS TO THE UWANAMMI

Four days after the summer solstice the priesthoods begin their series of retreats to pray for rain. Each set in turn goes in at the house where their sacred bundle is kept. The four chief priesthoods associated with the four cardinal points go in for eight days each. They are followed by the *p?ekwin*, who goes in for four days. He is followed by the bow priest, who observes a 4-day retreat, although he does not stay in his house. After these the minor priesthoods, "the darkness people," follow in fixed order. They go in for four days each. The last come out about the first week in September, which is near the end of the rainy season.

Retreats always start in the evening, generally after sunset, and nights only are counted. They end at sunrise on the fourth or eighth morning following. The day before the retreat begins is spent by the priests in making prayer sticks. These are tied together in the afternoon, and shortly before sunset the chief priest accompanied by an associate leaves to plant them in a distant spring. They return late at night. They go immediately into the inner room set aside for their retreat, where the other members have already assembled. The chief priest sets up his altar--a meal painting, one or more feather-wrapped corn fetishes, pots of black paint that have been brought from the underworld, stone knives, thunder stones, and finally the sacred bundle itself.

The first of the two prayers below is said with the offering of corn meal when gathering willow sticks, the second on setting the sacred bundle on the altar. They were dictated by a former member of the priesthood of the water serpent, and have been verified by a priest of the priesthood of the south.

PRAYER OF A PRIEST ON GOING INTO RETREAT

This day
 Desiring the waters of our fathers,
 The ones who first had being,[1]
 In our house
 Having prepared prayer meal,
 Shells,
 Corn pollen,
 Hither with prayers
 We made our road come forth.
 This way we directed our roads.
 Yonder on all sides our fathers,
 Priests of the mossy mountains,
 All those whose sacred places are round about,
 Creatures of the open spaces
 You of the wooded places,
 We have passed you on your roads.
 This day
 Prayer meal,
 Shell,
 Corn pollen
 We offer to you, my fathers.
 Offering these to you,
 Four times we offer them to you.

[1. The priestly bundles.]

You of the forest,
 You of the brush,
 All you who in divine wisdom,
 Stand here quietly,
 Carrying your waters
 You will go before
 Thus to Itiwana
 Our roads will go.
 The water filled rooms of your daylight children
 Your road will enter.
 Sitting down quietly,
 After a blessed night
 With us, your children,
 You will come to day.
 To-morrow
 When he who holds our roads,
 Our sun father,
 Coming out to stand at his sacred place
 Passes our roads,
 Then we shall pass one another on our roads.
 The divine ones
 From wherever they abide permanently
 Will make their roads come forth.
 They will come.
 And where they sit down quietly
 All of us shall pass one another on our roads.
 For our fathers,
 Our mothers,
 Those who first had being,
 And also for our fathers,
 Rain maker priests,
 Rain maker p?ekwins,
 Rain maker bow priests
 For their rite
 We shall give our plume wands human form.
 We have given our plume wands human form,
 With the massed cloud wing
 Of the one who is our grandfather,
 The male turkey,
 With eagle's thin cloud wings,
 And with the striped cloud wings

And massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer;
 And with the flesh of the one who is our mother
 Cotton woman,
 Even a rough cotton thread,
 A soiled cotton thread
 With this four times encircling our plume wands
 And tying it about their bodies,
 We have given our plume wands human form.
 Then also with the flesh of our mother,
 Black paint woman,
 Covering them with flesh,
 We have prepared our plume wands.
 When our plume wands were ready,
 Saying, "Let it be now."
 Taking our plume wands,
 Our plume wands which had been finished,
 Rising, we came out of our house.
 With prayers we made our roads come forth.
 At the place called since the first beginning
 Rock wedge,[2]
 Where our fathers,
 Rain maker priests,
 In their rain-filled inner rooms[3]
 Were all gathered together in beauty
 To receive their plume wands,
 There we passed them, on their roads.
 Passing them on their roads
 There we gave our fathers plume wands,
 Our fathers,
 By means of their divine wisdom
 Laid hold of their plume wands.
 On all sides
 They will talk together, touching one another with the plume wands,[4]
 Yonder at the north encircling ocean
 You will hold discourse together touching each other with them.
 And then also
 Yonder at the west encircling ocean,
 You will hold discourse together,
 Touching one another with them,
 And then also yonder toward the south,

[2. A shrine in the mountains southwest of Zuñi, used by the priests and by personators of the masked gods.

3. Inside the spring. Springs are the homes of the rain makers.

4. The prayer sticks constitute the means of communication.]

You will hold discourse together,
 Touching one another with them;
 Then also yonder toward the east,
 You will hold discourse together, touching one another with them.
 Then also above
 You will hold discourse together, touching one another with them;
 And then also in the fourth womb,[5]
 You will hold discourse together, touching one another with them.
 You will encircle the world with your discourses.
 My fathers,
 Grasping your plume wands,
 You will see your plume wands.
 You will see whether they have been finished with precious paint,[6]
 Or else are unfinished.
 With your spittle,
 With your flesh,
 With your divine wisdom,
 They will be made over afresh into human beings;
 They will be strong.
 From wherever you abide permanently
 You will make your roads come forth.
 Your little wind blown clouds,
 Your thin wisps of clouds,
 Your great masses of clouds
 Replete with living waters,
 You will send forth to stay with us.
 Your fine rain caressing the earth,
 Your heavy rain caressing the earth,
 Here at Itiwana,
 The abiding place of our fathers,
 Our mothers,
 The ones who first had being,
 With your great pile of waters
 You will come together.
 When you have come together
 Our mothers,

Our children,
 All the different kinds of corn,
 Nourishing themselves with their father's waters
 Tenderly will bring forth their young.
 Clasp[ing] their children[7]
 All will finish their roads.
 Then our children,
 Our ladder-descending children,
 Will gather you in.
 Into all their houses.
 You will make your roads enter.
 To stay there quietly.
 Then also tenderly
 Their young will multiply
 Multiplying our young,
 Those toward whom our thoughts are bent,
 You will live.
 You will not think to hurry to some other place.[8]
 Indeed, this shall not be.
 But always in their houses
 You will remain at rest.
 In order that our children's thoughts may be bent to this,
 For this you are our father,
 You are our mother;
 For this you who first had being,
 Perpetuating your rite of the first beginning
 Sit here quietly.
 Holding all your country,
 Holding all your people,
 You sit here quietly.
 Even as you sit here quietly,
 Even as you listen to us,
 We pray to you.
 With your words,
 Divine ones,
 With your words
 You hold all your people.
 Do not let any one fall from your grasp[9]
 When he has gone but a little ways!
 In order that this may not be,
 Our father,
 Our mother,
 The one who first had being,

Even as you listen to us
 We pray to you.
 Our father,
 Our mother,
 The one who first had being,
 Keeping your days,
 Your days that have already been made,

[5. The fourth underground world, the place of origin of the people.

6. Paint which has been brought from the underworld. It is the property of the priests. A tiny bit added to ordinary black paint makes the prayer stick "finished" (telikinan ya:na) as distinct from the "unfinished" or "worthless" prayer stick (telikinan cimato).

7. The young ears, wrapped in their leaves.

8. When the spirit of the corn leaves the country the ears in the storerooms shrivel up and waste away.]

We pass our days.
 Whenever your days are at an end,
 Then we shall fulfill our thoughts.
 Our mother,
 The one who first had being,
 To wherever you abide permanently,
 To your fourth inner room,
 You will make your road go in.
 Then again, holding your country,
 Holding your people,
 You will sit down quietly for us,
 Therefore as children to one another
 We shall always remain.
 My child,
 My mother,
 According to my words,
 Even so may it be.
 Do not let go of your people;
 Let not your thoughts be thus.
 Let no difficulty befall any of our daylight children,
 Our ladder descending children,
 When they have gone but a little ways on their road!
 That this may not be
 I commission[10] you with my prayers.
 Because of my words
 You will sit down quietly.

This many are the days,
 And when your days are at an end,
 You will sit down quietly.
 Although we say we have fulfilled your thoughts
 No! we have not yet fulfilled your thoughts.
 Our office never lapses.
 When we come to another day,[11]
 Then again eagerly awaiting your rite
 We shall pass our days,
 For the winter eagerly waiting
 We shall pass our days.
 This is all.
 Thus with plain words,
 My father,
 My mother,
 My child,
 Thus you sit down quietly.[12]

[10. Literally, "I set you up outside the door," used of appointing an object or person to any ceremonial or civil office.

11. The next period of retreat. The rite is handed down in a self-perpetuating group through the generations.

12. The last part of the prayer refers to the bundle on the altar rather than the prayer stick offering.]

PRAYER OF A PRIEST DURING HIS SUMMER RETREAT

This many are the days,
 Since those who are our fathers,
 Those who are our mothers,
 The ones who first had being
 5 k^?ä'etoew:
 Tcu'eto:we
 Had kept for them their days.
 This many days,
 Anxiously waiting,
 10 We passed our days.
 When all these days were past,
 Now we have come to the ap
 pointed time.
 Our fathers,
 Our mothers,
 15 In your fourth inner room

You stay quietly.
 This day we have reached the appointed time.
 Our fathers,
 20 Our ancestors,
 Yonder, you who were priests
 when you were alive,
 We have reached your appointed time.[13]
 This day
 25 Your day has been made.
 The one who is my father,
 The one who is my mother,
 Four times I shall hold you fast.

[13. In the songs used during the retreat all the deceased members of the priesthood as far back as tradition goes are invoked by name--a notable exception to the taboo on the use of the names of the dead. The dead priests who abide with the rainmakers are believed to be present in spirit. The sense of continuity is stronger in the priestly rituals than in other Zuñi rites.]

30 This day
 With the flesh of the white corn,
 Prayer meal, commissioned with our prayer,
 This day with prayer meal
 35 Four times we shall spread out the mist blanket.[14]
 We shall fashion the house of massed clouds,
 We shall fashion the life-giving road,
 Four times we shall fashion your spring.
 40 This day,
 My father,
 My mother,
 Four times I shall set you down quietly.
 Four times you will sit down quietly.
 45 Holding all your world,
 Holding all your people,
 Perpetuating your rite had since
 the first beginning,
 You will sit down quietly among us.
 When you have sat down,
 50 At your back,
 At your feet,
 We shall sit down beside you.
 Desiring your waters,
 Keeping your days for this

55 We shall pass our days.
 Our fathers,
 Rain maker priests,
 Rain maker P?ekwins,
 From wherever you abide permanently
 60 You will make your roads come forth.
 To the one whom you call father,
 To the one whom you call mother,
 Four times with all your waters
 65 To us your mother,
 Your fathers,
 You will come.
 In order that you may thus come to us,
 Our father,

[14. The meal painting on the altar.]

70 Our mother,
 Perpetuating your rite had since the first beginning,
 This one[15] sits quietly here.
 Your day is made.
 Keeping your days we pass our days.
 75 Our mothers,
 The ones who first had being
 Keeping your days,
 We pass our days.
 That all our fathers,
 80 Our mothers,
 Our children,
 That all these may be filled with the water of life,
 Anxiously awaiting the making of your days,
 85 We have passed our days.
 Our children,
 All the different kinds of corn,
 All over their earth mother
 Stand poor at the borders of our land.
 90 With their hands a little burnt,
 With their heads a little brown,
 They stand at the borders of our land.
 So that these may be watered with fresh water
 95 We keep your days.
 That all our children
 May nourish themselves with fresh water

Carefully they will rear their young,
 100 And when our daylight children
 Have nourished themselves with fresh water
 We shall live happily
 All our days.
 This is all.
 105 Thus speaking plain words
 I set you down quietly.

THE P?EKWIN GOES INTO RETREAT

The retreat of the p?ekwin follows next after the priests of the four directions. He is priest of the sun, and is associated, according to Mrs. Stevenson, with the zenith. This association, however, does not seem firmly fixed.

[15 The sacred bundle.]

The p?ekwin has no eton:e or priestly bundle. He has pots of black paint brought from the underworld and undoubtedly other ceremonial paraphernalia. But his altar lacks the water and seed-filled reeds which constitute the most sacred and potent possessions of the other priests. He is thought to be so pure in heart that he has no need of magic to make his prayers effective. Therefore, before going into retreat he plants his prayer sticks not at a spring, but in his corn field. He does not bring back a jug of the sacred water of some spring to place on his altar. For the first part of his retreat "he tries himself." He sits down before an altar consisting only of his paint pots on a painting of meal. It lacks even the bowl of medicine water. As soon as the first rain falls he may mix his medicine in the fresh rain water. If no rain falls, he must continue until the end without even this frail aid to prayer. He is tested at each retreat, and it is always a point of special note whether or not his days are blessed with rain.

The following prayer is recited at the beginning of his retreat. The first part is spoken outside when he plants his prayer sticks, the latter half after he returns to his home.[16]

This many are the days,
 Since the new year,
 The cycle of the months of our fathers,
 The ones that first had being.

This many days
 We have awaited our time.
 It has come to summer.
 My fathers,
 My mothers,
 10 The ones that first had being,
 Your day goes on.
 Not long ago,
 At the middle of the year[17]
 I made my fathers' days.[18]
 15 This many were the days of the rain makers of all directions,
 And now that my fathers' days are at an end,
 20 Yonder, wherever the roads of the rain makers come forth,[19]
 Where people pray to finish their roads,
 There you stand at the borders of our land,
 Male willow, female willow.
 Four times breaking off the straight young shoots,

[16. Dictated by a man formerly associated with the Priesthood of the Water Serpent.

17. The summer solstice. The pekwin plants several times at this time. After that he must keep count of the days and see that each priesthood goes in on schedule time.

19. The retreats of the four chief priesthoods.

20. At springs and along watercourses.]

25 To my house
 I brought my road.
 Sitting down quietly,
 Throughout a blessed night
 With our children[20] we came to day.
 30 This day, my fathers,
 You who here were p?ekwins,
 You who used to take care of the world,
 You who used to be chiefs of the downy feather,[21]
 35 And furthermore, my sun father,
 My child,
 This day,
 When you came out standing to your sacred place,
 40 This day

In my house
 For your rite
 I fashioned plume wands in human form.
 With the striped cloud wing of my father,
 45 Male turkey,
 With the striped cloud wing of oriole, p?ekwin priest,[22]
 Arid blue jay, p?ekwin priest,
 And the wings of all the different birds of summer,
 With these four times
 I gave my plume wands human form.
 With the flesh of my mother,
 My grandmother,
 55 Yucca fiber,
 Cotton woman,
 Even a soiled cotton thread,
 With these I gave my plume wands human form.
 With the flesh of the one who is my mother,

[20. The willow sticks.

21. Prayer sticks offered to the sun, the moon, and the rain makers are made with downy feathers of the eagle. After planting these sticks the suppliant must refrain from animal food for four days. The downy feather is considered the p?ekwin's because he always plants to the sun. The other priests use it when rain is urgently needed and thereafter must abstain from animal food. Prayer sticks to the ancestors, deceased members of societies or priesthoods, and the katcinas are made with turkey feathers. It is as guardian of the calendar that the p?ekwin "takes care of the world,"

22. The bird associated with the north. The birds of the six directions are the p?ekwins or heralds of the directions. The p?ekwin, who is the herald of the sun, is frequently referred to as, "all the birds of summer, p?ekwins." The feather of the blue jay is the feather of the priests which they are entitled to wear in the hair on ceremonial occasions.]

60 The one who first had being,
 Black paint woman,
 With her flesh making the flesh of my plume wands,
 I gave them human form,
 Saying, "Let it be now."
 65 Taking my plume wands,
 The plume wands which had been prepared,
 I made my road come forth.
 I made my road go forth.

Somewhere in my water-filled fields[23]
 70 I passed my earth mother on her road.
 My fathers,
 My ancestors,
 You who used to be p?ekwins,
 You who used the downy feather,
 You who used to take charge of the world,
 75 And furthermore my child,
 My father,
 Sun,
 My child, my mother, moon,
 My fathers,
 80 Divine ones,
 This day
 I give you plume wands.
 Taking your plume wands,
 There where you abide permanently,
 85 Clasp them in your arms,
 Caressing them,
 With your supernatural wisdom,
 You will distribute them amongst you.
 After a little while
 To my house
 90 My road will reach.
 Making your days, I shall pass the days.

[He deposits the plume wands, then he returns to his ceremonial house, sets up his altar, which consists of dishes of sacred black paint and bowls of prayer meal. The prayer continues:]

This day, my fathers,

[23. He plants in his cornfield, not at a sacred spring.]

95 You who are my child, sun,
 You who are my mother, moon,
 This day
 I have passed you on your roads.
 This day, upon the flesh of the white corn,
 Prayer meal,
 Breathing my prayers
 Four times I have spread out your mist blanket;

I have fashioned your cloud house;
 105 I have fashioned your road.
 Now that this is at an end
 Your days are made.
 After a little while
 From where you abide permanently
 110 You will make your road come forth.
 Yonder from the south,
 Where, they say, is the abiding place of summer,
 My fathers,
 Send forth your quick breath.[24]
 115 Send forth your massed clouds to stay with us,
 Stretch out your watery hands,
 Let us embrace!
 To Itiwana you will come
 With all your people,
 120 Hiding behind your watery shield[25]
 With all your people;
 With your fine rain caressing the earth,
 With your heavy rain caressing the earth,
 Carrying your weapons,
 125 Your lightning,
 (Come to us!)
 Raise the sound of your thunders!
 At Itiwana
 With your great pile of waters
 May you pass me on my road.
 That this may be
 I have made your days.
 When your days are at an end,
 Meeting me with all your waters,
 May you stay with us,

[24. The sudden showers of summer, which at Zuñi always come from the southeast.

25. The rain makers cover themselves with clouds as a warrior with his shield.]

135 Do not cause people to speak ill of your days,[26]
 But with waters caressing the earth
 Let your days be filled.
 With your waters

140 You will pass me on my road.
 Those which all my ladder descending children
 Have sown with magical rites,
 All the different kinds of corn,
 Yonder all over their earth mother,
 145 They stand poor at the borders of our land.
 With their hands a little burnt,
 With their heads brown,
 They stand poor at the borders of our land.
 That these may be nourished with fresh water,
 150 Thus runs the thought of my prayer.
 When the time of my days is at an end,
 Though I say "my days are at an end,"
 No--it is not so.
 155 Waiting anxiously until another day comes
 We shall pass the days.
 My fathers,
 Now I have fulfilled your thoughts.
 This is all.

THE BOW PRIEST IN RETREAT IN SUMMER

On the day the p?ekwin comes out of retreat in summer the bow priest begins to count days. He is not a rain priest. He has no altar; he has no rain-making fetish; his sacred possessions are associated rather with war. Therefore, instead of remaining in meditation and prayer in his ceremonial house, he makes offerings at the various shrines of the gods of war on mountain tops around Zuñi. The first day he goes to the north, to Twin Mountains; the second day to the west--the place actually visited is a shrine to the south on a knoll near the road to the Salt Lake. The third day he goes to the south, Face Mountain, a shrine southeast of Zuñi; the fourth day to the east, a knoll near the Black Rock road. At each of these shrines he offers corn meal and turquoise with prayers for rain and fertility. He offers these in his capacity of priest rather than as warrior.

[26. The p?ekwin is severely criticized should it fail to rain during the days of his retreat. Criticism does not fall so heavily on other priests should they fail.]

This many days,
 Making the days of my two fathers,
 The ones who hold the high places,[27]
 5 Keeping their days,
 I have lived.
 My fathers,
 Rain maker priests,

Rain maker p?ekwins

And you, far off at the fourth rim of the encircling ocean,

10 You who are our fathers, rain maker bow priests,

Tsik^?ähiya,[28] K^?älhawani,[28]

From wherever you abide permanently

Send forth your misty breath;

Your little wind blown clouds,

15 Your thin wisps of cloud,

Your black streaks of cloud,

Your masses of clouds replete with living waters,

You will send forth to stay with us.

With your fine rain caressing the earth,

With your heavy rain caressing the earth,

20 With your great pile of waters here at Itiwana

You will pass us on our roads.

Desiring this, my fathers,

I have made your days.

25 When you pass me on my road

All my ladder descending children

Will refresh themselves with your living waters.

That the crowns of their heads may sometimes be wet with dew,

In order that this may be

You, my fathers, yonder on all sides,

[27. Or "those who guard the housetops"--the twin gods of war.

28. Supernaturals associated in their dual capacity of warriors and rain makers with Sudden thunder storms. They live in springs and have long streaming hair. (Tsik^?ähiya means "quick moving hair.") A dirigible which flew over Zuñi some years ago was identified with K^?älhawani, who books "like an icicle " when he appears to mortals. K^?älhawani is sometimes impersonated in mask with a tablet headdress and long flowing hair reaching to his knees. The third supernatural usually mentioned with Tsik^?ähiya and K^?älhawani is Kupictaiya (cf. Keres Kopicaiya), called by Mrs. Stevenson lightning makers. There is some confusion in the minds of the Zuñi as to whether these are individuals or classes of supernaturals. The latter is more in keeping with Zuñi ideology.]

30 You who dwell in high places,

For this you live at sacred places

Round about on all the mossy mountains.

My fathers,

To all your ladder descending children

35 You will grant your power.[29]

In order that my children may have strong hearts
 It is now your day.
 From wherever you stay permanently
 Your massed clouds filled with living water, may you send forth.
 40 Making your road come forth from
 where you stay permanently,
 With your rain caressing the earth,
 With your terrible lightning,
 Make your thunders resound!
 45 At Itiwana may you pass me on my road.
 When you have passed me on my road,
 My mothers,
 My children,
 All the different kinds of corn,
 50 Nourishing themselves with their fathers' waters,
 Tenderly will bring forth their young.
 When they have finished their roads,
 When they are old,
 55 My children,
 My ladder descending children,
 Will bring in their children,
 All the different kinds of corn,
 Into their houses.
 That they may always be the ones toward whom our thoughts bend,
 60 For this all my children carefully have reared their young.
 All my children
 Will make their roads come into their houses.
 Staying there permanently,
 Your young increasing,
 You will always remain.

[29 Or weapons.]

65 That the thoughts of my ladder
 descending children
 May bend to this,
 That this may be,
 My fathers,
 Thus runs the thought of my prayer.
 Thus all my children
 70 May always be well provided with seeds.
 Desiring this,
 I watch over our daylight fathers,

The ones who here have in their keeping
 The rites of our fathers,[30]
 Those who first had being,
 Our daylight fathers,
 Who perpetuate the rites which they hold in their keeping,
 The rites of those who first had being;
 80 Sitting down among my daylight fathers
 Watching over my fathers--
 That one am I.
 My fathers,
 You know me well.
 85 Do not let me be a poor person.[31]
 My fathers,
 You who hold the high places, your representative am I.
 I have a bandoleer,[32]
 I have an armllet,[33]
 90 Because of this
 I am my father's mouth.[34]
 All my ladder descending children,
 All of them I hold in my hands,
 95 May no one fall from my grasp
 After going but a little ways--
 Those yonder toward the east,
 In all the villages that stand against the place of the rising sun,

[30. The priests who possess sacred bundles. The bow priests are their messengers and the guardians of their secret rites.

31. A person with no ceremonial prerogatives.

32. A bandoleer embroidered with shells and containing hair from the scalps which he has taken since his installation as bow priest. It is a dangerous object which the warrior hangs by the door to protect the house. It is too dangerous to be brought into back rooms. Its contaminating influence must be kept especially from seeds and water.

33. An arm band embroidered in shell, part of the warrior's regalia.

34. The twin deities who led the people out from the underworld are called "the mouth of the sacred bundles" (K[^]?ä'eto:we a wan a^watin:e). These individuals, while distinct from the twin gods of war, are not unrelated See origin myth, p. 549.]

100 Even to all those villages
 That stand against the place of the setting sun,
 Even every little bug,
 Even every dirty little bug,
 Let me hold them all fast in my hands,
 105 Let none of them fall from my grasp--
 In order that this may be,
 My fathers,
 I ask you for life.
 May my children's roads all be fulfilled;
 May they grow old;
 110 May their roads reach all the way to dawn lake;
 May their roads be fulfilled;
 In order that your thoughts may bend to this,
 Your days are made.
 Now your days are at an end.
 Whatever I have wished
 115 I have spoken
 All our prayers which we have completed for each other;
 Thus I have fulfilled our thoughts.
 Eagerly awaiting until it shall be another day,
 Until the winter,
 120 I shall now pass my time.
 My fathers,
 Your waters,
 Your seeds,
 Your riches,
 Your power,
 Your strong spirit,
 All this you will grant us;
 May my road be fulfilled,
 May I grow old,
 Even until I go with strong hands grasping a bent stick,[35]
 Thus may I grow old.

[35. That is, leaning on a cane, a common symbol for long life and old age. At the winter solstice the feather offerings of society members all contain bent prayer sticks as a prayer for old age.]

IV. PRAYERS OF THE WAR CULT

THE BOW PRIEST MAKES PRAYER STICKS AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

My two fathers,
 You who dwell in high places[1]
 Ma?ase:wi[2]
 Uyuye:wi
 5 For you it is the new year.
 Since it is the new year,
 All the beings that dwell in mossy mountains,
 The beings who dwell in shady places,
 The forest beings,
 10 The brush beings,
 Oak being
 Willow being[3]
 Red willow being[3]
 lhanilhkowa being[3]
 15 Cottonwood being
 Taking the straight young shoots of all these,
 These we shall make into prayer plumes.
 For my fathers,
 20 The divine ones,
 I have destined these prayer plumes.
 When my fathers
 The divine ones
 Take hold of their prayer plumes,
 25 When they clothe themselves with their prayer plumes,
 Then all to my children
 Long life,
 Old age,
 All good fortune whatsoever,
 30 You will grant;
 So that I may raise corn,
 So that I may raise beans,
 So that I may raise wheat,
 So that I may raise squash,
 35 So that with all good fortune I may be blessed.

[1. The gods of war, whose shrines are on mountain tops. The phrase might also be rendered as "those who guard the housetops."

2. The Keresan name for the elder of the two gods of war. His Zuñi name, which is esoteric, is Matsailema. According to Mrs. Stevenson he is the younger brother. Both this name and that of Uyuye:wi were unknown to the interpreter to whom the prayer was read, but her father, who carves the image of the younger brother, knew the names.

3. The identifications are uncertain.]

PRAYERS BEFORE GOING ON A WAR PARTY

Before going on the warpath the bow priests are summoned to their ceremonial house. The chief bow priest addresses them:

Now this many days
 Because of the thoughts of the enemy
 Our thoughts have been troubled;
 5 Our appetite has failed.
 This very day
 That by which they live,
 Turquoise,[4]
 To my fathers I have offered
 At all their abiding places.
 11 Yonder into the enemy's country
 We shall take the warpath.
 Because of the enemy,
 Because of their thoughts,
 15 We wish in vain see one another,[5]
 We can not see him of whom we think.
 Because it is thus,
 To be avenged
 We have made up our minds.
 20 My children,
 You shall set your minds to be men.
 You shall think to provide yourselves with good weapons.
 Then, perhaps, we shall have the good fortune,
 To get that which we wish,
 25 That for which we ask--
 Namely that with the enemies' flocks,
 Their clothing,
 Their precious stones,
 Their good shell beads,
 30 That with these our houses may obtain hearts,
 For this we have sent forth our prayers.
 Waiting anxiously until the appointed time shall come,
 Cleansing our hearts,
 Cleansing our thoughts,
 35 Thus shall we live.
 Indeed we shall not be alone.

Because yonder all about
Abide our fathers.

[15. Turquoise, above all else, the gift to the gods of war.

16. Some of our number have died.]

40 Spreading word about among them,
You will think to give them good turquoise.
To this end, my children,
Through all the time set aside for them,
Eagerly you will await their day.
After a good night
May you come to day.
And to-morrow
50 After a good day may you come to evening.
And as each day comes,
Eagerly may you wait their day.
55 May your thought not be vacillating.
Indeed, though I call myself poor,
Far off I shall have someone for my father.
60 For there is one who by virtue of the dry bow[6]
Holds us all as his children.
His representative am I.
Asking for life from him
65 I shall add to your breath.
And furthermore,
Emerging into the daylight
Yonder on all the mossy mountains
All about they have set their sacred places,[7]
70 The ones who hold the high places,
Ahayuta yellow,[8]
Blue,
Red,
White,
75 Many colored,
The dark one,
These were bow priests.
Holding us as their children
80 They abide in all their sacred places
round about.
To all these places
Sending forth my prayer to them,

[6. Pi'lhan k?usna, dry bow, used metaphorically for the war chief. The supernaturals, in this case the war gods, exert power through their human representatives.

7. At the time of the emergence.

8. The war gods, as inhabitants of their six shrines, associated with the six directions.]

I ask for their life-giving breath,
 85 Their breath of old age,
 Their breath of riches,
 Their breath of waters,
 Their breath of seeds,
 Their breath of fecundity,
 90 Their breath of power,
 Their breath of strong spirit,
 Their breath of all good fortune of which they are possessed--
 Asking for their breath,
 95 And into my warm body drawing their breath,
 I shall add to your breath.
 To this end, my children:
 May You be blessed with life.

The date for starting is set. Any man who wishes to join the party tells the bow priests, and the destination is determined according to the size of the party. During the interval offerings are made by the bow priests at the various shrines referred to in the preceding prayer. The night before they leave all volunteers meet at the ceremonial house of the bow priests. Each man deposits prayer meal, corn pollen, and some precious material--shell, turquoise, red paint, or iridescent black paint--in each of four corn husks. These are immediately taken to four distant shrines, by the elder and younger brother bow priests, the war chief, and the society chief of the bow priesthood. On reaching the shrine the emissary says:

How are you this evening?
 (He answers himself, speaking in the person of the god:)
 Happy. Have you come? Sit down.
 Now, indeed, you have passed us on our roads.
 5 Indeed, words not too long your words will be.
 If you let us know what they are,
 Always we shall remember them.

Is it not so?

THE MAN: Indeed it is so.

10 As you know,

To all your different abiding places

I have gone about,

With words of taking our road into
the enemy's country.

15 To-morrow upon that

The sun will arise.

THE GOD: Is that so?

That must not be,

We can not part with you.

20 THE MAN: Nevertheless there is no choice.

To do that very thing I have made up my mind.

And furthermore,

Thinking to bring you fine shell,

Prayer meal,

Corn pollen,

Red paint,

Sparkling paint,

Eager for this I have passed my days.

30 Now this day

We have reached the appointed time.

Therefore we have passed you on your road.

THE GOD: Is that so?

Nevertheless, in spite of your speaking thus,

35 We can not part with you.

We have your plume wands,

We have your shells,

We have your prayer meal.

THE MAN: Yes, that is why I have spoken words

40 Of going to the enemy's country.

Because on account of the enemy's thoughts

Our children have been destroyed.

45 Our flocks have been destroyed.

Because of the enemy's thoughts,

We wish to see our relatives,

And thinking of them we fail in it.

50 THE GOD: Is that so?

Very well, although we cherish you,

You think thus.

Our elder brothers yonder,

The ones who abide in different places,
 55 Do they also know it?
 THE MAN: Yes, certainly.
 At all their abiding places,
 I have bent down to speak to them.

60 THE GOD: Well, the one who is my elder brother,
 The one who stays at Long House Top,
 Does he know?

THE MAN: Yes, at a time when he knows it I pass you on your road.

THE GOD: The one at Echo's abiding place, does he know?

THE MAN: Yes, even when he knows,
 I have passed you on your road.

65 THE GOD: The one who stays Where the rainbow bends over,
 Does he know?

THE MAN: At a time when he knows,
 I have passed you on your road.

THE GOD: Those yonder, where all talk together,
 Do they know?

THE MAN: Yes, when they already know,
 70 I have passed you on your road.

THE GOD: Very well. Now, perhaps, you have taken thought for
 your good weapons?

THE MAN: Yes, I have taken thought.

THE GOD: Very well,

75 Our father, our child,
 You shall set your mind to be a man.

Truly you shall not be alone.

Perhaps all your fathers,
 80 In all their different abiding places,
 Are in agreement.

THE MAN: Now this night,

My prayer meal,

My shell,

85 My corn pollen,

My sparkling paint,

My red paint,

My water roll,[9]

You have taken.

90 If you let me know how the world will be

How the days will be

That I shall always remember.

[9. The cigarette.]

He goes off a little way, and sitting down waits for an omen. The four messengers return at the same time to the ceremonial house and report what they have seen. Plans are made according to the divinations.

PRAYERS OF THE SCALP DANCE

Whenever an enemy is killed the slayer, if not already a member of the bow priesthood or one of the other two warrior societies, the Hunters (Saniak[^]?äkwe) or the Cactus Society (K?ocikwe), must immediately join the bow priesthood to protect himself from the malevolence of the slain enemy. The initiation takes place in the course of the scalp dance which is held to celebrate the victory. The purpose of the scalp dance is twofold. First, to purify the scalper from the contaminating contact with the dead and make him safe for human association and by placing him under the protection of the war gods, through membership in their cult, the bow priest hood, save him from pursuit by the ghost; the second purpose is to propitiate the dead enemy, strip him of his power for evil, and turn to good account his potentialities as a rain maker. This propitiation of the scalp is primarily the office of the scalp chief, who also retains guardianship of the scalps reposing in the scalp house.

Accompanying these important secret rites of purification and propitiation are the great public festivities. Throughout the twelve days of the ceremony unrestrained merrymaking accompanied by sexual license is indulged in by young and old of both sexes. These three strands run side by side, all culminating in the great ceremonies of the final day.

The order of events in this long and elaborate ritual has been described in the accounts by Mrs. Stevenson[10] and Doctor Parsons[11] with varying emphasis on the different aspects, according to the affiliation of the informants.

For convenience in reading the following prayers the events may be briefly summarized.

The returning war party camps overnight outside the village. At dawn four men chosen to announce their return ride toward the village uttering their war cry. They are met by the scalp chief, who inquires concerning the exploits of the war party.

During the day the scalp chief secretes the scalp at a distance from the village in a diminutive shelter of brush. The scalper and his "elder brother," the member of the bow priesthood who has "caught " the novice, take turns in watching over it. Toward evening they go through a sham conflict and take the scalp, bringing it to a place on the plain where p?ekwin has prepared an altar. Here they are met

[10. Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 578.

11. Scalp Ceremonial at Zuñi.]

by men and women appointed to take part in the coming ceremonies, the priests, the scalp chief, the bow priesthood, the Ant Society, the guardians of war bundles, and the male populace. There is ceremonial smoking by all present. Prayer sticks are planted by the scalper in a near-by ant hill, and many songs are sung and prayers offered. Finally the scalp is placed on the foot of the aunt of the scalper, who kicks it four times. Encircling the village four times, in counterclockwise circuit, the party goes in. The scalp is set upon a tall pole in the plaza amid general rejoicings, and the period of festivity is announced first by p?ekwin and then by the bow priest.

The scalper goes into retreat in the ceremonial house of the bow priests. For four days he eats no meat or grease or any hot food. He sits away from the fire, sleeps little, does not speak, and is untouchable. He drinks emetics and goes out each morning to pray for deliverance from the scalp. He must also observe the sexual taboos placed upon the widowed.[12] The woman who brought in the scalp must also observe all these taboos. The days are spent in preparation for the final ceremonies.

On the fifth day the scalp is washed by two men appointed for this purpose. Thus is the enemy received into the company of the rain makers who Eve in the scalp house. Meanwhile the public festivities have begun. There are public dances each day, two selected groups performing on alternate days, while at night young and old of both sexes dance about the scalp pole.

About the sixth day a man of the Deer clan and a man of the Bear clan start work on the images of the gods of war. On the twelfth night these and all their paraphernalia are taken into the house of the bow priests. Here, in an all-night ceremony, the novice is finally taken into their

company to share their supernatural prerogatives, including the special protection of the gods of war.

The following day is the "great dance." The images of the gods of war, the various war bundles, and the chief priestly bundles are set up on an altar in the plaza, behind which sit all the high officials of the Zuñi hierarchy. Throughout the day various dancers take turns in dancing before this altar. Toward evening the bow priests sing the songs given them at the institution of their society by the gods of war.

After this the altar is demolished and the meal painting obliterated. The sacred bundles are returned to the houses where they are kept. The images of the gods of war are taken to their houses by members of the bow priesthood, and next day carried to appropriate shrines (not the ones that are visited during the winter solstice). Late at night the scalp is removed from the pole by the scalp chief and deposited by him in the scalp house, with special prayers for protection in his dangerous office.

[12. See p. 632.]

The following prayers represent but the least fragment of this complex ritual. They deal almost entirely with the office of scalp chief; that is, the propitiation of the scalp. They were dictated by an old man, a son of a former scalp chief, now deceased.

At dawn the scalp chief meets four men who announce the return of the war party:[13]

Now, neglecting your children,
 Neglecting your wives,
 Yonder into the country of the enemy
 You made your road go forth.
 5 Perhaps one of the enemy,
 Even one who thought himself virile,
 Under a shower of arrows,
 A shower of war clubs,
 10 With bloody head,
 One of the enemy,
 Reached the end of his life.
 Our fathers,
 Beast bow priests,
 15 Took from the enemy,
 His water-filled covering,[13a]
 Now you will tell us of that,

And knowing that we shall live.
20 Is it not so?

The four announcers reply:

Indeed it is so.
Neglecting our children,
Neglecting our wives,
Yonder into the enemy's country
25 We made our road go forth.
Indeed it is so.
We started out.
We went.
Yonder at Rock Cave we arrived.
30 There we spent the night.
Early next day we arose.
We went on.
At Ox-Eye-Place

[13, Twenty-third Ann Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 579.

13a. K[^]?acima po?'yan:e, the scalp. The usual ceremonial appellation.]

35 We arrived.
There we spent the night.
Next day we went on.
Yonder at Cattail Spring we arrived.
There, when we arrived at their camp site,
We attacked them.
There this one,
(And one of the enemy)
Fought together. . . .

(The account breaks off here. The informant lacked imagination to continue the narrative of the exploits of the war party.)

In the evening the scalp is brought into the village.[14] At the close of the ceremonies on the plain the scalp chief deposits in an excavation between two mounds of bread which he collected earlier in the day at the houses of the priests. The offering is specifically to the slain Navaho.

This day
Into the corn priests'[15] country,
You will make your road enter.

With the fruit of the corn priest labor
 5 You will add to your heart.[16]
 So that if any of the corn priests
 ladder descending children
 Should by mistake cut off you road,[17]
 No evil consequence [18] may come to him because of it.
 10 And furthermore,
 You who are my grandfather,
 Male turkey, [19]
 Weakening the enemies' hearts,
 You will remain here always.
 15 So that your children,
 Their breath drifting hither only,
 When they attain their house,
 They will make their roads come in.[20]
 Longing for them
 20 You will live.
 To this end, add to your hearts.

[14. See Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 581.

15. The priests, hence Zuí.

16. He offers bread cooked in the houses of the priests.

17. Cross their road while they encircle the village.

18. i'yatonan:e, literally, an exchange, especially bad dreams or hallucinations-- the usual means whereby supernaturals punish the breaches of mortals-- provided, always, proper precautions are not taken.

19. Wing feathers of the male turkey, which had lain on the meal painting, are deposited in the bole with the food. Turkey feathers are used on prayer sticks for the dead.

20. May more of the enemy be killed and brought in thus.]

After the scalp has been set up in the plaza the p?ekwin addresses the people:

Now this day
 This many of the children of the corn priests,
 Neglecting their children,
 Neglecting their wives,

5 Went out yonder into the enemy's country.
 Then suddenly, one of the enemy,
 Even one who stayed quietly in his hut,
 10 Even one who thought himself a man,
 In a shower of arrows,
 In a shower of stones,
 In a shower of war clubs,
 With bloody head,
 15 The enemy
 Reached the end of his life.
 The ones who are our fathers,
 Beast bow priests,
 With their claws,
 20 Tore from the enemy
 His water-filled covering.
 Into the country of the corn priests
 The enemy made his road enter.
 25 Four times encircling the town,
 The corn priests water-filled court
 He made his road enter,
 In the corn priests' water-filled court
 30 Setting him up,
 When his days are made,
 Eagerly you shall await his time.
 When all the enemy's days are passed,
 35 When those who are our fathers,
 Rain maker priests,
 With their fresh waters
 Have sprinkled the enemy,[21]
 40 Whenever his day is made,
 Tirelessly unwearied
 You shall pass the time.
 For indeed, the enemy,

[21. The washing of the scalp on the fifth day.]

45 Even though he was without value,
 Notwithstanding he was a being of this kind
 Yet he was a water being;
 He was a seed being.
 50 Desiring the enemy's waters
 Desiring his seeds
 Desiring his wealth
 Eagerly you shall await his day.
 55 Whenever his days are made,
 Throughout the days,
 Throughout the nights,

Tirelessly, unwearied,
 60 You shall live.
 Indeed, even though you ache from singing,
 Even though you fain would sleep,
 In order to win the enemy's waters,
 65 His seeds,
 His wealth,
 His power,
 His strong spirit,
 To win these.
 70 Throughout the nights
 Throughout the days,
 Tirelessly, unwearied
 You shall live.
 Then indeed, if we are lucky,
 To some little corner
 Where the dust lies thick,
 (You will steal away.)
 In order to procreate sturdy[22] men
 And sturdy women,
 Tirelessly you will live.
 To procreate strong males,
 To procreate sturdy females,
 85 To be the ones toward your thoughts may bend,
 Eager for this,
 You will keep the days.
 For indeed, the enemy,
 Even though on rubbish[23]

[22. Children conceived at this time are under the special protection of the gods of war, and are therefore especially strong.]

23. The Navajos have no cultivated crops.]

90 He lived and grew to maturity,
 By virtue of the corn priests' rain prayers
 (He becomes valuable;)
 Indeed, the enemy,
 Though in his life
 95 He was a person given to falsehood,
 He has become one to fortell
 How the world will be,
 How the days will be.

That during his time,
 100 We may have good days,
 Beautiful days,
 Hoping for this,
 We shall keep his days.
 105 Indeed, if we are lucky,
 During the enemy's time
 Fine rain caressing the earth,
 Heavy rain caressing the earth,
 (We shall win.)
 110 When the enemy's days are in progress,
 The enemy's waters,
 We shall win,
 His seeds we shall win,
 His riches we shall win,
 His power,
 115 His strong spirit,
 His long life,
 His old age,
 In order to win these,
 120 Tirelessly, unwearied,
 We shall pass his days.
 Now, indeed, the enemy,
 Even one who thought himself a man,
 In a shower of arrows,
 125 In a shower of war clubs,
 With bloody head,
 The enemy,
 Reaching the end of his life,
 130 Added to the flesh of our earth mother.
 Beast bow priests,
 With their claws,
 Tore from the enemy
 His water-filled covering.

135 Then the enemy
 Into the corn priests' country
 Made his road enter.
 Now shout!
 O -----.
 Again--
 O -----.
 Again--

O -----,
 Once more--
 O -----,
 P?u-hu hu
 Huh hu
 We -----

The elder brother bow priest addresses the people in the same vein.
 Then the scalp chief offers to the scalp a handful of bread saved from
 his earlier offering.

Now, this day
 That you have been set up
 In the corn priests' rain-filled court,
 All the children of the corn priest
 5 Will be dancing for you.
 All the children of the corn priest
 Will pass you on your road.
 They will add to your heart.
 10 Should anyone by mistake touch you
 May no evil consequence befall him because of it.
 With this fruit of the corn priests' labor
 Add to your heart.
 Your long life,
 15 Your old age,
 Your waters,
 Your seeds.
 Grant them.
 To cleanse the thoughts
 20 Of whoever has angry thoughts,
 For this you will stand up here.

After four days the scalp is washed at any spring outside the town or in
 the river. Care is taken that the water used for the washing does not
 flow back into the river to bring death to those who drink of it. The
 scalp washer bites the scalp to get the power of the beast gods. "He acts
 like an animal," and therefore he does not need, in order to save his life,
 to observe the taboos generally required by contaminating contact with
 the dead. Prayer sticks are planted before the ceremony. At the
 conclusion the bowl is broken and cast away and offerings of food are
 thrown about on the ground. During the ceremony of washing, the
 choir sings new songs made for the occasion and the scalp washer
 prays:

Now this day
 Our sun father,
 Having come out standing
 To his sacred place,
 A little space yet remains
 Ere he goes in to sit down at his other sacred place.
 Now four times raising our niece,[21]
 10 And making her stand up,
 Her road going first,
 Hither with prayers,
 We have made our road come forth.
 Here, near by, our fathers,
 15 Rain maker bow priests,
 Where your watery road comes forth,
 Where you are waiting,
 We have passed you on your road.
 We have offered you plume wands.
 20 Taking your plume wands,
 With them you will take firm hold
 Of the enemy's water-filled covering.
 With your fresh water
 25 You will sprinkle him.
 Then again, if your hands go first,
 Our hands following,
 We shall meet no evil consequence.[25]
 You who are our fathers,
 30 Rain maker bow priests,
 K[^]?älhawan:i,
 Tsik[^]?ähaya,
 K[?]upictaya
 Beast bow priests,
 35 By virtue of your thoughts
 The enemy
 Reached the end of his life.
 When with your clear water
 You have sprinkled the enemy,

[24. Brothers' daughter; i. e., the scalp. The rite of head washing is always performed by the paternal aunt. No explanation is given for inversion of sex.

25 That is, from contact with the scalp.]

40 When into the corn priests' country
 He has brought his road,
 When in the corn priests' water-filled court
 He has been set up,
 All the corn priests' children
 45 With the song sequences of the fathers,
 Will be dancing for him.
 And whenever all his days are past,
 Then a good day,
 50 A beautiful day,
 A day filled with great shouting,
 With great laughter,
 A good day,
 With us, your children,
 55 You will pass.
 Thus the corn priests, children
 Winning your power,
 Winning your strong spirit,
 Will come to evening.
 To this end, my fathers,
 60 Now let us take hold of our niece.

After the dancing of the last day the scalp chief takes down the scalp.
 He and his associates remain in hiding on the outskirts of the village
 until midnight. Then they proceed singing to the scalp house. Each has
 under his tongue several grains of black corn to prevent pursuit by the
 ghost.[26] The scalp chief places the scalp in the jar in the scalp house
 and prays:

Now this many are the days
 Since the enemy
 Reached the end of his life.
 Our fathers,
 5 Those who hold the high places,
 Best bow priests,
 Tore from the enemy
 His water-filled covering,
 Into the corn priests' country,
 They made his road enter.
 10 And in the corn priests' water-filled court
 Standing him up,
 They made his days.
 This many are the days.

And when the set number of days
had all been counted up,

[26. Compare with use of black corn to bring forgetfulness of dead relatives.]

15 Way back, when all these days had past,
The ones who are our fathers,
Rain maker priests,
With their clear water
Took firm hold of him.[27]
20 Again in the corn priests' court
Setting him up, they made his days.
This many days
The corn priests' children
25 With their fathers' song sequences
Have consumed in dancing.
Then yesterday,
When the number of their days was at an end,
Those who are our fathers,
30 The two who hold the high places,[28]
With their elder brothers' plume wands,
Their prayer feathers,
Their shells,
In these wrapping themselves they renewed their human form.[29]
35 Holding their world,
Holding their people fast,
Sitting down quietly,
With us their children
After a blessed night[30]
They came to day.
40 This very day
When he who is our sun father,
Coming out standing to his sacred place
Passed us on our roads,
45 Saying, let it be now,
Those who are our fathers,
The ones that first had being,[31]
Came out standing
Into the daylight of their sun father.
Near by, in the corn priests' court,
Our two fathers,

The ones who hold the high places,
With all their sacred things

[27. The washing of the scalp.

28. The gods of war. The allusion is to the making of the images.

29. The completion of the images.

30. In the house of the bow priests.

31. The sacred war bundles, and the bundle of the chief priesthood.]

55 Made their roads enter.

Yonder from all sides,

Those who are our fathers,

All the water bringing birds,

P?ekwins, priests,[32]

60 Made their roads come forth.

They made their roads come hither.

With his hand,

With his heart

His fathers' cloud house he fashioned,[33]

Their mist blanket he spread out,

65 Their life-giving road he sent forth,

Their perfect spring he prepared;

Then our two fathers,

Those who hold the high places,

With their house chiefs,[31]

70 Their p?ekwins,

Holding all their sacred things

Sitting down quietly

Throughout a blessed day,

With us, their children, they came to evening.

75 When the one who is our sun father

Had gone in to sit down at his sacred place,

And our night fathers,

Our night mothers,

80 Night priests,

Slowly rising to their sacred place,

Had passed us on our roads,

We passed you on your road.

85 You, Navaho priests,[35] have died.
 Truly during your lives
 You dealt falsely,
 Although that was your nature in life,

[32. There is only one p?ekwin, but he is the representative or human counterpart of all the summer birds. The translation is unavoidably awkward.

33. The meal painting on the altar.

34. K^?äk?'wa:mosi, the first priesthood of the hierarchy.

35. The inmates of the scalp house.]

90 Recently, by virtue of the corn priests water-bringing words,
 You have passed one another on your road.
 When you reveal to us[36]
 How the days will be,
 How the world will be,
 Knowing that,
 We shall pass our days.
 To this end, my nieces,[37]
 Add to your hearts.
 So that your people you may waft hither only,
 So that you may speed them hither,
 On this do not fail to fix your thoughts.[38]
 This is all.

He deposits the scalp in the scalp house, replaces the cover and comes back to the village. On his way back he mounts to four housetops, leaving on each a grain of black corn "to make his road dark." At his own house the ladder has been turned upside down. As soon as he has mounted it, it is righted so that the ghost can not follow him up. He comes into the house without speaking, hangs up his blanket and goes right out. Standing on the housetop facing the east, holding in his hands what yet remains of the black corn, he prays:

This many are the days
 Since our children
 Neglecting their little ones,
 Neglecting their wives,
 5 Yonder into the enemy's country

Made their road go forth.
 Presently, even where the enemy
 Stayed peacefully in their huts
 Our fathers,
 10 The ones who hold the high places,
 Having commanded the enemy to be as women,
 In a shower of arrows,
 A shower of war clubs,
 15 With bloody head,
 The enemy reached the end of his life.
 Our fathers,
 Beast bow priests,

[36. The scalp chief hopes for some omen at this time.

37. The scalps.

38. May we kill more of the enemy and imprison them here to serve our ends.]

20 With their claws,[39]
 Tearing from him his rain filled covering,
 Commanded him to be the one to count those who have their homes
 above--
 All little sparkling stars.[40]
 The enemy,
 30 Having added to the flesh of our mother earth,[41]
 Hither into the corn priests' country,
 He made his road go.
 35 When his road came here to Itiwana,
 Our two mothers,
 Taking hold of him fast,
 The country of the corn priests,
 Four times successively encircling
 Into the corn priests' rain filled court
 Making their roads come in,
 There they set him up.
 His days were made.
 45 When we had lived eagerly awaiting his days,
 The rain maker priests,
 With their fresh water,
 50 Took firm hold of the enemy.
 Then the days were made
 For those who hold the high places.

Through all these days,
 Mindful of their days,
 55 You came to the time.
 Then yesterday,
 Our two fathers,
 Those who hold the high places,
 Once more assuming human form,
 60 After a blessed night
 With us their children
 They came to day.
 This day[42]
 When he who is our sun father

[39. Sa'wanika, any weapon, and abstractly, power.

40. The fallen enemy is left face upward and commanded to count the stars; that is, taunted to do the impossible.

41. His blood fertilizes the earth. Wherever an enemy falls is formed an ant hill--a symbol, probably, of fecundity. Therefore prayer sticks are planted in ant hills, and the Ant society figures prominently in scalp-dance ceremonies.

42. By this time it is nearly day. The images of the war gods are taken to appropriate shrines, where they replace older ones which are removed and placed on a pile of similar ones behind the shrine.]

65 Has come out standing to his sacred place,
 Saving, let it be now,
 Our two fathers,
 The ones who hold the high places,
 70 Yonder will pass their elder brothers on their roads.
 Wherever they pass the divine ones on their roads
 Taking their places,
 They will sit down quietly.
 75 Yonder on all the mossy mountain tops,
 All about they will have their sacred places.
 All the forests
 All the brush
 Being made representatives in prayer
 80 That all the corn priests' children
 May hold fast to life;
 That this may be so,
 The divine ones,

Taking one another's places,
 Sit down quietly.
 85 Holding all their world,
 Holding all their people fast,
 They will sit down quietly.
 And then also these others,[42]
 Asking in prayer for life for their children
 They will add to our breath,
 Seeking our relatives,
 Our elders,
 Near-by in all their houses
 95 Wherever they lie sleeping,
 These they will hold fast.
 will have their
 And also our children,
 Those who watch over the ones through which we prosper,[44]
 100 Those who for the sake of their children,
 For the sake of their flocks
 Yonder on all sides
 Wander over their earth mother,
 Who even on the bare ground stand at the edges of our land--

[43. The old images that are laid aside.

44. The herders of sheep.]

105 All these also they will hold fast.
 I have sent forth my prayers.
 Our children,
 Even those who have erected their shelters
 At the edge of the wilderness,
 110 May their roads come in safely,
 May the forests
 And the brush
 Stretch out their water-filled arms
 To shield their hearts;
 115 May their roads come in safely;
 May their roads all be fulfilled,
 May it not somehow become difficult for them
 When they have gone but a little ways,
 120 May all the little boys,
 All the little girls,
 And those whose roads are ahead,

May they have powerful hearts,
 Strong spirits;
 125 On roads reaching to Dawn Lake
 May you grow old;
 May your roads be fulfilled;
 May you be blessed with life.
 130 Where the life-giving road of your sun father comes out,
 May your roads reach;
 May your roads be fulfilled.

Taking out the black corn, he passes it around four times in front of him. Reentering the house, he repeats the prayer, still holding the corn in his hand. At the end, he again passes it around counter clockwise before him, as a rite of exorcism, and sets it aside to be planted in spring. Then his aunts wash his head and bathe him. The following day he deposits prayer sticks at *amitolan tʔepʔoʔulikwi* (where the rainbow bends over), a shrine to the gods of war, located in the canyon southwest of Zuñi. The prayer is similar.

V. PRAYERS AND CHANTS OF THE PRIESTS OF THE MASKED GODS. I

THE COMING OF K[^]ÄKLO

In former times the preliminary initiation of small children took place every fourth year. In these years the chief of the cult group in charge of the K[^]äklo ritual received from the priests at the winter solstice a prayer stick commanding his participation.

The ceremony is held in March or April. Eight days before the actual whipping of the children K[^]äklo appears to announce the approaching ceremony and command those concerned to prepare for it. In each kiva he intones a long chant describing in great detail the mythological sanction of the, coming ceremony.[1] After visiting all the kivas he departs.

After eight days he comes again. Again he visits each kiva, repeating his chant. At dawn he is ready to depart. As he leaves, the gods who perform the initiation ceremonies appear and enter the village.

The following prayer is spoken by the impersonator of K[^]äklo at some time during his preparations for his ceremony, probably at the moment of taking out the mask before his second appearance.

This many are the days
 Since the moon who is our mother
 Yonder in the west a small thing
 First became visible.
 When she reached maturity
 5 Then the one who is my father,
 K[^]äklo, p[?]ekwin priest,
 perpetuating his rite had since the first beginning--
 Yonder from his perfect mountain
 Made his road come forth.
 10 He made his road come hither.
 Into Itiwana his road entered,
 There, wherever the roads of his children come forth
 He made his road enter.
 His words came forth.

[1. The text recorded by Mrs. Stevenson (Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80) is incomplete. This is a telescopic version, a mnemonic device consisting merely of a list of place names at which events and ceremonies described in the fuller version take place. The complete chant, which is intoned in very rapid rhythm, takes about six hours to perform--it is longer even than the sayataca chant. It is in the keeping of a cult group of four men who take turns in impersonating the god.]

15 All the ladder descending children of the corn priest
 Desire the breath of their fathers,
 Priests of the masked gods;
 Since somehow it was not clear to which clan they belonged,
 20 K[^]äklo, p[?]ekwin priest, made his road come hither.
 To all the ladder descending children of the corn priests (he came)
 In order that their children may have someone whom they call their second
 father,
 That they may have one whom they call their second mother,
 25 Now that they have sent for us
 For this we have passed you on your roads.
 I have told off the sequence of your days,
 Anxiously awaiting your time,
 I have told off the sequence of your days.
 30 Seemingly now all the eight days are past,
 It is the ninth night,
 Now all of us

Shall pass you on your roads.
 We shall pass a blessed night together,
 And to-morrow,
 35 When our sun father
 Has come forth standing to his sacred place,
 Throughout a blessed day,
 We shall come to evening.
 When our children
 Into the corn priest's court have brought their roads,
 40 Our fathers,
 Priests of the masked gods,
 With their powerful weapons
 Four times will strike our young ones,
 In order that this may be
 45 We have passed you on your roads.
 This is all.
 Thus with plain words
 We have passed you on your road.
 To-morrow

50 Our young ones
 The plume wands of their fathers,
 Priests of the masked gods
 They will fashion into human form.
 When to our fathers,
 55 Priests of the masked gods,
 We have given these plume wands,
 Then making their days,
 Keeping their sacred days,
 We shall pass our days.
 60 And so, our fathers,
 Your long life,
 Your old age,
 Your power,
 Your strong spirit,
 65 You will give to us,
 So that we may be people blessed in all things.
 Yonder toward the place of dawn
 We shall give our fathers prayer meal.
 70 Anxiously waiting we shall pass our days.
 When all their days are at an end
 With our clear water
 We shall bind our children fast,
 So that their roads may reach to dawn lake
 75 So that our young ones' roads may be fulfilled.

PRAYER OF THE IMPERSONATOR OF P?AUTIWA

P?autiwa is the kadcina chief at Kadcina village. It is he who determines the order of masked rituals and dances, and sends forth masked beings to dance for his daylight children at Zuñi. The great masked ceremonies are held expressly by his order. They can only be held when he commands them at the new year. In folklore he appears frequently in the rôle of the divine lover of mortal maidens.

He appears three times annually at Zuñi--twice during the winter solstice, and at the mola:wia which closes the great masked festival of the late fall. He comes, therefore, at the beginning and end of the year. He is one of the most beautiful of all Zuñi impersonations. The mask is turquoise blue, elaborately adorned with the most precious feathers, in particular the priceless tail feathers of the macaw. He is fully clothed in rich clothing, including four embroidered white cotton blankets and innumerable, strings of the finest turquoise. His gait is slow and stately. He always goes sprinkling corn meal before him. It is altogether an impersonation of the greatest splendor and solemnity.[2]

[2. See pl. I and Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pl. xxviii.]

The winter solstice ceremonies and P?autiwa's part in them are described on pp. 535 and 908.

After P?autiwa has visited all the kivas he goes out toward the West. After undressing, at a point on the river, he is met by men of the Sun clan who escort him to the house of the house chief. Here are assembled all priests of the council, and members of the Dogwood clan. On entering, the impersonator of Pautiwa offers a long prayer recounting the duties of his office and invoking a blessing on the people. The house chief replies, thanking him, and then asks him what he has seen in his rounds of the village. He then relates what omens have been observed in the four excavations. The following prayer recited when he enters the ceremonial room, was dictated by a member of the Dogwood clan:

Now this many are the days
 Since there yet remained a little space
 Ere our sun father
 Stood close beside his left hand sacred place,
 5 When our daylight father of the Dogwood clan,
 P?ekwin, priest,

For his fathers,
 The ones that first had being--
 K^?äeto:we,
 10 Tcu'eto:we,
 Mu'eto:we
 Mu'eto:we Lhe'eto:we
 All the society priests,
 For them he counted up the days.
 15 When we had lived through the full number of his days,
 And when all the days were past,
 He thought of those said to be the bearers of messages
 To all the different directions,
 The forest beings,
 20 The brush beings.
 When for their sun father,
 Their moon mother,
 Our daylight children
 Had counted up the days
 And when we come to the middle division of the days,[3]
 25 Our children,
 Whoever of them thought to grow old,
 Taking prayer meal,
 Taking shell,
 Taking corn pollen,

[3. The fifth day of the p?ekwin's count. This is the traditional day for gathering willow sticks for making prayer sticks. As a matter of fact sticks are brought in at any time.]

30 Yonder toward all directions
 One by one they made their roads go forth.
 Yonder finding those who have been granted domain
 On all the mossy mountains,
 Along the slopes of the mountains,
 In all the shady places,
 36 The forests,
 The brush,
 And at the feet of some lucky one
 40 Offering prayer meal,
 Shell,
 Corn pollen,
 Among their slender finger tips
 45 They looked about.

Breaking off the young green shoots of some lucky one,
 And drawing them toward him[4]
 Even from where they abide quietly,
 50 Holding their long life,
 Holding their old age,
 He brought them hither.
 Now this many days
 In our houses,
 55 With us, their children,
 They have stayed.
 Then, when all their days were past,
 With their warm human hands,
 They took firm hold of them.
 60 For their ancestors,
 Their children,
 The ones who have attained the far off place of waters,[5]
 For their sun father,
 For their moon mother,
 65 For their need
 We prepared plume wands.
 With the massed cloud robe
 Of the one who is our grandfather,
 Male turkey,

[4. Changes from singular to plural, from first to third person, are frequent in Zuni prayers which make little effort toward coherence or clarity of expression. Indeed, obscurity is a prized feature of the style of the men "who know how to pray." Lucidity is characterized as childish.

5. The dead. Sticks are offered to the ancestors, the sun, and the moon.]

70 With eagle's thin cloud wing,
 And with the striped cloud wings
 And massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer,
 With these four times wrapping our plume wands,
 75 We gave them human form.
 With the flesh of our grandfather,
 Giant yucca
 Even a roughly made cord,
 Even a dirty cord,
 80 With this four times encircling the plume wands
 We tied it about their bodies;

With water-bringing hanging feathers,
 We made them into living beings.
 With the flesh of our two mothers,
 Black paint woman,
 85 Clay woman,
 We clothed our plume wands with flesh;
 Giving them flesh, we gave them human form.
 90 Then our two fathers,
 The ones who hold the high places,[6]
 Wrapping themselves in their elder brothers' plume wands,
 Their elder brothers' prayer feathers,
 Their elder brothers' shell beads,
 95 They became living beings;
 Holding all their world,
 Holding all their people fast,
 The two sat down quietly.
 Then while yet a little space remained
 Ere our sun father
 Went in to sit down at his sacred place,
 Yonder from all directions,
 Our fathers, water birds,
 105 P?ekwin priests,
 By means of their supernatural wisdom
 Made their roads come in.[7]
 Having brought their roads hither
 Thinking, "Let it be here,"

[6. The images of the gods of war are carved and setup in the houses of the image makers. See pp. 526, 535.

7. The p?ekwin makes the altar painting in He'iwa kiva. The p?ekwin is here conceived plurally as representative of the summer-bringing birds.]

110 His fathers' massed cloud house he fashioned,
 Their mist blanket he spread out,
 Their life-giving road he fashioned,
 Their perfect spring he prepared.
 115 When all was ready our two fathers,
 The ones who hold the high places,
 And their house chiefs,
 Their p?ekwins,
 Their bow priests,
 120 All with their sacred possessions,[8]

Made their roads come in.
 Perpetuating their rite handed down since the first beginning,
 The two sat down quietly.
 Listening for this,
 125 All the society priests
 Kept to their houses.[9]
 And to wherever they staid in,
 Along a single road
 The divine ones came to them.
 Sitting down quietly
 130 Throughout a blessed night
 With us, their children, they came to day.
 Next day,
 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 Our two fathers,
 135 The ones who hold the high places,
 Met their elder brothers,[10]
 Changing places with them
 The divine ones sat down quietly,
 140 And counted the days for us.
 When all our days were passed in anticipation,
 And when we came to the middle division of the days,
 The ones who are our fathers
 Those of the Dogwood clan

[8. The war gods come into the kiva, followed by the various sacred war bundles, and parts of the rain. making bundles of the chief priesthoods.

9. The priests wait in the kiva until they are visited by the Ne?we:kwe. Then they start their ceremonies, and, on hearing their drum, the other societies that have been waiting start their own ceremonies.

10. The war gods are taken out to their shrines, where they are set up to replace the images of previous years.]

145 Desiring one another sat down in council.
 Among all our ladder descending children
 We looked about.
 Toward whoever was trustworthy
 Our fathers, who once had been thus,[11]
 150 Bent their thoughts,
 Their thoughts following,
 The living ones chose me

To be the one to keep their prayers.
 155 Yonder from all sides,
 From wherever they abide permanently
 The divine ones made their roads come forth.
 They made their roads come hither,
 Their roads went first,
 160 The others followed at their backs.
 Into my house
 The divine ones made their road enter.
 After they had sat down quietly
 165 We in the daylight
 Met one another.
 The divine ones' prayers leading,
 Our words following,
 170 With prayer meal
 We held one another fast.
 That I might be the one to represent our father,
 K[^]?äwulhia, P?autiwa,[12]
 176 My daylight father,
 He of the Dogwood clan who holds this rite,
 For this with prayer meal
 He held me fast.
 180 Now that this many days
 Eagerly we have lived.
 Yesterday the appointed time arrived,

[11. The selection is made by members of the cult group; that is, by former impersonators of the god. The choice is inspired by deceased impersonators.

12. In prayers, he is always referred to under the double name. No explanation of the first part could be elicited. The dual form of the verb and the pronoun is used.]

185 When all my fathers,
 Passed me on my road,
 Yonder from all sides
 The divine ones made their roads come forth.
 190 They made their roads come hither
 Whenever it was that they first took hold of our plume wands,
 In the brush,
 The straight green shoots of some lucky one
 195 Drawing toward them,
 They held them fast.
 Holding in our hands

Plume wands ordained for our two fathers,
 K[^]?äwulhia,
 P?autiwa,

202 Thus we came to evening.

With the massed cloud robe
 Of him who is our grandfather,
 Male turkey,

205 With eagle's thin cloud wing,

With the striped cloud wings
 And massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer,

210 With these four times wrapping our plume wands

We gave them human form;

With the one who is our grandfather,

Giant yucca,

Even a roughly made thread,

215 Even a dirty thread,

With this four times encircling them,

We tied it about their bodies;

With our mothers,

Black paint woman,

Clay woman,

220 With their flesh four times we clothed our plume wands all over
 with flesh,

Putting flesh on our plume wands

We gave them human form.

Then when yet a little space remained

Ere our sun father went in

To sit down at his ancient place

For our two fathers

We made the bundle of wood[13]

The bundle of sticks,[13]

230 The bundle of twigs--[13]

That which is generally called the water terrace.

Then perpetuating their rite had since the first beginning,

The two assumed human form.

Holding all their world

235 Holding all their people fast,

With us their children

They came to day.

When he who is our sun father,

Coming out standing to his ancient place

Passed us on our roads,
 240 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 The divine ones leading
 We following at their backs,
 Yonder to the south,
 245 With prayers we made our road go forth.
 Reaching the place
 Whence my fathers make the
 world over anew,[14]
 250 Representing my father,
 K[^]?äwulhia P?autiwa
 I assumed his person.[15]
 Carrying his waters,
 255 His seeds,
 And carrying my fathers' perfect[16] plume wands,
 I made my road come hither.
 I offered my fathers plume wands,
 260 Praying to know how the world would be,
 I offered my fathers plume wands.
 Drawing my plume wands to them
 How the days will be.

[13. These are three esoteric names for a large bundle of prayer sticks, the common name of which is K[^]ä'etcine, "water steps," so called from the fact that it is arranged like a terraced house, with the longer sticks in the center. With characteristic Zuñi double entendre it might mean also the steps by which the rain gods descend from heaven.

14. P?autiwa comes from the land of summer. Therefore he clothes himself and comes in from the south.

15. He puts on the mask, thereby assuming the form and personality of the god. This power to change one's personality resides in the mask which is the body of the god.

16. The telhna:we or staves of office made by the priests and "finished" with their sacred paint.]

265 They revealed to me.
 Knowing that,
 I prayed that throughout the country of the Corn priests
 Our earth mother might be wrapped
 In four layers of green blanket,

That the land might be full of moss,
 Full of flowers
 Full of corn pollen--
 275 Sending forth prayers that it might be thus,
 I offered my fathers' plume wands.
 Four times I made my road encircle
 The land of the Corn priests
 280 Then yonder, wherever the water roads of my kiva children come
 out,
 I laid down plume wands.
 Then far off to his own country
 My father
 285 Made his road go forth
 Carrying my fathers' plume wands,
 Carrying his prayer meal,
 I made his road go forth.
 290 Far off at the place of the first beginning
 Touching them with my plume wands,
 With all the others he will hold discourse.
 Our fathers will take hold of our plume wands.
 205 Then in that way
 Their long life,
 Their old age,
 They will grant to us.
 300 That our roads may reach to where
 the life-giving road of our sun
 father comes out,
 That we may finish our roads--
 This they will grant us.
 This day in accordance with whatever you wished,
 305 Whatever you wished when you appointed me,
 I have fulfilled your thoughts.
 With thoughts in harmony
 May we live together.

310 For even while I call myself poor,
 Somewhere far off
 Is one who is my father.
 Beseeching the breath of the divine One,
 K[^]?äwulhia P?autiwa,
 315 His life giving breath,
 His breath of old age
 His breath of waters,

His breath of seeds,
 His breath of riches,
 320 His breath of fecundity,
 His breath of power,
 His breath of strong spirit,
 His breath of all good fortune whatsoever,
 Asking for his breath
 325 And into my warm body drawing his breath,
 I add to your breath
 That happily you may always live.
 To this end, my fathers,
 330 My children:
 May you be blessed with light.

VI. PRAYERS AND CHANTS OF THE PRIESTS OF THE MASKED GODS. II

PRAYERS AND CHANTS OF THE CA?LAKO CEREMONIES

During the taboo period of the winter solstice[1] ceremony the priests select men who are to impersonate the priests of the masked gods during the coming year. They are notified of their appointment, and on the final day of the winter solstice are summoned to Hei?wa kiva to receive their staves of office--the feathered staves which the impersonator of P?autiwa left there the night before.

The men who are chosen must be known to be above reproach men of pure heart and kindly disposition, who will not neglect any of the taboos attaching to their office and who will be diligent in their prayers.

Their duties begin the evening of the day on which they receive their sticks of office. Every day at sunrise they must offer meal to the sun with prayers for their people. They must go out of the village toward the east for their prayer. Many Zuñis pray each morning, but on priests and impersonators of the gods this observance is obligatory. Every evening after dark they sacrifice food in the river to the west of the village.

On their first evening following their appointment they start their nightly meetings with the trustees of their ritual to learn the long prayers and complicated rites connected with their office. These nightly meetings continue throughout the year until their days are fulfilled in

November. The 10 Koyemci meet in the house of their father, the impersonators of the priests of the masked gods--Cula:witsi Sayataca, Hututu, the two Yamuhato meet in the house of the impersonator of Sayataca. The little boy Cula:witsi and his ceremonial father are required to attend only the four nights following the planting at the new moon. The Ca?lako impersonators meet formally only on these four nights each month, but hold informal meetings in between. The first prayer that is learned is the one that accompanies the monthly offerings of prayer sticks.

At each full moon all the impersonators plant together at springs in the mountains south of Zuñi.

On these days they gather early in the morning in their ceremonial houses to make their prayer sticks. Long prayers are recited at the conclusion of their work, Then after a feast they leave for the shrines, which lie to the south at a distance of 4 to 8 miles. The prayer sticks are deposited beside the spring in regular order, and long prayers are offered. The impersonators of Sayataca recite the prayer, the others joining in according to the extent of their knowledge. Toward sunset the party approaches the village, marching in regular order across the plains, singing songs of the masked dancers.

Throughout the year each group of impersonators must work for the household which is to entertain them a the great public festival. From midsummer on every day is spent in labor for their hosts. They do all the work of the fields and build the new home in which the gods are to be received.

On the morning of the tenth planting, which takes place early in October, the impersonators of Sayataca and Molanhakto receive from the priest the two day counts--cotton strings containing 49 knots. One knot is untied each morning until the day of the great public ceremony. During this period there are plantings at intervals of 10 days at rock shrines to the southwest of the village.

The public ceremonies start on the fortieth day,[2] with the arrival of the Koyemci in the evening. They come masked, visiting each of the four plazas to announce the coming of the gods in eight days. They then go into retreat in the house of their father, where they remain in seclusion, with the exception of appearances in the plaza, until the festival is concluded fifteen days later.

Four days after the appearance of the Koyemci the Sayataca party come in in the evening and go into retreat in the house of the impersonator of Sayataca. On the same night the Ca?lako impersonators go into retreat in their respective houses.

On the eighth day there is another planting of prayer sticks with elaborate ceremonies at which the gods are summoned from the village of the masked gods.

After they are clothed and masked they approach the village. The giant Ca?lako gods wait on the south bank of the river but the priests of the masked gods--Cula:witsi, Sayataca, Hututu, two Yamuhakto, and two Salimopia--enter the village in mid afternoon. After planting prayer sticks in six excavations in the streets of the village they repair to the house where they are to be entertained for the night. This is always a new or at least a renovated house, and the visit of the gods is a blessing, a dedication. Prayer sticks are planted inside the threshold (formerly under the outside ladder) and in a decorated box suspended from the center of the ceiling. The walls of the house are marked with corn meal. In all excavations in the center of the floor seeds of all kinds are deposited. Similar rites are performed later in the evening by the six Ca?lako and the Koyemci in the houses where they are to be entertained.

[2. That is, if the ceremony is not postponed. However, almost without exception, a postponement of 10 days is necessary.]

After the blessing of the house the gods are seated by the p?ekwin, their masks raised. Reed cigarettes are brought and each god smokes with the person seated opposite him, exchanging with him the customary terms of relationship. Then the host (in the Sayataca house, the village chief serves as host) questions the gods concerning the circumstance of their coming. In the long recital that follows he reviews all the events leading up to the present moment, and invokes upon the house a the blessings of the gods, especially the blessing of fecundity.

This litany chanted in unison by the four leaders (Cula:witsi is not required to learn it) takes about six hours to perform. It is chanted in loud tones and very slowly in monotone, except for the last syllable of each line, which is higher in pitch, heavily accented, and prolonged. The chants of the Ca?lako, which omit the recital of the 29 springs visited by

the gods on their way to Zuñi and curtail other portions, take from one to two hours to perform.

All are finished at about 11 o'clock at night, when an elaborate feast is served in all the houses. After this all the masked personages dance until day in the house of their hosts.

At the first sign of approaching dawn Sayataca ascends to the roof of the house where he has spent the night, and facing the east, unties the last knot in his counting string while he intones another prayer. Returning to the house, he repeats the prayer. He then thanks the members of the society choir who furnished the music during the night. The dancing continues until sunrise, when the heads of all impersonators are washed by the women of the house where they were entertained, as a symbol of their permanent association with these houses.

At about noon, after planting prayer sticks and performing magical ceremonies in a field on the south of the river, the Ca?lako gods and the Sayataca group depart for their home in the west. This closes their year, and the impersonators of the Sayataca group and the six Ca?lako are now free after the exacting period of service. The Koyemci, however, are not yet free. Throughout the year their duties have been heavier. They hold nightly meetings and participate in the monthly plantings of the other impersonators. Furthermore, at all of the dances of the summer series (six in all, lasting from one to eight days) they must come out and "play," observing all the usual taboos from the evening preceding the dance until the final departure. They may appear also in winter, and if they do must observe the same restrictions. If any extra dances are inserted into the calendar in the summer and fall, as frequently happens, the Koyemci are required to attend.

For five nights following the departure of the Ca?lako gods, dancers from each of the six kivas are supposed to visit all the houses which have entertained the gods. Some of them dance in the plaza during the day. Throughout this period the Koyemci remain in strict retreat in the house where they were entertained. At night they dance in their house; during the day they "play" in the plaza and attend any dancers who appear there. These are days of great festivity.

On the fifth evening they eat early and sparingly, and from this time on food and drink are taboo until the following night. Speech also is

forbidden them, nor may they appear unmasked. After they enter upon this period the character of their dancing changes, becoming more solemn. They do not indulge in their usual obscenity. On the following morning they come out early and are taken to be washed in the house of the village chief. Here the women give them gifts of food. On coming out, they are taken by men of their fathers' clans to the houses of their fathers' sisters. Here they receive gifts from all members of the fathers' clan. Each impersonator will receive as many as thirty slaughtered sheep, as many baskets of corn or wheat flour, bread, melons, and miscellaneous gifts of clothing, frequently of great value. The gifts are brought to the plaza, where they remain until night. Meanwhile the Koyemci attend upon the various dancers until later at night.

At nightfall the last of the dancers, the Molawia, have departed. Then the Koyemci, in pairs, visit every house in the village to invoke upon it the blessings of the gods. At each house they receive gifts of food from the female inhabitants. Returning to the plaza, they take their prayer sticks out to plant. They return to the house of their father late at night, and removing their masks for the first time all day give them to their father to return to the house where they are kept. When he comes back he thanks his children for their year of work and sets them free. Then for the first time since the preceding evening they drink, and after eating and bathing return to their homes. Their retreat, fifteen days, is the longest in Zuñi ritual.

The following prayers are only a fragment of the whole ritual. In addition to those recorded there are long series of prayers spoken at the time, of appointment to office, for making prayer sticks, for offering corn meal to the sun (different in summer and winter) and food to the ancestors, for untying the knots of the day count, for each stage of dressing for the public ceremony, and for each offering of prayer sticks. In addition, the host and officials of the Kacina society have many long prayers.

Each of the six Ca?lako impersonations has a different chant, and that of the Koyemci is again different.

**PRAYER OF THE IMPERSONATORS OF THE MASKED GODS WITH
MONTHLY OFFERING OF PRAYER STICKS**

And now indeed it is so.
At the New Year

Our fathers

5 Four times prepared their precious plume wands.

With their plume wands they took hold of me.[1]

This many days

Anxiously we have awaited our time.

10 When the moon, who is our mother

Yonder in the west

As a small thing appeared,[2]

Carrying our fathers' precious plume wand,

15 With our own poor plume wand

Fastened to our fathers' plume wand,

At the place called since the first beginning

Snow hanging, or where snow hangs,

20 To our fathers,

Priests of the masked gods,

Cula:witsi, p?ekwin priest,

Sayataca, bow priest,

Hututu, bow priest,

25 Yamuhakto, bow priests,

To all the masked gods,

(Our plume wands we gave.)

Where they were to receive their plume wands,

All happily gathered together,

There we passed them on their roads.

30 This day

We shall give you plume wands.

Keeping your days,

Throughout the cycle of your months,

Throughout the summer,

35 Anxiously we shall await your time.

Our fathers,

Yonder toward the south

Wherever your roads come out,

We have given you plume wands.

[1. The appointment of the impersonator at the winter Solstice.

2. The new moon. The first planting may be at the new moon or at the fall moon, depending upon how quickly the appointments of the Ca?lako impersonators and the nine Koyemci are made.]

40 When your springs were at an end,

Our fathers,

In their rain-filled room
 Met together.
 45 The flesh of their mother, cotton woman,
 Four times counting up,
 They gave their day counts human form.[3]
 Of our two fathers,
 Sayataca, bow priest,
 50 Molanhaktu, house chief,
 They had need.
 The two passed their fathers on their roads.
 With the flesh of their mother,
 55 Cotton woman,
 Four times counted up, and given human form,
 With this they took hold of them.
 From where our fathers stay,
 Carrying the day count
 60 They made their roads go forth.
 To their own houses
 Their roads reached.
 A little later
 65 Carrying their fathers' day count
 With their plume wands fastened together,
 They made their roads go forth.
 Yonder we took our way.
 70 At the place called since the first beginning.
 Aiyayak^ä,[4]
 Our fathers,
 Rain makers,
 Our fathers,
 75 Priests of the masked gods,
 Where they were all gathered together,
 We passed them on their roads.
 Giving them our fathers' plume wands,
 80 Giving them their day count,
 This many days
 The days of their counting string,
 Anxiously we have awaited our time.

[3. Kohaito, "setting the day for the gods." The presentation of the day count with its 49 knots theoretically fixes the date of the festival. Kohaito may take place at the new moon or the full moon of October.

4. The place used to be Halon Kwaton. See below.]

85 When all their days were past,
 When their day-count was at an end
 Again we prepared plume wands.
 Carrying our plume wands
 At the place called since the first beginning
 90 Rock Face,
 We passed our fathers on their roads.
 Meeting our fathers,
 We gave them plume wands.
 Keeping their days
 Anxiously waiting
 We passed our days.
 100 This many are the days--
 And when their days were at an end,
 Over there, following your springs,
 We gave you plume wands.
 When all your days are past,
 105 Our fathers,
 Priests of the masked gods
 Bow priests of the masked gods
 Cula:witsi p?ekwin priest,
 Sayataca bow priest,
 110 Hututu bow priest,
 Yamuhaktu bow priests,
 Ca?lako bow priests,
 All the masked gods
 There from your home set with mountains,
 115 Bringing your waters,
 Bringing your seeds,
 Bringing all your good fortune,
 Our fathers,
 You will make your roads come forth.
 120 "Yes,[5] now every one of us will come forth.
 Our fathers at Itiwana,
 We shall pass on their roads.
 Let no one be left behind.
 All the men,

[5. From this point to the end the speaker quotes from the Ca?lako chant. The frequent changes of tense throughout the prayer make it impossible to fix it in the calendar. The Zuñi use of tense is not the same as ours.]

125 Those with snow upon their heads,
 With moss upon their faces,
 With bony knees,
 No longer upright, but bent over canes,
 Now all of us
 130 Shall pass our fathers on their roads.
 And the women,
 With snow upon their heads,
 Even those who are with child,
 135 Carrying one on the back,
 With another on the cradle board,
 Leading one by the hand,
 With yet another going before,
 Even all of us
 140 Shall pass you on your roads.
 Indeed, it is so
 The thoughts of our fathers,
 Who at the New Year
 With their precious plume wands
 Appointed us
 146 Their thoughts we now fulfill.
 This is all.
 Thus with plain words we have passed you on your roads.
 150 Now we fulfill the thoughts of our fathers.
 Always with one thought
 We shall live together.
 This is all.
 155 Thus with plain words we have passed you on your roads.
 For whatever our fathers desired
 When at the New Year
 160 They sent forth their sacred words,
 We have now fulfilled their thoughts.
 To this end: My fathers,
 My mothers,
 My children,
 165 Always with one thought
 May we live together.
 With your waters,
 Your seeds,
 Your riches,
 170 Your power,
 Your strong spirit,
 All your good fortune,
 With all this may you bless us."

SAYATACA'S NIGHT CHANT

And now indeed it has come to pass.
 When the sun who is our father
 Had yet a little ways to go to reach his left-hand altar,[3]
 Our daylight father,
 P?ekwin of the Dogwood clan,
 Desired the waters, the seeds
 Of his fathers,
 Priests of the masked gods.
 Then our fathers,[4]
 Sharing one another's desire, sat down together
 In the rain-filled room
 Of those that first came into being.[5]
 Yonder following all the springs,
 They sought those ordained to bring long life to man,[6]
 Those that stand upright,
 But (like the waters of the world),
 Springing from one root, are joined together fast.[7]
 At the feet of some fortunate one
 Offering prayer meal,
 Turquoise, corn pollen,
 Breaking the straight young shoots,
 With their warm human hands
 They held them fast.
 Taking the massed cloud robe of their grandfather, turkey man,
 Eagle's mist garment,
 The thin cloud wings and massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer,
 With these four times clothing their plume wands,
 They made the plume wands into living beings.
 With the flesh of their mother,
 Cotton woman,
 Even a thread badly made,
 A soiled cotton thread,[9]
 Four times encircling their wand they made their belts;[10]
 With rain-bringing prayer feathers
 They made them into living beings.
 With the flesh of their two mothers,
 Black paint woman,
 Clay woman,
 Clothing their plume wands with flesh,
 They made them into living beings.
 When they said, "Let it be now,
 The ones who are our fathers

Commissioned with prayers
 The prayer wands that they had fashioned.
 When the sun who is our father,
 Had gone in to sit down at his ancient place,[11]
 Then over toward the south,
 Whence the earth is clothed anew,[12]
 Our father, K[^]äwulhia P[?]autiwa,[13]
 Perpetuating what had been since the first beginning
 Again assumed human form.[14]
 Carrying his fathers' finished[15] plume wands
 He made his road come hither.
 Wherever he thought, "Let it be here,"
 Into his fathers' rain-filled room,
 He made his road to enter.
 And when our sun father,
 Had yet a little ways to go
 To go in to sit down at his ancient place,
 Yonder from all sides

[3. I. e., the south, therefore, at the winter solstice.

4. The priests.

5. E'to:we, the fetishes of the priests.

6. The red willow, the wood most commonly used for prayer sticks.

7. According to Zuñi cosmology, springs are outlets of a system of underground waters. By analogy, a shrub whose shoots are joined to a common rootstock is used to bring rain.

8. This one is not cut.

9. That is, so long as it is cotton.

10. A characteristic word play, literally, "they brought it around to be tied" or "they reached their belts."

11. Sunset.

12. The south wind and the summer birds bring summer from the south.

13. Mrs. Stevenson calls him komosona (head of the masked god cult) of Kolhuwalawa. He is described as "the highest chief." None of the gods can come to Zuñi save by his order. The plans are made at the New Year, when he leaves the crooks for all the dancers.

14. The impersonator dons the mask and becomes the god, and inversely the god assumes human form. As a matter of fact, in the evening the impersonator comes unmasked, the mask having previously been taken to the kiva.

15. Finished with the special paint used by priests, which was brought from the underworld at the time of the emergence.]

Rain-bringing birds,[16]
 P?ekwin, priest
 From where he stays quietly,
 Made his road come forth.
 Making his road come hither,
 Into his fathers' rain-filled room,
 He made his road to enter.
 With his wings,
 His fathers' cloud house[17] he fashioned
 Their bed of mist[17] he spread out,
 Their life-giving road[18] Is of meal he sent forth
 Their precious spring[19] he prepared.
 When all was ready,
 Our father, K^?äwulhia P?autiwa
 Reaching his house chiefs,[20]
 His p?ekwin
 His bow priests,
 He made his road to go in.
 Following one road,
 Sitting down quietly,
 A blessed night
 The divine ones
 With us, their children, came to day.
 Next day, when our sun father
 Had come out standing to his sacred place,[21]
 Saying, "Let it be now.
 Over there to the south,
 Whence the earth is clothed anew,
 Our father, K^?äwulhia P?autiwa,
 Perpetuating what had been since the first beginning,
 Again assumed human form.
 Carrying his waters,

Carrying his seeds,
 Carrying his fathers' precious plume wands,
 He made his road come forth.
 He made his road come hither.
 The Country of the Corn priests,
 Four times he made his road encircle.[22]
 Yonder wherever all his kiva children's rain-filled roads come out[23]
 His precious plume wands
 He laid down.
 Then turning he went back to his own country.
 My father picked up the prayer plume,
 And with the precious prayer plume
 Me he appointed.[24]
 The moon, who is our mother,
 Yonder in the West waxed large;
 And when standing fully grown against the eastern sky,[25]
 She made her days,
 For my fathers,
 Rain maker priests,
 Priests of the masked gods.
 I fashioned prayer plumes into living beings.
 My own common[26] prayer plume,
 I fastened to the precious prayer plume of my fathers.
 At the place since the first beginning called cotton hanging,
 I brought my fathers[27] prayer plumes.
 Drawing my prayer plumes toward them,

[16. An esoteric designation for the p?ekwin.

17. The meal painting on the altar.

18. A line of meal reaching from the altar to the ladder, along which impersonators walk.

19. The bowl of medicine water placed on the altar.

20. The chief priesthood.

21. Sunrise. P?autiwa enters the village just after sunset. in fact, by the time he has visited all the kivas. It is quite dark. However, the ceremonies on the plain, where he dresses, begin shortly after noon.

22, P?autiwa in coming in at this time encircles the village four times in narrowing circles, symbolic of the search for the middle.

33 At the hatchways of all the kivas; Pautiwa does not enter the kivas. He leaves the plume wands on the roofs. The description is of the leaving of the crooks for the six Ca?lako impersonations. The crooks for the Sayataca group and the Koyemci are brought to He'iwa kiva by the impersonator of Pautiwa when he comes unmasked for the night ceremonies of the New Year. They have already been distributed before his afternoon appearance with the Ca?lako crooks.

34 The "Ca?lako crook" left by P?autiwa is taken by one of the kiva officials who is waiting in the kiva to receive it. He takes it home. Next evening members are summoned to his home for the ceremony of installation. The "crook" contains one long and two short sticks. The long stick and one short one are given to the man who volunteers to entertain the gods. The short stick is planted at the first full moon of the New Year. The long one is kept in the house until the last day of the Ca?lako festival, when it is given to the father of the Koyemci, who plants it with his own prayer sticks that night. The other short stick is given to the impersonator and is planted by him at the first full moon, as described in the following passage.

35. At the full moon.

36. Painted with common paint.

37. His ancestors, the deceased impersonators of Sayataca, and the katchinas.]

They spoke to those inside the place of our first beginning.[28]
 Yonder following all the springs,
 On all the mossy mountains,
 In all the wooded places,
 At the encircling ocean,
 With my prayer plumes,
 With my sacred meal,
 With my sacred words,
 They talked to those within.
 Winter,
 Summer,
 Through the cycle of the months,
 Though my prayer plumes were but poor ones,
 There toward the south,
 Wherever my fathers' roads come out[29]
 I continued to give them prayer plumes.
 And when the cycle of months was at an end

My fathers[30] made their rain roads come in
 To their fathers,
 Their mothers,
 Those that first came into being.
 Sharing one another's desire, they sat down together.
 With the flesh of their mother,
 Cotton woman,
 Even a cord badly made,
 A soiled cotton cord,
 With this four times
 They made the day counts[31] into living beings.
 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 They sent for me.
 I came to my fathers,
 Where they were waiting for me.
 With their day count
 They took hold of me fast.
 Carrying their day count
 I came back to my house.
 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 And carrying the prayer plumes which
 I had prepared,
 Yonder to the south
 With prayers, I made my road go forth.
 To the place ever since the first beginning called "Ants go in,"[32]
 My road reached.
 There where my fathers' water-filled roads come out,
 I gave them plume wands;
 I gave them prayer feathers;
 There I asked for light for you.
 That you may finish your roads,
 That you may grow old,
 That you may have corn,
 That you may have beans,
 That you may have squash,
 That you may have wheat,
 That you may kill game,
 That you may be blessed with riches,
 For all this I asked.
 Then over toward the west[33]
 Where the road of my fathers comes in,
 I gave them plume wands.

And now, when all of their days were past,
Over toward the west,

[28. The rain makers.

29. At various springs in the mountains south of Zuñi. At the present time these are visited in the following order: Uhanaa (snow hanging), January; Alhapatsi (rock wedge), February; At?sinakwi (painted rock), March; Picuk^?aia. (poison water weed spring), April; k^?änulha (mesa wall spring, lit., water against some thing), May; Toloknana, two plantings, in June and July; k^?ate:tcı (evil smelling water), August; Opump?ia (sack of meal hanging), September; Ayayakya (bluebird), October (ko haito). The matter, however, is not so simple, and there are always arguments as to the dates and places of planting. The first planting need not be at the full moon. If the New Year is at the full moon the first planting maybe immediately after or delayed a month. If it takes place the end of January there is disagreement concerning the advisability of planting twice at Toloknana and as to whet tier the last planting at Ayayakya should be made at the full moon or the first quarter. The final decision rests with the personator of Sayataca. No matter when the plantings are made, it is always necessary at the end to postpone the festival because the houses are not ready. This is done after consultation with the p?ekwin, so that the dates may not conflict with his dates for the winter solstice.

30. The priests.

31. A cotton string containing 49 knots. Starting with the following morning, one knot is untied each morning, the last being untied at daybreak the morning the gods go out after their night of dancing in the houses. One such string is given to the Sayataca impersonator, one to the father of the Koyemci.

32. Halon Kwaton, at the foot of Corn Mountain. M. C. Stevenson records ko haito as being made at this place. In 1927 and in preceding years this ceremony took place at Ayayakya, on the opposite side of the valley.

33. Th plantings to the west are at intervals of 10 days They are not at springs.]

Where the gray mountain stands,[34]

And the blue mountain,

Where rain always falls,

Where seeds are renewed,

Where life is renewed,

Where no one ever falls down,[35]

At the abiding place

Of those who are our children,[36]

There I met them on their roads.

There where the one who is my father

Had prepared my seat
 Four times my father[37] sprinkled prayer meal.
 On the crown of my head
 Four times he sprinkled prayer meal.
 And after he had sprinkled prayer meal on his rain seat,
 Following him,
 My prayer meal
 Four times I sprinkled.
 My father's rain seat
 I stood beside.
 My father took hold of me.
 Presenting me to all the directions,[38] he made me sit down.
 When I had sat down,
 My father
 Took his grandson,
 Reed youth.
 Within his body,
 He bored a hole going through him.
 Four times drawing toward him his bag of native tobacco
 Into the palm of his hand
 He measured out the tobacco.
 Within his body
 He placed mist.[39]
 He took his grandmother[40] by the hand,
 And made her sit down in the doorway.[41]
 Having made her sit in the doorway,
 Four times inhaling, he drew the mist through.
 With the mist
 He added to the hearts[42]
 Of the rain maker priests of all directions.
 It is well;
 Praying that the rain makers
 Might not withhold their misty breath,
 With his prayers
 He added to their hearts.
 He handed it to me.
 Four times inhaling,
 Into my body
 I made the mist pass through.
 Then with the mist,
 I added to the hearts of my fathers of all
 the directions.
 When this was at an end,
 We greeted one another with terms of kinship:
 Father,[43]
 Son; elder brother, younger brother; uncle, nephew; grandfather, grand
 son; ancestor, descendant.
 With this many words we greeted one another.
 When all this was at an end,

My father questioned me:

"Yes, now indeed

You have passed us on our roads.

Surely you will have something to say, some words that are not too long."

Thus he spoke to me.

"Yes, indeed it is so.

Back at the New Year,

All my fathers

Desiring something,

With their precious prayer plume

Appointed me.

Yonder toward the south,

At all the places where the roads of the rain makers come out,

[34. Ko?lhuwalawa, kadcina village. Actually the impersonator is dressed, with elaborate ceremonies, at Ak^?ohana t?i'nakwi, a shrine about 2 miles southwest of Zuñi. Here two mounds of corn meal are made to represent the mountains at Kolhwala:wa. Komosona, chief of the kadcina cult, officiates as the "father."

35. I. e., dies.

36. The kadcinas.

37. Sayatca, the god, represented by komosona.

38. Holding his shoulder and moving him gently to the north, west, south, east, up, and then seating him.

39. Cipololon:e, a common wordplay. Cipololon:e means both mist and smoke, ceremonially. The ordinary word for smoke is lhik^?aian:e. The significance of the rite suffers in translation.

40. Fire. In ritual smoking the cigarette is lighted with live coal from the fireplace.

41. At the end of the cigarette.

42. The common terms for offerings to supernaturals, used especially of offerings of smoke and food.

43. Stevenson and Parsons give different translations (See p. 762).]

I have continued to offer you prayer plumes.

Now that the cycle of your months is at an end,

Now that the counted number of your days has been told off

Now that this many days
 Anxiously we have awaited your day,
 Now this day,
 We have reached the appointed time.
 Now I have passed you on your roads."
 Thus I spoke to them.
 When I had spoken thus,
 Hurriedly, without delay,
 My father took hold of me.
 From the very soles of my feet
 Even to the crown of my head
 He clothed me all over with all things needful.
 When all this was at an end,
 Then also with that which is called my belt,
 His prayer meal,
 He covered my navel.
 With his bundle that covered it all over.
 He took hold of me,
 His bundle reached all around my body.
 When all this was at an end,
 Then also the different kinds of seeds four times he placed over my
 navel.[44]
 All different kinds of seeds his bundle contained:
 The seeds of the yellow corn,
 The seeds of the blue corn,
 The seeds of the red corn,
 The seeds of the white corn,
 The seeds of the speckled corn,
 The seeds of the black corn,
 And also that by means of which you may have firm flesh,
 Namely, the seeds of the sweet corn;
 And also those which will be your sweet tasting delicacies,
 Namely, all the clans of beans
 The yellow beans,
 The blue beans,
 The red beans,
 The white beans,
 The spotted beans,
 The black beans,
 The large beans,
 The small beans,
 The little gray beans,
 The round beans,

The string beans;
 Then also those that are called the ancient round things--[45]
 The striped squash,
 The crooked-neck squash,
 The watermelons,
 The sweet melons,
 And also those which you will use to dip up your clear water,
 Namely, the gourds;
 And then also the seeds of the piñon tree,
 The seeds of the juniper tree,
 The seeds of the oak tree,
 The seeds of the peach tree,
 The seeds of the black wood shrub,
 The seeds of the first flowering shrub,
 The seeds of the k[^]apuli[46] shrub
 The seeds of the large yucca,
 The seeds of the small yucca,
 The seeds of the branched cactus,
 The seeds of the brown cactus,
 The seeds of the small cactus;
 And then also the seeds of the wild grasses,
 The evil smelling weeds,[47]
 The little grass,
 Tecukta,
 Kucutsi,
 O'co,
 Apitalu,
 Sutok[^]a,
 Mololok[^]a,
 P[?]iculiya
 Small p[?]iculiya,
 Hamato
 Mitalik[?]o;
 And then also the seeds of those that stand in their doorways,[48]
 Namely the cat-tails,
 The tall flags,

[44. Every masked dancer carries a package of seeds in his belt. It is his "heart." At the close of any dance the priest who thanks the dancers takes some of the seeds to plant. Those carried by Sayataca are planted in the floor of the house he dedicates. (See p. 873.)

45. Native squashes.

46. An unidentified shrub sometimes used for prayer sticks.

47. None of these have been identified. Many are food plants.

48. The doorways of the rain makers, the springs.]

The water weeds,
The water cress,
The round-leafed weed;
Across my navel
His bundle reached.

And then also, the yellow clothing bundle[49] of the priest of the north
The blue clothing bundle of the priest of the west,
The red clothing bundle of the priest of the south,
The white clothing bundle of the priest of the east,
The many colored bundle of the priest of the above
The dark colored bundle of the priest of the below;
Across my navel
His bundle reached.

When all this was at an end,

My father spoke to me:

"Thus you will go.

Your daylight fathers,

Your daylight mothers,

Your daylight children

You will pass on their roads.

And wherever you come to rest,

We shall come to you.[50]

Assuredly none of us shall be left behind--

All the men,

Those with snow upon their heads,

With moss on their faces,

With skinny knees, no longer upright, and leaning on canes,

Even all of these;

And furthermore the women,

Even those who are with child,

Carrying one child on the back,

Holding another on a cradle board,

Leading one by the hand,

With yet another going before,

Even all of us,

Our daylight fathers,

Our daylight mothers,

Our children,
 We shall pass on their roads."
 Thus my father said.
 Having spoken thus,
 He took hold of me.
 Presenting me to all the directions he made me arise.
 With his prayer meal
 Four times he sprinkled his water filled ladder.
 After him,
 Four times I sprinkled my prayer meal.
 Taking four steps,
 Four times striding forward,
 Standing, I came out.
 [Having come out standing,
 Yonder to all directions I looked;[51]
 I looked toward the north,
 I looked toward the west,
 I looked toward the south,
 I looked toward the east.
 Hither, toward the place of dawn,
 I saw four roads going side by side.
 Along the middle road,
 Four times my prayer meal I sprinkled.
 There I made the sound of the water-filled breath of the priest of the
 north.[52]
 Taking four steps,
 Four times striding forward,
 To the place known since the first beginning as Great Lake,[53]
 My road came.
 Where my father's road comes out
 I stood in the doorway.
 That which formed my belt,
 My prayer meal,
 Four times sprinkling inside,
 I opened their curtain of scum.[54]
 After that,
 Four times sprinkling prayer meal inside
 Standing I came in.
 When I came in standing,

[49. U'tenan he'k?un:e. A word of esoteric meaning; utenan:e is clothing and ornaments, any movable wealth. It is not the ordinary word for clothing. P?ekwin possesses hek?une instead of e'tone. In the Corn dance the leaders carry

hek?une on their heads. P?ekwin makes it, and no one knows what it contains inside the rich wrappings. 'U'tenan hek?une seems to be a symbol of wealth.

50. The gods who are believed to be present in spirit on this night.

51. At this point in the prayer the chief wo?le rises and whirls a rhombus, symbolizing the breath of the rain makers.

52. The north wind. Wind brings rain.

53. One of the springs at which the a:'ciwi stopped on their journey in search of the middle place.

54. In this case he actually enters the spring. The term, "to open the scum," is, however, used esoterically to refer to the entrance of any impersonator into a kiva or other ceremonial room.]

My father[55]

Hurrying without delay

Where he had prepared his rain seat,

His prayer meal

Four times he sprinkled.

On the top of my head

His prayer meal

Four times he sprinkled.

After him

Four times sprinkling my prayer meal,

My father's rain seat

I stood beside.

As I stood up beside it

My father took hold of me,

Yonder to all the directions presenting me,

He made me sit down.

Having seated me

The one who is my father

Took the water bringing cigarettes which he had prepared.

Four times drawing it toward him,

He took his grandmother by the hand

And made her sit down in the doorway,

Four times inhaling, he drew the mist through.

With the mist

He added to the hearts of fathers,

Rain maker priests.

Thus it is well; around,
 In order that the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath.
 With mist he added to their hearts.
 When all this was at an end,
 My father handed it to me.
 Four times inhaling, I drew the mist through.
 Into my body drawing the misty breath,
 With the mist
 I added to the hearts of my fathers.
 This is well;
 In order that the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath,
 With mist I added to their hearts.
 When all this was at an end,
 We greeted one another with terms of kinship:
 Father,
 Son; elder brother, younger brother; uncle, nephew; grandfather,
 grandson; ancestor, descendant.
 With these words we greeted one another.
 When all this was at an end
 My father questioned me:
 "Yes, now at this time
 You have passed us on our roads.
 Surely you will have something to say, some word that is not too long,
 If you let us know that,
 I shall know it for all time."
 Thus my father spoke.
 When he had spoken thus, (I answered)
 "Yes, indeed it is so.
 Yonder to the south,
 Following wherever your roads come out,
 I have been bringing you prayer sticks,
 I have been bringing you prayer feathers.
 Now this day,
 Having reached the appointed time,
 I have passed you on your roads."
 "Is that so. With plain words you have come to us.
 We are clothed with your prayer sticks;
 We hold your prayer meal;
 With your prayer plumes in our hair we are sitting in here waiting.
 Here where we are just standing
 Where we are just sitting on our haunches,
 You have come to us.
 When the sun who is our father

Has yet a little ways to go,
 Before he goes in to sit down at his sacred place,
 Nearby your daylight fathers,
 Your daylight mothers,
 Your children,
 You will pass on their roads.
 Wherever you come to rest,
 All together we shall come to you. All the men,
 Those with snow upon their heads, with moss upon their faces,
 With skinny knees,
 No longer upright but leaning on canes;
 And the women,
 Even those who are with child,
 Carrying one upon the back,
 Holding another on the cradle board,

[55 The inhabitants of the spring, differently interpreted as rain makers, some special, unnamed class of beings living in springs, or simply alhacina'we, the ancestors.]

Leading one by the hand,
 With yet another going before.
 Yes, with all of these,
 Your daylight fathers,
 Your daylight mothers,
 Your children,
 You will pass on their roads.
 And wherever you come to rest
 We shall come to you."
 Thus my father spoke.
 When he had spoken thus,
 He took hold of me.
 Yonder to all the directions
 Presenting me
 He made me arise.
 After he had made me arise
 With his prayer meal
 His water-filled ladder
 He sprinkled.
 After him sprinkling my prayer meal
 Standing, I came out.][56]
 Coming out standing
 Yonder to all directions I looked.

I looked to the north,
 I looked to the west,
 I looked to the south,
 I looked to the east,
 Hither toward Itiwana [57] I saw four roads going side by side.
 Along the middle road,
 My prayer meal
 Four times I sprinkled before me.
 Then I made the sound of the rain-filled breath of the rain maker priest
 of the below.
 Taking four steps,
 Four times striding forward,
 Where descends the watery road.
 Of my daylight fathers,[58]
 My daylight mothers,
 I stood.
 Then I consecrated[59] the place
 Where my father's watery road descends.
 That none of his children might fall from the ladder,[60]
 Having still one rung left to go,
 Having still two rungs left to go,
 Having still three rungs left to go,
 Having still four rungs left to go;
 In order that none of his children should fall down
 I consecrated the place where his watery road descends.
 When all this was at an end
 The one who is my father
 On the crown of my head
 Four times sprinkled prayer meal.
 On his watery wood pile[61]

[56. The bracketed portion is repeated unchanged, except for two words, for the other 28 springs visited by the A'ciwi during their migrations. In addition to substituting the names of the springs, the different winds are invoked in the following order: West, south, east, above, below, north, west, etc. The springs are visited in the following order which is not that of the ca?lako (see p. 771): 2, te'wulh i'ti-wa pik^?aia le?ana k^?anakwi, the place called water cress in the valley; 3, he?i pateikwi, cliff dwelling; 4, ha'nhipink^akwi, place of stealing; 5, k^?ana pa'lhtokwi, last spring; 6, k^?ana i'tiwakwi, middle spring; 7, t'o'pa pi'k^?aiakwi, the other watercress spring; 8, ko'lowisi k^?akwekwi, Kolowisi's home; 9, p?atsik^?anakwi, dripping spring; 10, p?o'cowakwi, grass bending over; 11, lw:k^?anakwi, ashes spring; 12, to'seluna k^?a'nakwi, cat tail spring; 13, a'miltolan k^?a'iakwi, rainbow spring; 14, k^?äpkwenakwi, water flowing out (Ojo Caliente); 15, wa'tsita^nakwi, dog's corner; 16, ca?lak?onakwi, ca?lako place; 17, u'hanakwi, snow hanging place; 18, a'lhapatsikwi, rock wedge place; 19,

a't?sinakwi, pictograph place; 20, pi':cuk^?aiakwi, poison water weed spring; 21, k^?ä'nula-kwi, mesa wall spring; 22, to'loknanakwi (no translation); 23, k^?ä':tetcikwi, evil smelling water; 24, o'p?ump?iakwi, where the sack of flour hangs; 25, a'yayak?akwi, bluebird place; 26, ha'lon kwa'tonankwi, where ants go in; 27, t'o'wa yä'lakwi, Corn Mountain (substitute "toward Itiwana:" for "toward the east"); 28, matasak^a hepatina le?ana k^?anakwi, the place called matsak^a hepatina; 29, k?o'lin k^?ai'akwi e'tsak^a hepatinakwi, sulphur spring, commonly called hepatina.

57. The middle; i. e., Zuñi. The word in common use is ci'wina:kwi.

58. The outer ladder. Sayataca still enters through the roof. None of the prayers make any mention of the planting of prayer sticks in the six permanent excavations in the street of the village. In 1927 these were visited in the following order: T?ek^?alhnawa, o'na:wa, pa'llhtowa, tsi'a?a:wa, hek^?äpawa, te'?witolha'na. Their house was in the large plaza. In these excavations Cu'la:witsi, Sa'yataca and Hu'tutu deposit telikina t?sume (strong prayer sticks) to the Uwanami of the six regions. They are colored with the appropriate colors.

59. He deposits a double prayer stick just inside the threshold of the door, where every one passes. This was formerly planted under the ladder. Like those placed in the roof, these are colored blue and yellow and are male and female, respectively.

60. That is, die before their time.

61. K?äcima t?apela is an archaic expression for a load of firewood made by laying short sticks across two long poles.]

Four times he threw prayer meal upward.
 Then after him,
 My prayer meal
 Sprinkling before me,
 Where my father's water-filled road ascends
 I made my road ascend.
 The one who is my father
 Four times sprinkled prayer meal before him.
 After him
 Four times sprinkling prayer meal before me,
 Standing, I came in.
 As standing I came in
 I could scarcely see all my fathers,
 So full was his house.
 Then my father's rain-filled room

I rooted at the north,[62]
 I rooted at the west,
 I rooted at the south,
 I rooted at the east,
 I rooted above,
 Then in the middle of my father's roof,[63]
 With two plume wands joined together,
 I consecrated his roof.
 This is well;
 In order that my father's offspring may increase,
 I consecrated the center of his roof.
 And then also, the center of my father's floor,
 With seeds of all kinds,
 I consecrated the center of his floor.[64]
 This is well;
 In order that my father's fourth room
 May be bursting with corn,
 That even in his doorway,
 The shelled corn may be scattered before the door,
 The beans may be scattered before the door,
 That his house may be full of little boys,
 And little girls,
 And people grown to maturity;
 That in his house
 Children may jostle one another in the doorway,
 In order that it may be thus,
 I have consecrated the rain-filled room
 Of my daylight father,
 My daylight mother.
 When all this was at an end,
 The one who is my father[65]
 Four times sprinkled prayer meal
 Where he had prepared my seat.
 Following him,
 Four times sprinkling prayer meal before me,
 Where my father had prepared my seat,
 I stood beside it.
 My father took hold of me.
 Presenting me to all the directions, he made me sit down.
 After my father had seated me,
 The rain invoking cigarette which he had prepared
 My father drew toward him.
 He took his grandmother by the hand

And made her sit in the doorway.
 Having seated her in the doorway,
 Four times inhaling he made the mist pass through;
 Into his body
 He drew the misty breath.
 With the mist he added to the hearts of his fathers.
 This is well:
 That the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath,
 With mist
 He added to the hearts of his fathers.
 He handed it to me.
 Four times inhaling I made the mist pass through;

[62. Consecrating the walls of the house. Each of the impersonators makes one stroke downward on each wall, using for this purpose whatever he is carrying. Cula:witsi uses his torch, Sayataca, Hututu, the two Yamuhakto use their telhna:we, the Sälimopia their yucca. This is not done above and below.

63. In the decorated box made to receive them. The box is called teckwin:e, the word used for any permanent or temporary altar or sacred place. The sticks are painted blue and yellow; the blue one is male, the yellow female, The female has a face painted on one side. They are deposited with the face toward the east. They are called wihawe, "babies." This term is used for prayer sticks in the excavations visited by P?a'utiwa at the New Year, from which he foretells the future, and for the dolls given at the winter solstice ceremonies to barren or unlucky women to insure conception or safe delivery.

64. The seeds are deposited in a permanent excavation carefully concealed. Sometimes at the winter solstice articles of clay are deposited in this excavation.

65 P?ekwin seats the personators in the Sayataca house, and they smoke with the priests. (See M. C. Stevenson.)]

Into my warm body
 I drew the misty breath.
 With mist I added to the hearts of my fathers.
 This is well:
 That the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath,
 With mist I added to their hearts.
 When all this was at an end,
 We greeted one another with terms of kinship:
 Father,
 Son, elder brother, Younger brother; uncle, nephew; grandfather,
 grandson; ancestor, descendant.

With this many words we greeted one another.
 When all this was at an end,
 My daylight father questioned me:[66]
 "Yes, now indeed
 You have passed us on our roads,
 The one whom all our fathers,
 Desiring something,
 Appointed at the New Year.
 Yonder to the south
 Wherever emerge the precious roads of our fathers,
 Rain maker priests,
 Rain maker P?ekwins,
 Rain maker bow priests.
 With your prayer plumes-poorly made though they were,
 You have asked for light for us.
 Now this day, the appointed time has come."
 Thus my father said to me.
 Now our fathers,
 Cula:witsi, p?ekwin priest,[67]
 Sayataca, bow priest,[68]
 Hututu, bow priest,
 The two Yamuhakto, bow priests,
 Perpetuating their rite,
 Have once more assumed human form.
 Their seeds,
 Their riches,
 Their fecundity,
 The seeds of the yellow corn,
 The seeds of the blue corn,
 The seeds of the red corn,
 The seeds of the white corn,
 The seeds of the speckled corn,
 The seeds of the black corn,
 The seeds of the sweet corn,
 All the clans of beans,
 All the ancient round things,
 The seeds of all the different trees,
 The seeds of all the wild weeds,
 I carry over my navel.
 Those which we brought,
 These seeds we now leave here
 In the rain-filled rooms
 Of our daylight fathers,

Our daylight mothers.
 When in the spring,
 Your earth mother is enriched with living waters,
 Then in all your water-filled fields,
 These, with which you will renew yourselves,
 Your mothers,
 All the different kinds of corn,
 Within your earth mother
 You will lay down.
 With our earth mother's living waters
 They will once more become living beings.
 Into the daylight of our sun father
 They will come out standing.
 They will stand holding out their hand to all the directions,
 Calling for water.
 And from somewhere,
 Our fathers with their fresh water
 Will come to them.
 Their fresh waters
 They will drink in.
 They will clasp their children in their arms;
 Their young will finish their roads.
 Into your house,
 You will bring them,
 To be your beloved ones.
 In order that you may live thus,
 In the rain-filled rooms
 Of our daylight fathers,

[66. P?ekwin speaks.

67. The cula'witsi personator, usually a boy 10 to 13 years of age, is always referred to as p?ekwin t?sana, the little sun priest.

68. Sayataca is never called k^!ä'kawam:osi, house chief, as Mrs. Stevenson reports. The koyemci are the k^!ä?kwa:mosi. In prayers their father is always called mo'lan haktu k^?a'kwemosi ci'wani.]

Our daylight mothers,
 Our daylight children,
 The seeds which we brought tied about our waists
 We leave here now.
 This is well;

That going but a little ways from their house
 Our fathers may meet their children;[69]
 That going about, as they say,
 With your water-filled breath
 (You may meet) antelope,
 Mountain goats.
 Does,
 Bucks,
 Jack rabbits,
 Cottontails,
 Wood rats,
 Small game--even little bugs;
 So that thus going out from your houses,
 With the flesh of these
 You may satisfy your hunger.
 This is well,--
 In order that my daylight fathers' rain-filled rooms,
 May be filled with all kinds of clothing,
 That their house may have a heart,[70]
 That even in his doorway
 The shelled corn may be spilled before his door,
 That beans may be spilled before his door,
 That wheat may be spilled outside the door,
 (That the house may be full of) little boys,
 And little girls,
 And men and women grown to maturity,
 That in his house
 Children may jostle one another in the doorway,
 In order that it may be thus,
 With two plume wands joined together,
 I have consecrated the center of his roof.
 Praying for whatever you wished,
 Through the winter,
 Through the summer,
 Throughout the cycle of the months,
 I have prayed for light for you.
 Now this day,
 I have fulfilled their thoughts.
 Perpetuating the rite of our father,
 Sayataca, bow priest,
 And giving him human form[71]
 I have passed you on your roads.
 My divine father's life-giving[72] breath,

His breath of old age,
 His breath of waters,
 His breath of seeds,
 His breath of riches,
 His breath of fecundity,[73]
 His breath of power,
 His breath of strong spirit,
 His breath of all good fortune whatsoever,
 Asking for his breath,
 And into my warm body
 Drawing his breath,
 I add to your breath now.
 Let no one despise the breath of his fathers,
 But into your bodies,
 Draw their breath.
 That yonder to where the road of our sun father comes out,
 Your roads may reach;
 That clasping hands,
 Holding one another fast,
 You may finish your roads,
 To this end, I add to your breath now.
 Verily, so long as we enjoy the light of day
 May we greet one another with love;[74]
 Verily, so long as we enjoy the light of day
 May we wish one another well
 Verily may we pray for one another.
 To this end, my fathers,
 My mothers,
 My children:

[69. Game animals.

70. An empty house "has no heart." The heart of the house is anything which has been used by human beings.

71. The syntax of this passage is obscure. The reference is to the complete identification of the god with the impersonator.

72. O'naya:nak^a, literally, road finishing.

73. T?e'apk?unan:e, a word difficult to render into English. It includes children, domesticated animals, and game.

74. I'yanik^inawa, literally, "call one another by terms of relationship." The impersonator remains a "child" of the house he has dedicated and calls the host and hostess father and mother.]

May you be blessed with light;
 May your roads be fulfilled;
 May you grow old;
 May you be blessed in the chase;
 To where the life-giving road of your sun father comes out
 May your roads reach;
 May your roads all be fulfilled.

SAYATACA'S MORNING CHANT

And now indeed it has come to pass
 This past day,
 I stood beside the water-filled ladder
 Of my daylight fathers,
 My daylight mothers,
 My daylight children.
 8 We who had stood there,
 In the rain-filled room
 Of our daylight fathers,
 Staying quietly we came to day.
 12 Now our dawn fathers,
 Dawn old men,
 Dawn youths,
 Dawn boys,
 Dawn old women,
 Dawn matrons,
 Dawn maidens,
 Dawn girls,

[79. At the first sign of dawn Sayataca with p?ekwin ascends to the roof of the house and unties the last knot in the counting string, as a sign that his year is ended. He chants the following prayer, stretching out the string at the end of each line. The prayer is afterwards repeated in the house.]

20 Rising, standing at their sacred place,
 Have come to meet us now.
 My children,[80]
 There in the rain-filled rooms
 Of your daylight fathers,

Your daylight mothers
 You have stayed throughout the night.
 27 Finally, my children,
 Make haste now,
 Get ready now.
 30 Yesterday our daylight fathers,[81]
 Whoever of them wished to grow old,
 Working on plume wands came to evening;
 Working on prayer feathers they came to evening.
 And furthermore our mothers,[82]
 35 Whoever of them wished to grow old,
 In order to add to the hearts of their ancestors,
 Their children,[83]
 40 Sitting weary by the fireplaces,
 They came to evening.
 With aching knees,
 With sweat running down their faces,
 With burned fingers,
 Sitting wearily they came to evening.
 45 And whoever else wished to grow old,
 Preparing prayer meal[84]
 They gave it to us.
 Taking only that,
 The plume wands they gave us,

[80. The other impersonators, including the Ca?lako, but not the Koyemci, who do not leave for six days. As a matter of fact, the dancing continues in all the houses until broad daylight. In Mrs. Stevenson's day this prayer closed the ceremonies.

81. The priests and the men of the house and their close relatives (in 1927 several members of the clan of the house) make prayer sticks for all members of the Sayataca party.

82. The women who cook for the feast, the women of the house, their blood relatives, members of their clan.

83. Before the food is eaten in the night each of the seven impersonators takes a bit from each dish. All go out together and bury the food at Wide River, as an offering to a:lhacina:we. (See M. C. Stevenson for a different account.) The food was not buried under the ladder in 1927.

84 The gods are sprinkled with meal by all observers during their progress around the village in the afternoon of their entrance.]

50 The food[85] which they cooked for us, and gave us to take along.
 Taking only that,
 We shall make our roads descend.[86]
 With the song cycles of our fathers,[87] yonder,
 Life-giving priests,
 55 Life-giving p?ekwins,
 Life-giving bow priests,
 We danced the night away.
 Now at last, my children,
 60 Hasten now,
 Get ready now.
 At the new year
 All my fathers
 With their precious plume wand
 65 Appointed me.
 There to the south
 Following where come out the
 roads of my fathers,
 Rain-makers, priests,
 70 Even with my own poorly made plume wands,
 I continued to give my fathers plume wands.
 And when all the cycle of their months was at an end,
 75 At the place called since the first beginning Ayayak^a[88]
 Meeting my fathers,
 I gave them plume wands.
 Their day count having been counted up,
 80 There to the west,
 Where my fathers' road comes in,
 I continued to give them plume wands.
 When all these days were past,
 86 The one who is my father
 Took hold of me;
 Where he had laid a seat
 Four times he sprinkled prayer meal upon it.

[85. The bowls of food from which the offerings are made during the night are immediately taken by the girls of the house to the houses of the impersonators, as a gift from the house. This is also done in the morning, when other gifts are also taken, a butchered sheep, piece of calico, and sometimes blankets.

86. That is, go out. When they come in they "climb up" (the ladder).

87. The choir of the medicine society that sang for them.

88. The spring at which kohai to was made in 1927.]

90 The top of my head
 Four times he sprinkled.
 Where his seat was laid
 He took hold of me.
 Presenting me to all the directions,
 He made me sit down.
 95 Taking his grandson,
 Reed youth,
 Within his body,
 Four times he bored a hole going through.
 Four times drawing toward him his bag of native tobacco.
 100 He put his hand in.
 Into the palm of his hand
 Four times he measured out tobacco.
 Into his body,
 Four times he stuffed the mist.
 105 He took his grandmother by the hand,
 Four times inhaling he drew the mist through;
 Into his body
 He drew the misty breath,
 Yonder on all sides
 110 With mist he added to the hearts of his fathers.
 He handed it to me.
 Four times inhaling I made the mist pass through.
 Into my body
 I drew the mist.
 115 Yonder on all sides.
 With mist I added to the hearts of my fathers.
 This is well:
 120 That the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath,
 With mist I added to their hearts.
 When all this was at an end,
 Then we greeted one another with terms of kinship:
 Father, son; elder brother, younger brother; uncle, nephew; grandfather,
 grandson, ancestor, descendant,

125 With this many words we greeted one another.
 When all this was at an end
 My father questioned me:
 Indeed now it seems you will have something to say, some word that is
 not too long

130 So finally, if you let me know it,
 I shall know it for all time."
 Thus my fathers spoke.
 135 "Yes indeed it is so.
 There to the south,
 Following where my fathers' watery roads come forth
 I have been asking for light for you.
 140 Yesterday we reached the appointed time.
 Perpetuating the rite of the one who is our father,
 Sayataca, bow priest,
 And once more giving him human form
 145 I came out standing.
 I looked to the north,
 I looked to the west,
 I looked to the south,
 I looked to the east,
 150 Hither, toward the place of dawn,
 I saw four road going side by side.
 Along the middle road.
 Four times I sprinkled prayer meal.
 155 Then I made the sound of the water-filled breath of the rain maker
 priest of the north.
 Taking four steps,
 Four times striding forward,
 The water filled woodpile
 Of my daylight father
 160 I stood beside.
 My father
 Four times sprinkled my head with prayer meal.

166 His rain filled woodpile,
 He sprinkled with meal.
 After him,
 170 I sprinkled my prayer meal on it.
 This night
 The thoughts of all my fathers,
 Whatever they wished
 When they appointed me with their precious plume wand,
 I have fulfilled.
 The breath of my father,
 Sayataca, bow priest,
 180 His life-giving breath
 His breath of old age

His breath of waters,
 His breath of fecundity,
 His breath of seeds,
 185 His breath of riches,
 His breath of power,
 His breath of strong spirit,
 His breath of all good fortune whatsoever,--
 Asking for his breath,
 190 And into my body
 Drawing his breath.
 I add to your breath now.
 And furthermore, the yellow clothing bundle of the priest of the north,
 The blue clothing bundle of the priest of the west,
 195 The red clothing bundle of the priest of the south,
 The white clothing bundle of the priest of the east,
 The many colored clothing bundle of the priest of the above,
 The dark colored clothing bundle of the priest of the below,
 All kinds of good fortune whatsoever,--
 200 Asking for the breath of these,
 And into my warm body
 Inhaling their breath,
 I add to your breath.
 To this end, my children:
 205 May you be blessed with light;
 May your roads be fulfilled;
 May you grow old;
 Yonder to where the road of your sun father comes out,

 210 May your roads reach
 Together may your roads be fulfilled.

NIGHT CHANT OF HEK^ÄPA:KWE CA?LAKO

Host: [92] Father!
Ca?lako: Son!
Host: Elder brother!
Ca?lako: Younger brother!
 5 *Host*: Uncle!
Ca?lako: Nephew!
Host: Grandfather!
Ca?lako: Grandson!
Host: Great-grandfather!
 10 *Ca?lako*: Great-grandson!

Host:

This night

The ones who are our fathers

Masked god priests,

All the masked gods.

15 At their precious mountain,

Their precious lake,

Perpetuating what has been since the first beginning,

Have assumed human form.

Carrying your waters,

20 Carrying your seeds,

Making your roads come forth.

Making your roads come hither,

You have passed us on our roads

This night.

25 We see you,

From the soles of your feet

Even to the crowns of your heads,

Clothed in all fine things

You have passed us on our roads.

30 Looking at you

We know you have passed us on our roads.

Surely because you have some thing to say, some word that is not too long,

You have passed us on our roads.

If you let us know that

[92. The host sits opposite the impersonator, and together they smoke a cigarette of native tobacco, and passing the cigarette back and forth, exchange terms of relationship. There are certain peculiarities in the terms used. Talemo: tale, brother's son, any male whose father belongs to my clan, hence, "my son," man speaking. There is no term for son. tea'le, "child" is use in describing a relationship; tsawak^: "youth," in referring to a person. This is not a term of relationship. Alemo: used only in this connection. Ordinarily nana is used reciprocally for grandfather, grandson. Toelemo, uwak^ämo used only in this connection. There are no equivalents. Possibly these, and alemo, are obsolete terms. They do not always appear in the same order in the texts. (See pp. 713, 732.) The vocative suffix, too, is used only thus. A man, in receiving a present, always in receiving a gift of tobacco, will say tatumo or papamo, to which the answer is talemo or suwemo. To a woman he sometimes says kukumo (elder sister). She answers hanimo (younger brother or sister) or ta'lemo (brother's son).]

35 Thinking of that, we shall always live,

Is it not so?

Guests: It is so.

Ca?lako:

Now, indeed, it has come to pass.
 At the New Year
 All my fathers[92]
 Prepared precious plume wands.
 5 When they were ready
 With sacred words,
 They commissioned them,
 When our sun father
 Had gone in to sit down at his ancient place,
 10 After a blessed night
 They came to day.
 Next day
 When our sun father
 15 Coming out standing to his ancient place,
 Passed us on our roads,
 Then our fathers
 Four times drew toward them
 The plume wands commissioned with their prayers.
 20 The one who is our father,
 K[^]?awulia P?autiwa,
 With their plume wands.
 Four times they held fast.
 Saying, "Let it be now."
 25 Carrying his fathers' plume wands,
 He made his road come forth.
 Over to the south
 He made his road go.
 30 Thinking, "Let it be here,"
 Perpetuating what has been since the first beginning,
 Once more he assumed human form.
 Carrying his father's plume wands
 35 He made his road come forth.
 Into Itiwana
 He made his road enter.
 Four times he made his road go round,
 Then into Itiwana

[93. The priests of the council: The three priests of the north, the head priests of the east, west, and south, and the p?ekwin.]

40 He made his road enter
 Wherever his children's roads come out,[94]
 His precious plume wands

He laid down.
 After he had laid them down,
 To his own country
 45 He made his road go forth.
 Then our fathers[95]
 Drawing toward them their plume wands,
 To their own houses
 Made their roads return.
 50 Now this many days
 Eagerly they have awaited the time.
 Among all their ladder descending children [96]
 They looked about.
 And though we were ignorant
 (They sent for us [97])
 55 Then those who are our fathers
 Passed us on their roads.
 When they passed us on their roads
 Our fathers drew toward them
 60 Their father's plume wand.
 Drawing it toward them
 They handed it to us
 That we might be the ones to impersonate our father,
 Ca?lako, bow priest;
 For this with their plume wand
 They held us fast.
 Carrying their plume wand
 We made our roads come forth.
 To our houses,
 70 Our roads reached.
 This many are the days
 We have eagerly awaited the time
 When the moon who is our mother,

[94. At the entrances to the kivas.

95. The dance directors or w:we of the kivas.

96. Human children.

97. The two impersonators, elder and younger brother. They take turns in wearing the mask. Both intone the prayer.]

75 Yonder in the west,
 Had grown to maturity.[98]
 Carrying our fathers' precious[99] plume wand,
 To which we had fastened our own common[1] plume wand,
 80 Carrying these plume wands,
 Yonder to the south,
 We made our roads go.
 At the place called since the first beginning
 Snow hanging,
 85 We met our fathers on their roads.
 Where their watery roads come forth[2]
 We stood in the doorway.
 90 There we gave our fathers plume wands,
 We gave them prayer feathers,
 We gave them rain-bringing cigarettes,
 We gave them prayer meal.
 Making their days,
 95 Throughout the sequence of their months
 Eagerly we awaited our time.
 Whenever the time came,
 Yonder to the south,
 Throughout the sequence of the months of summer,
 100 Wherever the roads of our fathers come out,
 We gave them plume wands.
 When all their springs were at an end,
 105 Our fathers,
 For that which was soon to be
 Met all together in their water-filled room.
 With the flesh of their mother,

[98. The 10 plantings at the springs to the south are generally at the full moon. If the moon is waxing at the New Year there may be 11 plantings (two at toloknana in midsummer). The first and last plantings may be when the moon is 6 days old. See p. 712, note.

99. Literally "finished," I. e., with the paint brought by the priests from the underworld. This is part of the sacred paraphernalia of the priests and forms part of their altars at seasons of retreat. A tiny bit is scraped off and mixed with other paint.

1. Painted with ordinary paint.

2. At springs.]

110 Cotton woman,
 Even a roughly made cotton thread,
 A soiled cotton thread,
 And with beads,
 Even if only a single bead
 Borrowed somewheres from among all the village branches,[3]
 And with the pollen of their fathers,
 Their mothers,
 Their children,
 120 The different kinds of corn,
 And with turquoise,
 Keeping it in their hearts,
 They gave their day count human form.
 Then our fathers,
 125 Sayataca, bow priest,
 Molanhakto,[4] house chief priest,
 Passed their fathers on their road.
 The day count to which they had given human form,
 130 Four times drawing toward them,
 With their day count
 They took firm hold of their fathers.
 Carrying the day count,
 135 They made their roads come forth.
 To their houses
 Their roads reached.
 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 Carrying the plume wands which they had prepared,
 140 Carrying their father's day count,
 They made their roads go forth.
 There to the south,
 We made our roads go.
 145 At the place called since the first beginning
 Ants-go-in[5]
 We passed our fathers on their roads.

[3. Zuñi is the center, the trunk of the tree, the other pueblos are the branches. The Zuñis do not classify the Hopis with the "village people," as they call the eastern pueblos.

4. "Carrying squash (round things) on the head," the father of the Koyemci. The name is characteristically ambiguous, referring both to the knobs on the mask and the squash seeds in the knobs. All the Koyemci are called Molanhakto in songs and prayers. Koyemci is merely a nickname. They are distinguished by

name, Molanhaktu a wan atcu, molanhaktu a wan pekwin, molanhaktu ocotsi, etc.

5. The ceremony no longer takes place at this spring, which is at the foot of Corn Mountain, and at the base of the K[^]äkima, but at Ayayakya, on the west side of K[^]äkima Canyon. (Seep. 712 for the names of the springs visited.)]

150 There we gave them our father's plume wands;
There with our father's day count
We counted the sequence of the days.
This many days,

155 Anxiously we have awaited the time.
Yonder to the west

We gave our fathers plume wands.

160 When the number of their days was at an end
For that which was soon to be
We again prepared plume wands.

When our plume wands were ready,
There to the west,

At the place called since the first beginning

165 Village of the masked gods,[7]
Where the gray mountain stands,
And the blue mountain,

Where their altar stands above,
Where their altar lies beneath,

170 Where our fathers abide,
We met them on their roads.

Where their water filled doorway opens outward,
We stood in the doorway.

175 There where our fathers' road comes out,
At their water-filled woodpile,
Four times we sprinkled prayer meal inside.

180 Four times stepping down
Standing we came in.

Coming in standing,
There our fathers,

(Our ancestors) rain old men,
185 We passed on their roads.

(Our ancestors) rain old women
We passed on their roads.

We saw them.

Not one of them was missing;

[6. The plantings to the west (i. e., southwest) are at intervals of 10 days. They are not at springs. They are at the following places: Panitaime, anelawan tekyapoa, suskan acoktan:e (suma'cokta), akohana t?inakwi. The last planting, at akohana t?inakwi, is on the fortieth day, the day the Koyemci enter.

7. The ceremony takes place at Ca?lako house, an inclosure on the west side of the hill surmounted by white rocks. The Ca?lako wo?le of each kiva impersonates the "father.]"

190 At the blessed place where they were all gathered together,
We saw them.

Then with our prayer meal

Four times we sprinkled the tops of their heads.

195 This we did to all.

When this was at an end,

The one who is our father,

Overhearing us,

Prepared rain seats for us.

200 His prayer meal

Four times he sprinkled upon us.

Following him

Our father's rain seats

We stood beside.

205 Then the one who is our father

Took hold of us.

Presenting us to all the directions he made us sit down.

We sat quietly;

We waited for his words.

210 Our father four times drew toward him

The rain cigarette which he had prepared.

Taking his grandmother by the hand,

He made her sit in the doorway.

215 Four times the mist passed through.

With the mist,

We added to the hearts of our fathers,

Our beloved ones of all the directions,

Asking for the waters

Of our fathers of all the directions

When all this was at an end,

Into our bodies

We drew the misty breath.

225 Drawing in our breath

With the terms of kinship

We greeted one another:
 Father, son; elder brother, younger brother; uncle, nephew; grandfather,
 grandson; great-grandfather, great-grandson,
 Thus we greeted one another.

When all this was at an end,
 230 The one who is my father
 Questioned me:
 "Yes, now, even now,
 You have passed us on our roads.
 Surely because of some words of our fathers,
 Spoken at the New Year,
 235 Because of some words of importance, some word that is not too
 long,
 You have passed us on our roads.
 So finally, if you let us know that,
 Thinking always of that,
 We shall pass our days."
 240 Thus our father spoke to us, did he not?[8]
 --Even so.--
 "Yes, indeed it is true.
 This many days
 Throughout the winter,
 245 Throughout the summer,
 There to the south,
 We brought you plume wands,
 Wherever your roads come out,
 Though our plume wands were but poorly made,
 250 We brought you plume wands,
 We brought you prayer feathers,
 We brought you rain cigarettes.
 When all this was at an end,
 Now for that which is soon to be
 255 We have passed you on your roads."
 Thus we said to our father, did we not?
 --Even so.--
 When we had spoken thus
 (Our father spoke.)
 260 "Indeed, these are your days.
 Now that we have remembered your days
 You have come to us,
 My two children."
 Saying this,

Our father took hold of us.
 From the soles of our feet
 To the crowns of our heads,

[8. The impersonator turns to his alternate for corroboration. He answers "Hatchi'."]

Clothing us with all things needful,
 270 He made us ready.
 When he had made us ready Four times
 With our cover of thin clouds[9] he fitted us.
 When he had reached the end, (he spoke):
 275 "This is all.
 With plain words
 You have passed us on our road.
 When our sun father
 Has gone in to sit down at his ancient place,
 And when our night fathers,
 Our mothers,
 Over their ancient place,
 Have raised their dark curtain,
 285 All together
 Our daylight fathers,
 Our mothers,
 Our children,
 We shall pass on their roads."
 290 Thus our father spoke to us,
 Did he not?
 --Even so.--
 "Yonder, our daylight fathers,
 Our children,
 All of us shall pass on their roads."
 Thus our father said to us.
 Now that we four times have gone ahead
 Our fathers,
 Even those with snow upon their heads,
 300 With moss upon their faces,
 No longer upright but leaning on canes,
 Even all of them
 305 Will pass us on our roads.
 And furthermore the women,
 Even those who are with child,

Holding another on the cradle,
With another going before

[9. The buckskin caps worn by the Ca?lako impersonators. They are the same as those worn by the war chiefs. in the war dance the scalp is called k^?ácima p?o?yane (water cover).]

310 Leading one by the hand
Even all of them
Will come out to meet their fathers
Their mothers
Their children.
Thus speaking to us,
Our father took hold of us.
Presenting us to all the directions
320 He made us arise.
On our heads
Four times he sprinkled prayer meal,
325 On his rain-filled woodpile
He sprinkled prayer meal for us.
After him,
330 We sprinkled our prayer meal.
Then the one who is our father
His water-filled woodpile
He sprinkled for us.
Four times sprinkling prayer meal going out,
335 Stepping up four times,
We came out standing.
Yonder toward a directions we looked.
Hither toward Halona Itiwana,[10]
We saw four roads going side by side.
340 Along the middle path sprinkling prayer meal before us,
Hither we took our way.
At the places,[11] called since the first beginning
Great lake,
Hanlhipinkya,
345 Cliff house,
Last spring,
Middle spring,
Water-cress spring,
Kolowisi's house,

[10. The places at which they stopped, after leaving Koluwala'wa in their wanderings in search of the center of the world. There are 29; two, k[^]?äpkwenakwi (water coming out, Ojo Caliente) and watsita?nakwi (dog place), are omitted from the present version. They follow Rainbow Spring. The emergence myth (and Sayataca's talk) give the last three springs as t[^]owa yallakwi (Corn Mountain), matsakya hepatina, k[^]?olink[^]?aiakwi etsakya hepatina (sulphur spring, commonly called hepatina). The present account gives the three places where the impersonators deposit plumes on their way in: White rocks; Where the masked dancers come out (Grease Hill); Hepatina.

11. Cushing translates this "The middle anthill of the world." It is a bracketing of two names by which Zuñi is known. Halonawa in a more restricted sense refers to the ruin on the south bank of the river.]

350 The other Water-cress spring,
 Dripping spring,
 Bending grass,
 Ashes spring,
 Cat tail spring,
 355 Rainbow spring,
 Ca?lako place,
 Snow hanging,
 Rock wedge,
 Painted rock,
 360 Poison weed spring,
 Mesa wall spring,
 Toloknana,
 Evil smelling water,
 Sack of flour hanging,
 365 Bluebird place,
 Where ants go in,
 White rocks sitting,
 Where the masked dancers come out,
 Sulphur spring, otherwise called hepatina,
 (At all these places),
 370 We passed our fathers on their roads.
 Wherever their rain-filled door was open outward,
 Where their roads come out,
 Four times we gave them prayer meal.
 Yonder toward all directions we looked,
 Hither, toward Halona Itiwana,
 Our daylight fathers' fourfold road we saw.
 380 And now, at last, it seems,
 Here we shall take our road,

Thus we said too one another.
 Along the middle road four times sprinkling prayer meal before us
 Hither we took our way.
 385 Our daylight fathers'
 Our daylight mothers' watery roads coming out,
 We saw.
 Sprinkling prayer meal
 Where come forth the watery roads
 Of our daylight fathers,
 We sat down in the doorway,[12]
 Four times rising
 We came in.

[12. The mask borne aloft on a pole, with embroidered blankets held out by hoops concealing the bearer, is set down outside, while the two impersonators bless the house. When they are finished the mask is brought in and set down beside the altar while the prayer is chanted.]

395 The water-filled room of our daylight fathers,
 Our daylight mothers,
 Our daylight children,
 Four times we rooted all about: [13]
 400 The north root,
 The west root,
 The south root,
 The east root,
 The upper root,
 405 The lower root
 This we brought to an end.
 When this was at an end,[14]
 Our daylight father,
 To where his rain seat had been spread
 410 Four times he threw out prayer meal.
 Our daylight father took hold of us;
 Presenting us to all directions
 He made us sit down.
 415 We sat down quietly
 We waited for his words.
 Our daylight father
 Four times drew toward him his water roll.
 Taking his grandmother by the hand
 He made her sit in the doorway.
 Four times into his body

He drew the mist.
 With mist he added to the hearts of his fathers.
 425 That so long as we enjoy the light of day we may greet one another
 as kindred
 We now greeted one another.
 Fathers,[15]
 Sons;
 Elder brother, younger brother; uncle, nephew; grandfather, grandson;
 great-grandfather, great-grandson.
 With this many words we greeted one another.

[13. The marking of the walls with corn meal. The roof and floor are not marked.

14. The text makes no mention of the deposit of plume wands in the roof and of seeds in the floor. This, presumably, is an omission, since the rite is performed as in the Sayataca house, and is fully described in the Sayataca chant.

15. For the first two terms, plurals are used *tatcuwe*, *talewe* (the regular plural of *tatcu* is *a:tatcu*). *Tale* is the usual word for brother's son, or any male "child" of one's clan. This explains its use instead of the expected *tcal?e*.]

430 Then we made an end of this.
 Now that this is at an end,
 The ones who are our fathers
 From their abode set with mountains,
 Set with lakes,
 435 Making their roads come forth,
 Making their roads come hither,
 They have passed you on your roads.
 This night,
 Bringing a their good fortune,
 440 They have passed you on your roads.
 Their seeds of corn: the yellow ones,
 The blue ones,
 The red ones,
 The white ones,
 445 The speckled ones,
 The black ones,
 The sweet corn seeds;
 All the different clans of beans,
 The yellow beans,
 450 The blue beans,
 The red beans,

The white beans,
 The many colored beans,
 The black beans,
 The string beans,
 The small beans,
 The little spotted beans,
 All the different tiny beans;
 With all these seeds bundled about our waists,
 460 We have passed you on your roads.
 And then also the seeds of all the forest trees:
 The seeds of the piñon tree,
 The seeds of the oak tree,
 The seeds of the first-flowering shrub,
 465 The seeds of all the small shrubs;
 And then all the ancient round ones:
 The striped squash,
 The crooked-neck squash,
 The watermelons,
 470 The sweet melons,
 The gourds;
 The seeds of the large yucca,
 The seeds of the small yucca,
 The seeds of the cactus,

475 All of these.
 With these tied about our waists,
 Provided with this bundle over our navels,
 We have passed you on your roads.
 For you we leave these seeds.
 480 This is all.
 Thus with plain words
 We have passed you on your roads.
 Here for you we leave these seeds.
 When in the spring,
 Your earth mother is wet,
 In your earth mother
 You will bury these seeds.
 Carefully they will bring forth their young.
 Bringing them back,
 490 Toward this your thoughts will bend.
 And henceforth, as kindred,
 Talking kindly to one another,
 We shall always live.[16]

And now indeed it has come to pass.
 The thoughts of our fathers,
 Who at the New Year
 With precious plume wands appointed us--
 Their thoughts we now have fulfilled.
 500 Always with one thought
 We shall live.
 This is all.
 Thus with plain words
 We have passed you on your roads.
 505 This our father's waters,
 His seeds,
 His riches,
 His power,
 510 His strong spirit,
 All his good fortune whatsoever,
 We shall give to you.
 To the end, my fathers,
 My children,
 515 Verily, so long as we enjoy the light of day,
 We shall greet one another as kindred.

[16. A passage of double meaning. It refers to the relationship between man and corn and the speaker and the household which has welcomed him.]

Verily, we shall pray that our roads may be fulfilled.
 To where your sun father's road comes out
 May your roads reach.
 May your roads be fulfilled.

WASHING THE HEAD OF CA?LAKO IMPERSONATOR

The female head of the house washes the head of the Ca?lako impersonator at the close of the all-night ceremonies, at about 8 o'clock in the morning. The other women present sprinkle water on his head.

This day,
 My two children,
 With our clear water
 We shall hold you fast.
 5 My child,
 In order that your road may be fulfilled,

Reaching yonder to where the road of our sun father comes out,
 For this with our clear water,
 10 We hold you fast.
 Somehow because of the thoughts of our fathers,
 The ones who appointed you with their plume wand,
 15 Throughout the winter,
 Throughout the summer,
 Yonder to the south
 Wherever the roads of our fathers come out,
 20 With your plume wands
 You have asked continually for life for us.
 This day
 You have fulfilled their thoughts.
 With our waters
 We hold you fast.
 Our child,
 Always talking together kindly,
 So long as we still can see one another,
 That thus our roads may be fulfilled
 30 For this, with our waters
 We have bound you fast.

[17. The dual, used in the first sentence, should be used consistently to the end, because the prayer is supposedly addressed to the two impersonators. After the first sentence, the singular is used.]

The thoughts of your fathers
 You have fulfilled.
 35 Do not forget your house.
 Here in your own house
 You will go about happily.
 Always talking together kindly
 We shall pass our days.
 40 Our child,
 Your road will be fulfilled;
 Your road will reach all the way to Dawn Lake.
 May your road be fulfilled;
 May you grow old;
 May you be blessed with life.

"WASHING" THE KOYEMCI

The Koyemci are actually bathed in the house of the priests, and each receives a gift of food from each of the women who participate in the ceremony, the wives and daughters of priests of the council. Later at the houses of their "aunts" they are also "washed." Here the rite is entirely symbolic. Corn meal is sprinkled on the head and gifts are presented. This, too, is called "washing." Ritual washing of the head is always the function of the paternal aunt.

The wives of the priests:

This day, my fathers,
 Mo'lanhakto, priests
 You have passed us on our roads.
 With our clear water
 We hold you fast.
 My children,
 May your roads reach to Dawn Lake,
 May your roads be fulfilled;
 May you grow old.
 In order that you may grow old,
 With our clear water
 We have bound you fast.

In the ancestral house of his father, meal is sprinkled on his head by his paternal aunt and all the women of his father's clan with the following prayer. The two women's prayers are characteristically brief.

My father,
 This day,
 With our clear water
 We have held you fast.
 May your road reach to Dawn Lake
 May your road be fulfilled,
 May you grow old.

His father's brother hands him a bundle of prayer sticks made for him by male members of the clan.

The uncle:

This many are the days
 Since our fathers,
 Priests of the masked gods,
 Cula:witsi, p?ekwin, priest

5 Sayataca, bow priest,
 Hututu, bow priest,
 Yamuhaktu, bow priests,
 Ca?lako, bow priests,
 All the masked gods
 10 Made their roads come hither.
 Wherever perfect plume wands had been left for them,
 They made their roads ascend.
 Sitting down quietly they came to day.
 Next day,
 15 Laying down all their gifts
 Their seeds,
 Their riches,
 All that they had brought tied about their waists
 20 Back to their own country
 They took their way.
 Leaving their children[18] to stay quietly
 They took their way.
 25 And wherever plume wands had been left for them
 Their children
 With their words issuing forth,
 With their sighing breath,
 Stayed in our houses.
 All their days being past
 30 This day
 For the one who is our father,
 Molanhakto,
 We have prepared plume wands.
 35 Our children,
 Whoever of them wished to grow old,
 Upon the plume wands which they had prepared
 Breathed their sacred words.
 Here to our house

[18. The katcinas, who remained behind to dance in all the Ca?lako houses.]

40 With these we pass you on your road.
 This day with these our plume wands
 We hold you fast.
 With these plume wands
 45 We hold one another fast.
 Whenever our father,
 Saying let it be now,

Makes his road go forth,
 Then also reinforcing with your words,
 The prayers which we have laid upon our plume wands,
 To our fathers
 You will give the plume wands.
 Our fathers' day has been made.
 55 Their waters eagerly awaiting
 We pass our days.
 My child,
 Verily at the new year,
 Our fathers appointed you with their plume wand,
 The perfect plume wand which they had prepared.
 This many days
 Anxiously awaiting your time
 We have passed our days.
 65 Throughout the cycle of our fathers' months,
 Throughout the summer,
 Yonder toward the south,
 70 Wherever the roads of our fathers come forth,
 Even with your poorly made plume wands
 You have been asking for life for us.
 Now this day,
 We have reached the appointed time.
 Holding this plume wand,
 Anxiously you will pass the day.
 When our sun father
 Has gone in to sit down at his sacred place

80 Saying, Let it be now,
 You will make your fathers' road go forth.
 Then again reinforcing with your own words
 The prayers which we have laid upon these plume wands,
 To your fathers
 Give these plume wands.
 With them you shall ask for life for us.

The Koyemci takes the prayer sticks and thanks the giver, invoking on those present all the blessings of the gods. The prayer sticks are planted with his own at night.

DISMISSAL OF THE KOYEMCI

The Koyemci remain all day in the plaza in attendance on the various sets of dancers. At nightfall the last of the dancers, the Molawia, have departed. Then the Koyemci in pairs visit every house in the village, to invoke upon it the blessings of the gods. At each house they receive gifts of food from the female inhabitants. Returning to the plaza, they take their prayer sticks out to plant. They return to the house of their father late at night, and removing their masks for the first time all day give them to their father to return to the house where they are kept. When he comes back, he thanks his children for their year of work, and sets them free. Then for the first time since the preceding evening they drink, and after eating and bathing, return to their homes. Their retreat, fifteen days, is the longest in Zuñi ritual. The following is the prayer of the father of the Koyemci, setting them free.

This many are the days,
 My children,
 Since with their plume wand they appointed us.
 5 Throughout the winter,
 And the summer
 Anxiously we have awaited our time.
 Hither toward the south
 We have given our fathers plume wands.
 For all our ladder descending children
 We have been asking for life.

15 Now we have reached the appointed time.
 This night
 We have fulfilled the thoughts of our fathers.
 Always with one thought
 20 We shall live.
 My children,
 This night
 Your children
 Your families,
 Happily you will pass on their roads.
 Happily we shall always live.
 Even though we say we have fulfilled their thoughts
 No indeed
 30 Anxiously awaiting until we shall again come to our appointed time
 We shall live henceforth.
 My children,
 Thus I have finished my words for you.
 35 To this end, my children:

May you now go happily to your children.
 40 Asking for life from my fathers
 Yonder on all sides,
 Asking for my fathers' life-giving breath,
 Their breath of old age,
 And into my warm body,
 Drawing their breath,
 I add to your breath.
 To this end, my children
 May your roads be fulfilled;
 May you grow old;
 May you be blessed with life.

VII. PRAYERS OF THE MEDICINE CULT

THE GREAT FIRE SOCIETY CHIEF SETS UP HIS ALTAR

The Great Fire Society convenes for the first time in November at the full moon. Before sunset the male members assemble at their ceremonial house. The women bring food to the house and leave their sacred corn fetishes to be placed on the altar. The tablet altar has been set up against the west wall of the room. At sunset the choir begins to sing very softly a set of eight songs known as "For Pouring in the Water." At the beginning of the fourth song two men go out to offer food in the river. The society pekwin rises and makes the meal painting and sets up the corn fetishes. At the fifth song the society chief takes the bowl for the medicine water, at the sixth he mixes the medicine, at the seventh he puts in sacred colored pebbles, during the eighth he "smokes" the altar. The following prayer is spoken in a low voice by the society chief while performing these rites.

The procedure is followed whenever the society altar is set up. It is followed by a rite of exorcism which leads into the main body of the ceremony. It is about the same for all societies. The peculiar style of the following prayer may be due to the fact that it is accompanied by song.

This many are the days
 Since our moon mother
 Yonder in the west,
 As a small thing became visible.
 Now yonder in the west,
 Standing fully grown against the sky

She makes her days.
 Our spring children,¹
 Whoever wished to grow old,
 Carrying prayer meal,
 Carrying shells,
 Yonder, with prayers,
 One by one they made their roads go forth.
 Yonder they met those
 Who since the first beginning
 Have been given the world,^[2]
 The forests,
 The brush.
 At the feet of some lucky one
 Offering prayer meal,
 Shell,
 Among their finger tips,
 They looked about.
 Breaking off the young shoots
 Of some fortunate one,
 And drawing them toward them,
 These very ones who stayed there quietly,
 Bearing their long life,
 Bearing their old age,
 He brought back.
 Into the rain filled rooms
 Of his daylight fathers,^[3]
 His mothers,
 His children,
 He made their roads come in.
 This many days the divine one^[4]

[1. Members of the society, who have drunk from the sacred "spring"; the bowl of medicine water that stands on the altar.

2. The shrubs whose wood is used for prayer sticks.

3. That is, human. The ceremonial room of the society.

4. K[^]äpin a:'ho?i, literally "raw persons," as distinct from the "daylight people" "who are cooked" through having been born on a bed of warm sand.]

Have remained with us their children.
 Now this very day

For the rite of our fathers,
 Beast priests,[5]
 We have prepared plume wands.
 When yet a little space remained,
 Ere our sun father
 Went in to sit down at his sacred place[6]
 Coming to my earth mother,
 Have I offered plume wands to my fathers,
 And returned to my house.
 Then yonder from all sides
 Those who are my fathers,
 The divine ones,[7]
 With none among them lacking,
 Will make their roads come forth,
 Hither they will come.
 Then having made my fathers' massed cloud house,[8]
 Having spread out their mist blanket,
 Having sent forth their life giving road,
 Having laid down their rainbow bow,
 Having laid down their lightning arrow,
 I shall sit down quietly.
 I shall set down my white shell bowl.[9]
 Then from afar on all sides
 You, my fathers,
 Will come.
 Yonder from the north,
 The rain maker priests,[10]
 Bringing their waters,
 Will make their roads come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times they will make their road come in.
 Yonder from the west
 The rain maker priests,
 Bringing their waters,
 Will make their roads come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times they will make their road come in.
 Yonder from the south,
 The rain maker priests,
 Bringing their waters,
 Will make their roads come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times they will make their road come in.

Yonder from the east
 The rain maker priests,
 Bringing their waters,
 Will make their roads come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl.
 Four times they will make their roads come in.
 Yonder from the above
 The rain maker priests,
 Bringing their waters,
 Will make their roads come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times they will make their roads come in.
 Yonder from below
 The rain maker priests,
 Bringing their waters,
 Will make their roads come in.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times they will make their roads come in.
 When you have all sat down quietly
 Our young ones[11]
 Will refresh themselves with your waters.
 Then to dawn lake reaching,
 Their roads will be fulfilled.
 And furthermore, yonder in the north,
 You who are my father,
 Mountain lion,[12]

[5. We:'ma a:'ciwani, the special protectors of the medicine societies and the source of life, medicine power, and witchcraft.

6. Late afternoon, the usual hour for making offerings of prayer sticks.

7. The beast gods, who are present in spirit throughout the ceremonies.

8. The meal painting on the altar; the "house" is the terraced outline, the "blanket" the filling of fine meal, the "road" the line of meal, generally crossed at four points, leading from the altar to the door at the farther end of the room.

9. For mixing the medicine water.

10. U'wanami--during this invocation he pours the water with a gourd, four gourds of water.

11. Tʔe'apk?una:we--children, also domesticated and game animals. The word is used as a general term for fecundity. Here specifically the members of the society.

12. He now invokes in turn the beast gods of the six directions, meanwhile addling pulverized roots with medicinal properties.]

You are life-giving society chief;
 Bringing your medicine,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in,
 Watch over my spring.
 When you sit down quietly
 We shall be one person.[13]
 And, furthermore, yonder in the west
 You who are my father, bear,
 You are life-giving society chief;
 Bringing your medicine,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in,
 Watch over my spring.
 When you sit down quietly
 We shall be one person.
 And, furthermore, yonder in the south
 You who are my father, badger,
 You are life-giving society chief;
 Bringing your medicine,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in,
 Watch over my spring.
 When you sit down quietly
 We shall be one person.
 And, furthermore, yonder in the east
 You who are my father, wolf,
 You are life-giving society chief;
 Bringing your medicine,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in,
 Watch over my spring.

When you sit down quietly,
 We shall be one person.
 And furthermore, yonder above
 You who are my father, knife-wing,
 You are life-giving society chief.
 Bringing your medicine,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in,
 Watch over my spring.
 When you sit down quietly
 We shall be one person.
 And furthermore, yonder below
 You who are my father, gopher,
 You are life-giving society chief.
 Bringing your medicine,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in,
 Watch over my spring.
 When you sit down quietly
 We shall be one person.
 And furthermore, yonder in the north
 On all the mossy mountains,
 On the tops of the mountains,
 And along their slopes,
 Where the ravines open out,
 You hold the world in your keeping;
 Ancient yellow stone,[14]
 You will make your road come hither
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in,
 You will sit down quietly.
 Then with your living waters
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;
 Reaching to Dawn Lake
 Their roads will be fulfilled.
 And furthermore, yonder in the west
 On all the mossy mountains,
 On the tops of the mountains,
 And along their slopes,
 Wherever the ravines open out,
 You hold the world in your keeping;

Ancient blue stone,
 You will make your road come hither
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in
 You will sit down quietly.
 Then with your living waters
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;
 Reaching to Dawn Lake
 Their roads will be fulfilled.

[13. During the final ceremony of the societies at the winter solstice when the sick are cured the identification is felt to be complete for those who have esoteric knowledge. At that time there is a complete change of personality; the shamans rush about uttering the cries of animals. They are very much feared. It is especially the prerogative of the bear to give this power of magical impersonation.

14. He adds small round pebbles believed to have been brought from the underworld at the time of emergence. As a matter of fact any curiously shaped or colored pebble that may be picked up is believed to have magical properties. A collection of these forms part of every shaman's equipment. There are prayers and simple rituals for each one.]

And furthermore, yonder in the south
 On all the mossy mountains,
 On the tops of the mountains,
 And along their slopes,
 Wherever the ravines open out,
 You hold the world in your keeping;
 Ancient red stone,
 You will make your road come hither,
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in
 You will sit down quietly.
 Then with your living waters
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;
 Reaching to Dawn Lake
 Their roads will be fulfilled.
 And furthermore, yonder in the east
 On all the mossy mountains,
 On the tops of the mountains,
 And along their slopes,
 Wherever the ravines open out,
 You hold the world in your keeping;

Ancient white stone,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in
 You will sit down quietly.
 Then with your living waters
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;
 Reaching to Dawn Lake
 Their roads will be fulfilled.
 And furthermore, yonder above
 On all the mossy mountains,
 On the tops of the mountains,
 And along their slopes,
 Wherever the ravines open out,
 You hold the world in your keeping;
 Ancient many colored stone,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in
 You will sit down quietly.
 Then with your living waters
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;
 Reaching to Dawn Lake
 Their roads will be fulfilled.
 And furthermore, yonder below,
 On all the mossy mountains,
 On the tops of the mountains,
 And along their slopes,
 Wherever ravines open out,
 You hold the world in your keeping;
 Ancient dark stone,
 You will make your road come hither.
 Where lies my white shell bowl,
 Four times making your road come in
 You will sit down quietly.
 Then with your living waters
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;
 Reaching to Dawn Lake
 Their roads will be fulfilled.[15]

SUMMONING A SHAMAN

When anyone is sick and it is decided to call a shaman to cure him, the family decide whether or not they consider the case sufficiently serious to warrant summoning one of the societies to come as an organization to perform its curing ritual. This is done only when they believe death is threatened and it is felt that the full power of the society is needed to save the patient's life. In such cases the patient is given to the society, and the family undertakes to see that he is initiated within a reasonable time. This is a last resort, since the expense of initiation is very great.

In less serious cases a shaman is summoned to practice as an individual. In such a case the shaman may ask assistance of some colleague who owns an especially potent song or medicine, but the society as a whole does not participate, nor is the patient initiated. However, at the following New Year he goes to the house of the society with which his doctor is affiliated and his head is washed at their altar, and he becomes their "child." Each year at the winter solstice his society father, the shaman, makes a prayer stick for him to plant.

Before the physician is summoned the patient's relatives decide what they will offer him for his services. The gift is held ready. Then the patient's father or some other mature male relative prepares prayer meal, which he wraps in a corn husk. Into this he puts some bit of the gift for the physician--a thread from a robe, or a bit of the fringe if it is a shawl. This is for the Beast Gods, their "clothing." With this he goes to the house of the shaman. The two men sit down, remove their headbands and moccasins, clasping hands over the package of meal. The patient's father repeats the following prayer, to which the shaman replies in like spirit:[16]

This day,
 Because of the ill will of the foolish ones,[17]
 Our child wears out his spirit.
 5 Among all our fathers,
 Life-giving priests,[18]
 Life-giving p?ekwins,
 Life-giving bow priests,
 We have looked about.
 10 When all unexpectedly,
 The divine ones chose you
 We, in the daylight
 Also chose you.
 15 Now that we have let you know of it,
 Yonder in their house,[19]

The divine ones have passed you on your road,
 With the roads of the divine ones going ahead,
 20 Into our house
 You will make your road enter.
 Having sat down quietly,
 This day,
 With the flesh of the white corn,
 25 Prayer meal,
 With ground shell,
 We have taken firm hold of our fathers,
 Life-giving priests;
 With prayer meal held in the hollow of the left hand[20]

[16. Dictated by one of the headmen of the wood Society.

17. The witch, whose ill will has caused the sickness.

18. Society chiefs. The choice of a shaman is believed to be inspired by the Beast Gods.

19. The ceremonial house of the society.

20. The left hand is used in all curing rituals. Also in the rites of the scalp dance.]

30 We held one another fast.
 With prayer meal,
 With riches,
 With shell,
 With these we hold one another fast.
 35 The ones who are our fathers,
 Life-giving priests,
 Will hold our child,
 Our child who has been bewitched
 Because the heart of someone became angry.
 40 Our fathers,
 Life-giving priests,
 Beast priests,
 With your hands,
 With your breath,
 45 Hold him fast.
 The power of the two hearted one,
 The one who has bewitched our child,
 The foolish one,
 His power[21] they will cause to stand out
 In the daylight of our sun father.
 Then our child's breath will become well.

His spirit will become well.
 Desiring this
 With prayer meal,
 55 With shell,
 We have held one another fast.
 Taking his prayer meal,
 You will make your road go out.[22]
 60 Yonder, with prayers, you will direct your road.
 Somewhere on your earth mother,
 Your fathers,
 The divine ones,
 You will pass on their roads.

[21. Sawanikā, weapons, also, abstractly, power. There is a double meaning to these lines. The shaman will actually remove from the patient's body foreign matter which the witch has injected, and which is the direct cause of the sickness. Also, by revealing the means the witch has employed, he strips him of his power. For this reason torture formerly was used to extract confessions from those suspected of witchcraft. If a witch once reveals the source of his power he becomes helpless. Any prayer or ritual loses its potency when it is told, the power passing to the new owner. See pp. 493-494.

22. The prayer meal which the medicine man receives is offered to the spirits at a point east of the village.]

65 Then once more taking my prayer meal,
 My riches,
 My shell,
 Those on which I have breathed my prayers,
 Even thus will be your words upon them.
 To those who once were alive,[28]
 To those who used to be with us,
 And furthermore, our fathers,
 The beast priests,
 The life-giving priests,
 75 To them you will give the prayer meal,
 The shell,
 The riches.
 80 Our fathers will take the prayer meal,
 The shell,
 The riches.
 When you have given it to them,
 And when they have accepted it,
 85 Anxiously they will await evening.
 When our run father
 Has gone in to sit down at his sacred place,
 Somewhere the divine ones will pass you on your road.
 90 They will come to their child;

The divine ones will come to their child.
 Our fathers,
 Life-giving priests,
 95 Life-giving p?ekwins,
 Life-giving bow priests,
 Perpetuating their rite from the first beginning,
 Sitting down quietly among us,
 100 Will look over their child,
 Our child, whose spirit failed,
 Because of some evil thing.
 Beast priests,
 With your hands,
 With your breath,

[23. Deceased shamans, united in death with their protectors and patrons, the Beast Gods. Only those members of medicine societies who have shamanistic powers, that is, the power to invoke and impersonate the bear, are so honored in death.]

105 The power of the foolish one
 You will make stand forth.
 Then our child's spirit will become well,
 His breath will become well.
 Then that you may be the ones
 whom his spirit will embrace,
 110 There at your house[24]
 With your clear water
 You will bind your child fast.
 In order that it may be thus
 We give you our child.

THE SOCIETY FATHER SUMMONS THE NOVICE FOR HIS INITIATION

If the patient has been given to the society he is expected to complete his initiation as soon as economic obligations permit. Should he fail in this he is troubled with bad dreams as a warning of the fate that will overtake him. Initiation is in no sense a propitiatory rite; it is, rather, an access to power. The preliminary ceremonies held at his sick bed secured him a stay, but in order finally to triumph over the disease, the patient must place himself under the protection of the Beast Gods and receive from them a new heart. Should he not do this, he will be troubled in spirit until he sickens and dies. Worry is the most serious of

all illnesses, it is the sickness of the spirit caused by supernatural agencies.

Frequently many years elapse before a man is in a position to meet the expenses of initiation. Whenever he is ready his family notify the society father, who is the man who received him as a patient. At the first fall meeting of the society the date for the initiation is set at the full moon of the month at which that society customarily initiates.

Four days before the full moon the ceremonial father goes after sunset to the house of the novice to notify him that the initiation ceremonies are about to begin. Here the boy's family are assembled and waiting for him. After formal greetings are exchanged, the man sits down, removes his head band and moccasins and prays.[24a]

[24. The house of the society. Had the man been offering the child for initiation into the society he would say instead of "at your house," "in your spring."

24a. Dictated by a member of the Great Fire Society, a man who has initiated many children into his Society.]

This many are the days
 Since some evil thing
 Made our child sick.
 His breath failed.
 5 Because of this from among all our fathers,
 Life-giving priests,
 Life-giving p?ekwins,
 Life-giving bow priests;
 All the society priests,
 10 Society p?ekwins,
 Society bow priests,
 Unexpectedly
 The divine ones chose me.
 15 Their daylight children
 Revealed themselves to you,
 And choosing me,
 You let me know.
 Taking prayer meal,
 20 Far off to the east,
 With prayers, I made my road go forth.
 Where our fathers' road comes in[25]
 25 I passed them on their road.

Standing facing them,
 I offered them prayer meal.
 The divine ones' road preceded;
 30 Their road preceding,
 Following them
 Hither with prayers.
 We brought our roads
 35 Into their daylight children's rain filled rooms,[26]
 The divine ones brought their road.
 They sat down quietly
 And we of the daylight
 40 Met one another.
 Our prayer meal,
 Shells,[27]
 Riches,
 On which I had breathed our prayers,

[25. The eastern road. The Beast Gods dwell at Cipapolima, in the east. All curing rituals are oriented toward the east, as all kadcina are oriented toward the southwest.

26. The house of the patient.

27. The prayer meal contains bits of ground shell or turquoise and a few threads pulled from the garment offered to the medicine man in payment for his services in curing.]

45 Four times drawing them toward me,
 Here in the hollow of the life-giving left hand
 Of my fathers,
 Life-giving priests,
 50 I laid the prayer meal,
 The shells,
 The riches.
 Then taking the prayer meal,[28]
 55 The shells,
 The riches,
 Yonder to the east,
 For the second time
 With prayers
 60 I made my road go forth.
 Where my father's life-giving road comes in
 Standing facing them,

I offered them prayer meal.
 65 Thus anxiously waiting,
 We have passed our days.[29]
 Then when all their days were past,[30]
 After our moon mother,
 At her sacred place,
 70 Still small, appeared,
 And now yonder in the east
 Standing fully grown makes her days,[31]
 Now our spring children,
 75 Whoever truly desires in his heart to grow old,
 Taking prayer meal,
 Taking shell,
 Taking corn pollen,
 Yonder with prayers

[28. The patient expectorates into the package of meal. Thus his sickness is removed, and the father "takes it out to the east."

29 The four days during which the society holds its ceremonies of curing in the home of the patient. Only the officers and possessors of esoteric knowledge are present. The sacred paraphernalia of the society is set up, songs are sung, the Beast Gods are invoked, and finally the agency of sickness is withdrawn from the patient. The ceremonies are held for four consecutive nights, and last from midnight until dawn.

30 The days of waiting until the novice was ready to assume his obligations.

31 The time is now approaching the full moon. The ceremonies of initiation will begin with the making of prayer sticks by all members of the society on the day following the visit of the father to the home of the novice.]

80 One by one shall make their roads go forth.[32]
 Yonder where they have stood since the first beginning
 Our fathers,
 The forest,
 The brush,
 Those who have been given domain
 85 Yonder on all the mossy mountains,
 There we passed them on their roads.
 At the feet of some lucky one,
 90 Offering prayer meal,
 Shells,

Corn pollen,
 Even among their sharp fingers
 We looked about.
 95 Breaking off the straight green shoots of some lucky one,
 We drew them toward us.
 Even those standing there quietly,
 Holding their long life,
 100 Their old age,
 Their waters,
 Their seeds,
 The divine ones made their roads come hither.
 Near by into the house of our fathers,
 105 Our mothers,
 The clan of the sun,[33]
 Into their house the divine ones
 brought their road
 110 And there sat down quietly.
 This many days,
 Anxiously waiting
 With us, their children, they passed their days.
 And now that their appointed time had come,

[32. The frequent changes of tense in the following passages are confusing, but have been retained in the translation because they are so characteristic a feature of the poetic style. It reflects the very slight importance attached to clarity and coherence.

33. Willow sticks may be gathered at any time, and kept by a man in the house in which he lives until ready for use. He must have them in readiness for the prayer-stick making, which starts shortly after sunrise the following day.

34. An attempt on the part of the speaker to conceal his identity. He was neither a member of the Sun clan nor living in a Sun clan house.]

115 Next day,
 After our fathers,
 Our ancestors,
 Those who here had belonged to societies,
 The divine ones,
 120 After they first had taken hold of their plume wands,
 We of the daylight,
 Meeting one another,

With our warm human hands,
 Embraced them.
 125 For our fathers,
 Our children,
 Those who here belonged to societies,
 For their ceremony
 We shall give our plume wands human form.
 130 With the massed cloud robe of our grandfather,
 Male turkey,
 With eagle's mist garment,
 With the striped cloud wings
 And massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer,
 With these four times wrapping our plume wands,
 We shall give them human form.
 With the one who is our mother,
 Cotton woman,
 140 Even a roughly spun cotton thread,
 A soiled cotton thread,
 With this four times encircling them and tying it around,
 With hanging rain feather,
 145 We shall give our plume wands human form.
 Saying, let it be now,
 Taking our child's prayer meal,
 Wherever we think, let it be here,
 150 Our earth mother
 We shall pass on her road.
 Offering our plume wands,
 We shall make their days.[34]
 When there remains a little space,

[34. The four-day retreat, which begins when the prayer sticks are planted shortly before sunset on the day following this speech. The novice has prayer sticks made for him by his ceremonial father. In the afternoon he is summoned to the ceremonial house of the society to receive them. He then goes with his father and officers of the society to plant in a shrine at Badger place, about 2 miles southeast of Zuñi. From the time of the planting until the conclusion of the ceremonies he must do no work, especially lift no heavy weights. He eats and sleeps very little and is untouchable, like one who has had contact with the dead. At the same time other members of the society plant in their fields or at Red Earth and after their supper return with their bedding to the society house for a four nights' retreat. The days are spent in preparation for the great ceremony of the last night.]

Ere our sun father goes in to sit down at his sacred place
 Then our father[95]
 160 Will spread out his fathers' mist blanket,
 Their perfect cloud house he will prepare,
 Their rainbow bow he will lay down,
 Their lightning arrow he will lay down,
 And there will sit down quietly.
 165 Far off from all directions
 Our fathers will make their roads come forth.
 Making their roads come hither
 They will sit down quietly.
 170 Sitting behind them
 This many days,
 Anxiously waiting
 We shall pass our days.
 175 When we reach their appointed time,[36]
 Yonder from all directions
 The ones who are our fathers,
 Life-giving priests,
 Life-giving p?ekwins,
 180 Life-giving bow priests,
 All the Beast Priests,
 The divine ones,
 With no exceptions,
 All will make their roads come hither.
 185 Near-by, into the rain-filled rooms
 Of their daylight fathers,
 Their daylight children,
 They will bring their roads.
 At the place where they sit down quietly,
 190 Our child will pass his fathers on their road.
 Into a being like themselves[37]
 They will transform him.

[35. The p?ekwin of the society, who sets up the altar and makes the meal painting. This is done before the novice is summoned to plant his prayer sticks.

36. The fourth night of the retreat, when the ceremony of initiation takes place.

37. The painting of the face and the body of the novice. There is power inherent in body paint.]

195 Then sitting among his fathers,
 Even at their valuable place,
 Throughout a blessed night.
 With us, their children,
 They will come to day.
 200 Next day, when yet a little space remains
 Ere our sun father
 Comes out standing to his sacred place,
 205 Then with that through which our roads are fulfilled,
 With clear water,
 We shall add to the breath of our child.[38]
 For since our breath is valuable,
 210 Our child
 Into his body
 Will inhale our breath.
 At the very place where he sees our spring
 He will sit down as one of us.
 215 That his road may be fulfilled,
 Seeking that,
 With our thoughts bent to that,
 We shall always live.
 Anxiously awaiting the time ordained for this,
 220 We shall pass our days.
 For even while I call myself poor,
 Yonder on all sides,
 Asking for life from those whom
 my thoughts embrace,
 225 I shall add to your breath.
 From the priest of the north,
 From the priest of the west,
 From the priest of the south,
 From the priest of the east,
 230 From the priest of the above,
 From the priest of the below,
 Asking their long life,
 Their old age,
 All their good fortune whereof they are possessed,
 Asking for their breath,
 And into my warm body,
 Drawing their breath,
 I shall add to your breath.

[39. At dawn the head of the novice is washed by two sisters of his ceremonial father. During the washing of the head his society name is called in a song. Thus his rebirth is symbolized.]

240 To this end,
 May you be blessed with life.
 Now we go.[39]

THE SOCIETY FATHER BLESSES THE NOVICE AT THE CLOSE OF HIS INITIATION

On the following morning the members of the society make prayer sticks at their society house. They plant late in the afternoon and go into retreat in their ceremonial room. The novice has prayer sticks made by his ceremonial father, with whom he goes to plant at Badger Place. He observes a strict retreat in his own house. Each night he is brought to the society room to practice dancing and to be purified for his initiation.

Each member of the society makes prayer sticks for the novice to plant the last day. His father prepares his mi?le, the feathered ear of corn which will be his personal fetish, his medicine bag, and the eagle feathers that form part of his regalia. He makes or purchases the hand-woven blue breechcloth which forms his ceremonial costume. At the boy's house preparations for the feast are under way.

On the fourth night he is summoned by his father. At the society house he is clothed and his face and body are painted with sacred paint. Then he is brought into the ceremonial room to meet his fathers, the Beast Gods. He dances all night with two women of the clan of his ceremonial father. At dawn the two women wash his head at the altar, while the choir calls his new name. At the conclusion of this the ceremonial father hands the boy the medicine bag, eagle feathers, four ears of corn which have been lying on the altar, the mi?le, and the bundle of prayer sticks. They clasp bands over these sacred objects while the father repeats a long prayer, reviewing the events which have led up to this moment. At the conclusion all inhale the blessing of the newly consecrated mi?le.

The boy takes his sacred possession to his house and returns to the society room, where his relatives serve a sumptuous feast. About noon he goes with his ceremonial father and the head of the society to a shrine on Badger Place where he plants the bundle of prayer sticks. Then for four days he must abstain from animal food in addition to the usual requirements of sexual continence and gentleness. On the fourth morning his father takes him out toward the east and removes from his hair the downy feather which he has worn as a pledge of his abstinence.

He takes the boy to his house, where his head is washed by his wife. On this day there are elaborate exchanges of

[30. The man leaves at once. The women of the boy's family immediately start preparations for his initiation, including the preparation of food for the two great feasts they must provide, and the grinding of meal to be given to his ceremonial father.]

gifts of food between the women of the boy's family and those of the father's.

The following prayer, dictated by a member of the Great Fire Society, is said by the ceremonial father at the presentation of the mi?le, at the moment when he receives the novice into full membership in the society.

Now this many are the days
 Since something made our child sick.
 When his spirit failed
 And his breath failed,
 That by which we live,
 That of which is made the flesh of these, my children,
 The flesh of the white corn,
 Prayer meal,
 You prepared.
 And taking shells,
 The flesh of our mother, white shell woman,
 Who, though abiding far off, in the west,
 In all the village branches,[40]
 Saying, "Let it be here,"
 Has washed the cuticle from her body,
 Taking even a single borrowed shell,
 The shell,
 The rich clothing.
 You sent forth with prayers.[41]
 Among all your fathers,
 Life-giving priests,
 Life-giving p?ekwins,
 Life-giving bow priests,
 Society priests,
 Society p?ekwins,
 Society bow priests
 You looked about.

Now since nothing was clear to you,
 The divine ones
 Chose me from all.
 Then my daylight children revealed themselves to you
 And you also chose me from among them all
 And let me know of it.
 When my fathers had come out one by one
 From wherever they abide,
 Taking my prayer meal,
 Yonder toward the east
 I made my road go forth.[42]
 Standing facing my fathers
 I offered them prayer meal.
 The divine ones took my prayer meal.
 Then they leading,
 I following at their backs,
 With prayers we made our roads come hither.
 Here into the rain-filled rooms
 Of their daylight children
 The divine ones entered.[43]
 They sat down quietly.
 Here we of the daylight met one another
 I sat down quietly.
 Taking up our prayer meal,
 Our shells,
 Our rich clothing,
 Upon which we had breathed our prayers,
 In the hollow of the life giving left hand
 Of my fathers, life giving priests,
 I placed the prayer meal,
 The shells,
 The rich clothing,
 Then when my fathers took hold of their prayer meal,
 Their shells,
 Their rich clothing,
 We of the daylight
 With the prayer meal,
 With the shells,
 With the rich clothing,
 We held one another fast.
 Desiring our fathers' long life,
 Desiring their old age,
 Desiring their medicine,

Sending forth our prayers for these,
With prayer meal,

[40. The pueblos to the east, whence shells and turquoise are secured by trade. Wherever White Shell Woman bathes she leaves the rubbings from her body, the white olivella shells, which are ground down for wampum.

41. Literally, "to set up before the door," used of any person or object appointed to intercede with outside forces.

42. With the package of meal received from the patient's family, the shaman goes to the east to pray for divine help.

43. The first visit to the patient.]

With shells,
With rich clothing
We held one another fast.
Taking my child's prayer meal,
His shells,
His rich clothing,
Yonder toward the east,
With prayers I made my road go forth.[44]
Where the life-giving road of my fathers comes in,
I passed them on their road.
With my child's prayer meal,
With his shells,
With his rich clothing
For my child
I asked for life.
Then I returned to my own house.
As the sacred words of the divine ones circulated,[45]
We in the daylight,
Letting one another know,
Anxiously waiting we came to evening.
Following after those whom our thoughts embrace,[46]
The ones who were to have their days,
Male willow,
Female willow,
Breaking off straight young shoots,
Of whichever ones were lucky,
And drawing them toward us,
With our warm human hands
We held them fast.
With the massed cloud robe of our grandfather,
Male turkey,
With eagle's mist garment,

With the striped cloud wings
 And massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer,
 Four times with these wrapping the plume wands
 We gave them human form;
 With our mother,
 Cotton woman,
 Even a roughly spun cotton thread,
 Four times encircling them and tying it around,
 With a rain-bringing hair feather,
 We gave them human form;
 With the flesh of our two mothers,
 Black paint woman,
 Clay woman,
 Clothing their plume wands with their flesh,
 We gave them human form;
 With the mucous of our fathers,[47]
 Life-giving priests,
 We gave them human form.
 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 And taking our plume wands,
 The divine ones leading,
 We following at their backs,
 Hither with prayers
 We brought our roads.
 Into the rain-filled rooms
 Of our daylight children[48]
 The divine ones entered;
 With their hands
 They removed the source of sickness from our child,
 The one who had been suffering from some evil sickness.
 Then our child
 With his spittle
 Finished their plume wands.
 Taking the plume wand,
 After having removed the sickness from our child,
 The one who had been suffering with some evil sickness,
 Taking the plume wand,
 We made our road go forth.
 Saying, "Let it be here,"
 I met those who are our fathers,
 Life-giving priests,
 Life-giving p?ekwins,
 Life-giving bow priests;
 And furthermore our ancestors,
 Those who here belonged to societies,
 Those who were society chiefs,
 Those who were society p?ekwins,

[44. He goes out to the east a second time, "to take out the sickness."

45. He notifies important members of the society that the society has been summoned to cure, while at the same time the supernaturals assemble.

46. Heads of the society go after willow sticks of which to make prayer sticks. In the text of the following passage all pronouns are omitted, implying a third person subject. They have been restored in the translation in the interest of intelligibility. Such changes of person are characteristic.

47. Medicine roots which are used on prayer sticks for special occasions. The use of these medicines, the way of making these prayer sticks, and the prayers which give them power are some of the most carefully guarded secrets in Zuñi ritual.

48. The second visit to the patient The physician rubs his body with the medicated prayer stick. The physician takes it out immediately.]

Those who were society bow priests,
 Those who with thoughts embracing,
 Held in their keeping our world;
 And furthermore our ancestors,
 Those who had knowledge of how to care for us,
 And the Beast Priests.
 Where they were all fittingly gathered together,
 None being absent,
 There I passed them on their roads.
 I gave them the plume wands.
 My fathers took firm hold of my plume wands.
 Yonder at the place of their first beginning,
 At Cipapolima,
 While Iyatiku Poceyanki[49]
 By means of my plume wands sent
 Word about,
 Anxiously waiting
 They came to evening.
 When our sun father
 Had gone in standing to his sacred place,
 And our night fathers,
 Our night mothers,
 Coming out rising to their sacred place,
 Passed us on our roads,
 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 Our father,
 Our mother,

The perfectly robed ones[50]
 Both of them we made arise.
 They leading,
 Near by into the rain-filled rooms of our daylight fathers,
 Our roads entered.[51]
 Sitting down quietly,
 Again for the second time
 Taking our child's prayer meal,
 And giving it to our fathers,
 Here in the hollow of their life-giving left hand,
 The prayer meal,
 The shell giving to them,
 We held one another fast.
 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 Our father,
 Our mother,
 The perfectly robed,
 We made arise.
 With these leading,
 Far off to the east,
 With prayers we made our road forth.[52]
 Where our fathers' life-giving road comes in,
 We passed them on their roads.
 Standing face to face
 Our child's prayer meal,
 His shells,
 We gave to our fathers.
 And adding my own words
 In accordance with whatever had already been said to make the prayer
 meal a being potent in prayer,
 I asked for life for my child.
 There we met our fathers,
 Life-giving priests;
 And furthermore, our ancestors,
 Those who here belonged to societies
 The ones who had attained the far off place of waters;
 And furthermore our relatives,
 Those who used to know how to care for us;
 Where none were missing
 But where all abide holding their long life,
 Holding their old age,
 We passed them on their roads;
 All the Beast Priests

Holding their weapons[53]
 We met;
 With these all leading,
 We following at their backs,
 Hither with prayers we came.[54]
 Into their daylight children's water-filled rooms,
 Their seed-filled rooms,
 The divine ones entered.
 After they had sat down quietly
 We, the daylight people,

[49. Described as a single individual with two names. " Some one who knows about medicine." Iyatiku is the "mother corn " of the Keres. Po'ciyanki is the culture hero of all the eastern Pueblos.

50. The mi?le "and something else." What, could not be learned.

51. The first night visit to the patient.

52. He goes out with corn meal for the second time to pray for divine help.

53. Sa'wanik^ã, any weapon including the claws of animals, and, abstractly, power.

54. He returns to the house of the patient.]

Met one another.
 Sitting down quietly,
 Our fathers, life-giving priests,
 Built[55] with their hand their massed cloud house,
 Spread out their mist blanket,
 Sent forth their life-giving road,
 Prepared their perfect spring.
 Sitting down quietly,
 These, the divine ones,
 Looked over their child.
 Then also these same ones
 Let their hands go first,
 Their breath go first
 While our hands followed.
 For among all the corn priests' ladder descending children,
 Among all the little boys and little girls,
 And those whose roads go ahead,[56]
 Was one, who even though a valuable person,

Because he became angry over some thing,
 Used his power to harm our child.
 The power of this foolish one,
 Our fathers, the divine ones,
 The Beast Priests,
 Brought forth standing
 Into the daylight of our sun father.[57]
 Then with his fathers' water of life,
 With their flesh,[58]
 Our child nourished himself.
 When the day had advanced a little,
 When the night had advanced a little,
 Our child's sickness grew less,
 His breath became better.
 That his road may be fulfilled
 Reaching to where the road of his sun father comes out,
 That he may stand firmly upon his earth mother,
 Hoping for this we shall live.
 When he said, let it be now,[59]
 And after our moon mother,
 Yonder in the west still small,
 Had first appeared,
 And when a little space yet remained
 Until, standing against the eastern sky,
 She should come to maturity.
 At that time our spring children,[60]
 Whoever of them had thought to grow old,
 Taking prayer meal,
 Taking shells,
 Taking corn pollen,
 Made their roads go forth.
 Wherever they met their fathers of the bush,
 At the feet of the lucky one
 Prayer meal, shell,
 Corn pollen,
 They offered.
 Breaking off the straight young shoots
 Which they drew toward them,
 With their warm human hands,
 They held them fast.
 With the massed cloud robe of our grandfather,
 Male turkey,
 Eagle's mist garment,

And the striped cloud wings
 And massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer,
 With these four times wrapping their plume wands,
 They gave their plume wands human form.
 With the one who is our mother,
 Cotton woman,
 Even a roughly spun cotton thread,
 Four times encircling the plume wand
 And tying it around,
 And with a rain-bringing hair feather,
 They gave their plume wands human form.
 With the flesh of our two mothers,
 Black paint woman,
 Clay woman,
 Clothing their plume wands with flesh,
 They gave their plume wands human form.
 Saying, "Let it be now,"
 And taking our plume wands,

[55. The altar is set up in the patient's room.

56. The aged.

57. The cause of sickness is drawn from the body of the patient. (See p. 531.)

58. The patient drinks from the medicine bowl on the altar an infusion of medicine roots in water. The ceremony described above is repeated on four consecutive nights.

59. When the patient decided to fulfill his pledge of membership.

60. The members of the society start their preparations for the initiation ceremonies. The final ceremonies take place at the full moon.]

And taking our child's prayer meal,[61]
 Yonder with prayer
 One by one we made our roads go forth.
 Meeting our earth mother,
 And meeting our ancestors,
 Our children,
 Those who here belonged to societies,
 And furthermore our fathers,

The Beast bow priests,
 We offered them plume wands.
 When there remained yet a little space.
 Ere our sun father,
 Went in to sit down at his sacred place,
 From far off on all sides
 Our fathers,
 Life giving priests,
 The divine ones,
 With not one missing,
 Making their roads come forth,
 They made their roads come hither.
 Into the rain-filled rooms of their daylight mothers,
 They made their roads enter.[62]
 Perpetuating their rite
 According to the first beginning,
 They fashioned their cloud house,
 They spread out their mist blanket,
 They sent forth their life-giving road,
 They fashioned their spring,
 They spanned their rainbow bow,
 They set their lightning arrow,
 They sat down quietly,
 And at their feet we sat down.
 This many days
 Anxiously we have waited.[63]
 Now, indeed, when the last of all their days was past,
 Our child having made his road come in,[64]
 Even where the precious road of his fathers enters,
 Into a being like themselves
 Our fathers transformed[65] their child.
 Then a blessed night they spent
 With us who are their children.
 Next day,
 While yet a little space remained
 Ere our sun father
 Should come out standing to his sacred place,
 With our clear water,
 With that by which we have being,
 With this we took hold of our child.[66]
 After the divine ones first added their breath,
 Then also praying in the same words,
 We added to the breath of our child.

Our child taking his fathers' breath,
 Into his body will draw their breath.
 And since our breath is valuable,
 Where he sees our spring,
 Even there he will sit down among us;
 Then seeking always the ways of prolonging life,
 With thoughts bent on this, we shall live.
 Then also, that on following this we may bend our thoughts,
 For this in plain words I sent forth my prayers.
 He give us this child
 That for a long time
 In bonds of affection
 We may live together,
 These clear words were spoken,[67]
 And to your fathers,
 Wherever they stay,
 You sent your clear words forth.
 Indeed, even while I call myself poor,
 Far off on all sides,
 I have as my fathers life-giving priests.
 Asking for their life-giving breath,
 Their breath of old age,
 Their breath of waters,
 Their breath of seeds,
 Their breath of riches
 Their breath of fecundity,
 Their breath of strong spirit,
 Their breath of power,
 Their breath of all good fortune whereof they are possessed,
 Asking for their breath,

[61. As soon as the altar is setup in the society room the father or uncle of the novice is summoned. He again gives the boy's ceremonial father a packet of prayer meal, thanking him for having cured his child. This meal is later distributed among all present.

62. The retreat of the society begins. Their room becomes taboo to outsiders because of the presence of the divine ones.

63. Three nights.

64. On the fourth night.

65. The novice is clothed and painted.

66. His head is washed.

67. By the man who first summoned the society for the curing rites.]

Into our warm bodies taking their breath,
 We shall add to your breath.
 Then also far off on all sides
 I have fathers:
 Priest of the north,[68]
 Priest of the west,
 Priest of the south,
 Priest of the east,
 Priest of above,
 Priest of below;
 Our sun father,
 Our moon mother,
 The sky,
 The Milky Way,
 The Great Bear,
 The Pleiades,
 The seed stars,[69]
 And all the little sparkling stars,
 Priests,
 Asking for their life-giving breath,
 Their breath of old age,
 Their breath of waters,
 Their breath of seeds,
 Their breath of fecundity,
 Their breath of riches,
 Their breath of strong spirit,
 Their breath of power,
 Their breath of all good fortune whereof they are possessed,
 Asking for their breath,
 Into our warm bodies taking their breath,
 We shall add to your breath.
 Do not despise the breath of your fathers,
 But draw it into your body.
 That our roads may reach to where the life-giving road of our sun father
 comes out,
 That, clasping one another tight,
 Holding one another fast,

We may finish our roads together;
 That this may be, I add to your breath now.
 To this end:
 May my father bless you with life;
 May your road reach to Dawn Lake,
 May your road be fulfilled.

[68. The title "priest" seems to be applied to anyone endowed with the means of securing or bestowing blessings, regardless of whether they are human or immortal. The reference here is to supernaturals.

69. Unidentified constellation.]

PRAYER OF A SOCIETY CHIEF DURING HIS WINTER RETREAT

At the winter solstice all the societies observe retreats. After the images of the war god have gone into the kiva on the night before the first great prayer stick planting they hold late meetings at which special prayers are said for rain. There are special and very secret songs that are sung on this night only. They do not go into retreat formally until the next night. Three nights are spent mainly in preparation

for the great ceremony of the last night at which the sick are cured. On this night the beast gods are present in all the society houses, and take possession of those who have the secret knowledge of how to invoke them.

The following prayers purport to be those spoken by the heads of the Cuma:kwe and Ant Societies, respectively, at some time during this four-day retreat. The man who dictated it was not a member of either society and did not state the precise use of the prayers. Nor were my other informants familiar with them. Such prayers might be used on any one of a great number of occasions.

My life-giving fathers,
 At the place called since the first beginning Tcipia,
 You dwell.
 Where the deer stands,
 5 At Dry place you dwell.
 My fathers,
 Life-giving priests, there you dwell.
 This day,

Here at Itiwana,
 10 Our daylight fathers,
 Our mothers,
 Our children,
 In their inner rooms
 For their fathers,
 15 Life-giving priests,
 Perpetuating the rite handed down since the first beginning,
 Have spread out your cloud blanket,
 Your life-giving road they have made.
 20 Your spring they have made.
 Perpetuating the rite handed down since the first beginning
 You have sat down quietly before it;
 At your back,
 At your feet,
 25 We shall sit down beside you.
 Desiring your waters,
 Your seeds,
 Your riches,
 Your long life,
 30 Your old age,
 Desiring these, I set you down
 quietly.
 As you sit here quietly
 As I wish, according to my words,
 You will take us to be your children,

 35 So that all my children
 May be saved.
 All will be happy.
 Safely they will bring forth their young.
 So that all my children may finish their roads,
 So that they may grow old,
 40 So that you may bless us with life,
 So that none of my spring children
 May be left standing outside.
 So that you may protect us (I have done this).
 May our roads be fulfilled;
 45 May we grow old;
 May our roads reach to dawn lake;
 May we grow old;
 May you bless us with life.

PRAYER OF THE CHIEF OF THE ANT SOCIETY

At the place of the first beginning,
 Ci'papolima,
 Life-giving priests, abide.
 My fathers,
 5 Beast priests,
 Mountain lion,
 Bear,
 Badger,
 Wolf,
 10 My father above,
 Knife wing,
 Shrew,
 My fathers,
 Over all this great world you go about.
 15 Rattlesnake yellow,
 Blue,
 Red,
 White,
 Many colored,
 20 Black.
 Here at the place of your first beginning,
 Ci'papolima,
 In your inner room, you live.
 Your massed cloud blanket is spread out.

25 Your life-giving road goes forth.
 None of you are missing,
 But all stay quietly.
 Perpetuating your rite according the first beginning,
 You live.
 30 My fathers,
 Life-giving priest,
 With none missing, you live.
 Yonder my sacred word will reach.
 35 To you I speak my sacred words.
 My fathers,
 Life-giving priest,
 Perpetuating your rite according to the first beginning,
 You live.
 40 Here at Itiwana, we live.
 Here in the daylight we live.

My fathers,
 Life-giving priest,
 45 Where none are missing,
 You live.
 Listen to my sacred words.
 There you live.
 To you I speak.
 Mindful of my words,
 50 My country,
 Itiwana,
 Cover with your clouds,
 Cover with your rains,
 55 All of your children preserve.
 Reaching to Dawn Lake,
 May our roads be fulfilled.
 May we grow old
 60 May our peoples' roads all be fulfilled.
 May they be preserved,

PRAYERS FOR COLLECTING MEDICINE (CACTUS SOCIETY)

The expedition for gathering medicine roots camps the first night about sixteen miles east of Zuñi. Before eating, the customary offerings of food are set aside. After singing four songs, the head of the expedition prays:

Now this night,
 Our night fathers.
 Our mothers,

5 Rising a little, have come standing to their sacred place.
 The song sequence of our fathers
 You have heard.
 You who are our fathers,
 10 Best bow priests,
 Your hand leading,
 Our hands following,
 Desiring your medicine,
 Hither we take our roads.
 15 Do not think to withhold it from us because of something,
 For verily,
 Desiring my fathers' flesh,
 That by which my children may fulfill their thoughts,

20 To-morrow, throughout a good day,
 A beautiful day,
 With us your children
 You will come to evening.
 25 And when that day shall have passed,
 Anxiously waiting,
 We shall pass our days.

He takes the offering, burns it at a little distance from camp, and sitting down, waits for some omen.

Now this night
 Our night fathers,
 30 Our mothers,
 Rising a little have come standing to their sacred place.
 Bringing food
 Hither with prayers
 35 We made our road come forth.
 Wherever, thinking "Let it be here,"
 Our earth mother,
 We passed on her road.
 Sitting down on the bare ground,
 (We came to you,)
 40 Our ancestors,
 The ones who here used to belong to societies,
 The ones who used to understand medicine,
 You who now have attained the
 far off place of waters;

Having passed you on your roads,
 45 We shall add to your hearts.
 Adding to your hearts
 Your long life,
 Your old age,
 Your waters,
 50 Your seeds,
 Your medicine
 You will grant to us,
 How the days will be
 You will make known to us.
 55 Knowing that, we shall live.

After praying, he waits for an omen. Next day they look for the plants.
A young man going for the first time gives his ceremonial father a
package of prayer meal, saying:

Now this day,
Our sun father
60 Having come out standing to his sacred place,
And having yet a little ways to go,
To go in to sit down at his other sacred place,
Bringing prayer meal which I have prepared,
65 Here near by,
At the very edge of the wilderness,
I have passed you on your road.
Desiring our fathers' medicine
We hold one another fast.
Desiring the medicine of our ancestors,
The ones who here belonged to societies,
The ones who used to understand medicine,
The beast priests.
75 Desiring their medicines,
With prayer meal,
With shells,
With rich clothing,
We hold one another fast.
80 My father,
You will cleanse your thoughts,
You will cleanse your heart,
So that somehow we may be the
children of the divine ones.

85 Perhaps, if we are fortunate,
Because of our thoughts
Our spring children may multiply.[70]
Among all the little boys
And all the little girls,
90 And those whose roads go ahead,
Our spring children have multiplied.
In order that this toward which our thoughts bend may be
accomplished,
Desiring our fathers' medicine,
95 We have made our roads come hither.
My father,
For you I have finished all these words.

Even while I call myself poor,
 Yonder on all sides
 From those whom my thoughts embrace,
 100 I shall ask for light;
 I shall add to your breath.
 Asking for the breath of the priest of the north,
 The priest of the west,
 The priest of the south,
 105 The priest of the east,
 The priest of above,
 The priest of below.
 Asking for their life-giving breath,
 Their breath of old age,
 110 Their breath of waters,
 Their breath of seeds,
 Their breath of fecundity,
 Their breath of riches,
 Their breath of strong spirit,
 115 Their breath of power,
 Their breath of all good fortune whereof they are possessed--
 Asking for this,
 Into my warm body
 I shall draw their breath.
 120 In order that our roads may reach
 To where the road of our sun father comes out,
 In order that we may finish our roads,
 For this I add to your breath.
 To this end, my father,

[70. By means of medicine knowledge he will secure new members for the society.]

125 May you be blessed with light.

To this the father replies:

Now indeed
 Our fathers' medicines
 To one another we give.
 130 Our fathers' life-giving breath,
 Their breath of old age,
 (We give to one another.)
 When, among all the corn priests' ladder descending children,

Some evil causes sickness,
 135 When the spirit fails,
 Then, desiring their fathers' long life,
 Desiring their old age,
 Desiring their medicine,
 140 Among all their fathers,
 Society priests,
 Society p?ekwins,
 Society bow priests,
 They will look about.
 145 Even though you do not know of it,
 If the divine ones choose you,
 When they summon you
 You shall not think to refuse.
 150 With prayer meal,
 With shell,
 With rich clothing,
 They will bind you fast.
 Then seeking these wherever they are,
 155 Even though the night be dangerous,
 Following your fathers,
 Even to all the places where you did not think to enter,
 Seeking these,
 160 Living for their thoughts,
 Thus shall you live.[71]

[71 Dictated by a member of the Cactus Society. The remaining prayers were withheld.]

PRAYER FOR STALKING DEER

When a hunter sees deer tracks he crouches down in the trail and offers prayer meal to the deer, with the request that he may reveal himself. The following text is taken from a folk We in which success in hunting is the test imposed on suitors. Several suitors fail because they neglect to offer prayer meal to the prey.

This day
 He who holds our roads,
 Our sun father,
 Has come out standing to his sacred place.
 Now that he has passed us on our roads,
 Here we pass you on your road.

Divine one,
 The flesh of the white corn,
 Prayer meal,
 Shell,
 Corn pollen,
 Here I offer to you.
 With your wisdom
 Taking the prayer meal,
 The shell,
 The corn pollen,
 This day,
 My fathers,
 My mothers,
 In some little hollow,
 In some low brush,
 You will reveal yourselves to me.
 Then with your flesh,
 With your living waters,
 May I sate myself. In order that this may be
 Here I offer your prayer meal.

Remarks on Shamanism

From "Discussion of J. Cheston Morris' Address ['The Relation of the Pentagonal Do-decahedron Found near Marietta, Ohio, to Shamanism'] and "Remarks on Shamanism," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 36 (1897): 184-92.

THE account Dr. Morris has given us as to what Mr. Williams related to him concerning the life of an Indian youth of the Nez Percé tribe has interested me exceedingly by reason of its striking similarity to what I have myself heard, seen, and experienced among the Zúñi Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

With these people, a child is not thought of, when first born, as quite yet a living mortal being. It is referred to as "it" or the "new being," nor is any name given to it until after the lapse of nine days. It is supposed to be *kái'-yu-na* and *ai'-ya-vwi--*unripe and tender, or soft and susceptible as are germinating seeds or unfinished clay vessels, until after one full day for each of the lunar months of its inter-uterine gestation has passed. During this period of nine days it is usually kept with its mother, secluded from the outer world and from sunlight, in order that

it may gradually become hardened to, and so, safe in the "world of daylight"--as these people term the scene and condition of mortal life--that is, condensed to "middle being"--as they further term men's particular mortal existence.

At the close of this ceremonial period the umbilical cord, which has meanwhile sloughed off or has been removed and zealously cared for, is ceremoniously buried in the soil at some particular place, in order that thereat may be formed the "midmost shrine" of the child, and therein its connection with the earth mother--as formerly with its mortal mother--may be established, and that its vitality apart from her thenceforward, be maintained--by thus placing within the fertile bosom of the Universal Mother, that through which erstwhile the child received separately, or secondarily, its being, nourishment and growth, from its human mother.

Passing over many other ceremonials which attend the first naming of the child and its introduction to the Sun and to the tribe of its descent on the early morning of the tenth day (that is, at the end of these nine natal days), a few words relative to the meaning of the "midmost shrine" will serve to indicate what would likely be the symbolic significance to a people like the Nez Percé and the Zuñi Indians, of such an object (whether natural or artificial) as the one to which Dr. Morris has called our attention.

He has quite accurately stated, in the theory he has advanced regarding this object, the view one of these Indians would hold, as to the meaning of the *number* of its sides or faces and itself. To one of them, a cube would not be representative of six, its number of superficies, but of *seven*; and a dodecahedron, not of twelve, but of *thirteen*. For, when an untutored or primitive man like him contemplates or considers himself or any other distinct thing, in his or its relation to space or the surrounding directions, he notes that there is ever a front or face, a rear or back; two sides, or a right and a left; a head and a foot, or an above and a below; and that of and within all these, is himself or it; that the essence of all these aspects, in anything, is the thing-itself--that is, the thing that contains their numbers or sum, yet is one by itself

This is indeed the very key to his conception of himself and of everything, in relation to space and the universe or cosmos. He observes that there are as many regions in the world as there are aspects of himself or sides to any equally separate thing; that there are as many

directions from him or his place in the world (which is his "midmost" or place of attachment to the Earth-mother) or from anything in the world (which is its midmost or natural station) toward these corresponding regions. Hence to him a plane would be symbolized not by four, but by *five*, its four sides and directions thence, and its central self-as was actually the notion of the Prairie tribes; a cube, not by six, but by seven, as was the notion of the Valley-Pueblos and Navajos; a dodecahedron, not by twelve, but by thirteen, as was the notion of the Zuñis, the Aztecs, the Mayas, and apparently--from this example--of the Mound builders as well.

With all that I have thus far said, I cannot yet have made clear to you the relation this supposed connection of beings and things to their surroundings, to the regions in front, behind, at the right and left sides, and above, below and within them, can have to the subject under discussion. It will therefore be necessary for me to crave your patience while I enter a little more fully into a consideration of the beliefs of primitive man concerning *force*, *life*, and *form*, for it will be seen that these beliefs have a direct bearing on this apparently fantastic and mystic meaning of the numbers *seven* and *thirteen*.

To the primitive Shaman, all force necessarily seems to be derived from some kind of life, since he continually sees force as motion or stress originated in, or initiated as action by, life in some form--his own, or some other. Now the supreme characteristic or concomitant of his own or of any other form of life, is breath, which like force or stress, is invisible; hence he reasons that force is breath, and conversely that breath is the force of life. He sees that this breath enters into and issues from every living being, and since every such being has distinctive form, he further reasons that every separate form, whether animate in our sense or not, has life of some kind or degree. He has, for example, no knowledge of air--as a gas--no knowledge of it other than as wind, and no conception of wind other than as breath, as the sort of something that he feels when he blows upon his hand and knows absolutely that he or his own breath is blowing, and that this breath it is that is coexistent with his mortal existence.

Therefore, he thinks not only of all forms as living, but also of the wind as necessarily the breath of some living form or being. And since his own little breath is so intimately of himself, he naturally imagines that this other greater breath must needs be as intimately that of some other and correspondingly greater and more powerful--what though invisible--being. He also imagines that this great being of the wind

resides in the direction whence comes prevailingly its wind or its breath. Now when he observes that there are prevailing or distinctive winds of the diverse directions,--that of the north which blows hardest of them all and chiefly in winter; that of the west which blows more temperately and chiefly in spring time; that of the south, which blows softly and most frequently in summer; that of the east, which is again more fierce and chilly, and blows mostly in autumn; he not only severally locates these winds in their various quarters, but also differentiates them, and believes that the wind-being of the north produces cold and winter; of the west, moisture and spring; of the south, warmth, dryness and summer; of the east, coolness again, frost, and therewith the aging or maturing of all growing things, and autumn. And so to him the element of the north world is wind (or air, breath) preëminently; of the west world, water; of the south world, fire; and of the east world, earth or its seeds; and that each of these elements is produced by or is under the dominion of the special wind-god of its quarter; yet all combine, in the regular succession of the seasons, to make this World of the Middle what it is from year to year . . .

Now since the various animals are supposed, according to their kinds, to be especially resident in one region or another, not only is there attributed to the Great Being or God of Wind in a particular region, a form more or less like to that of his supposed kind of animal therein, but also, the clans are organized with reference, in turn, to the supposed relation of their totems to these various animals and animistic or mythic beings of the special regions. And so, when, for example, a name is to be conferred upon a child of one of these totems, some process of divination must be entered into to determine what shall be his relation to the creatures and the deific being of one region or another, and correspondingly, of course, to his fellows among the clans. For it is held to be essential that this sacred relationship be symbolized, in some way or another, in the choice of his totemic name, and thus--as well as for many reasons into a consideration of which I cannot enter here--must be divined. Now in this process of divination, various instrumentalities are employed. For example, among the Zuñis, wands painted in diverse colors--each color being symbolic of a special region and plumed with appropriate bird feathers--are sometimes set up in balls of clay, each placed out on the floor in the direction of the region to which the color of its wand relates it. Then it is noted which of the plumes waves most actively in any wind (or breath) that may be stirring. From this, the spiritual relation, so to say, or the source or totemic origin of the child is divined, and he will be named, and to a certain extent the course of his life will be determined upon according to this divination. For example,

the Zuñi totem gods of the several regions are: the Gray Wolf for the East or Dawn-Land; the Mountain Lion or Puma for the North or fierce Winter-Land; the Black Bear for the Land of the West or Night; the sun-loving Badger for the South or Summer-Land; the Eagle for the Sky and Light, and the Burrowing Mole for the Under-Land and Darkness. Let us suppose that the plume on the white wand--the one that is set up toward the east--waves most actively; then, what though the child belong to a clan or totem of one of the other regions, he will nevertheless be regarded as *spiritually* related to the Gray Wolf of Dawn, and it will be believed by his fellows--and with their belief he will himself become, as he grows toward puberty, more and more impressed--that he is destined for membership in the sacred organization or Shamanistic Society or Lodge of the Medicine-men of the East, or of the Wolf deity. Now when the age of puberty is attained, and the boy is to be solemnly invested with the garment or clout and the responsibilities of manhood, he is . . . required to pass through various ordeals, such as a period of vigorous fasting and purification (this both by means of emetics and purgatives); and to retire to some lonely spot and there keep, day and night, lengthy vigils, whereby it is sought to diminish for a time his earthly grossness, interests and affections, to "still his heart" and quicken his spiritual perception and hearing of the meaning of the "Silent Surpassing Ones." This is in order that he may gain sign from or actually behold one of the Beings who wield, in the great quarters, the forces of nature, and who shall thereafter be his special *Tamanawa* or spiritual guide. It is also in order to aid him in seeking for some objective sign by which this relationship to his Genius may be proven to himself and made manifest to his people. In a condition of exaltation as he is--and I can attest to its absorbing nature, through having myself endured such an ordeal--you can well understand that his perceptions will become startlingly manifest in the various visions and signs he sees. These will seem to him, I can again personally assure you, far more real than the most absolutely actual things he has ever beheld or experienced. Perchance he gazes at the mist, or a cloud in the sky. The cloud will surely seem to take the form of a great gray wolf; and when he seeks for some token of that God of the Sky, a tooth-like fossil, a few hairs maybe, which he may find on the ground nearby or underneath the apparition, will be reverently accepted as potent amulets, and he will bear them to the tribal Fathers or Shamans, and by them they will be received as a sign of his Genius, and he will be relegated to the phratral division or lodge of the Wolf. Or again, it may be that he will find a crystal, and because this crystal shines clearly and therein resembles the light by which we see and the eye through which we see--and hence is regarded as helpful in

seeing--it will be regarded as a token of seership, as a sign of the Seeing Spirit, and fortunate the youth who is thus supposed to be endowed with the power of penetration into the unseen. To give yet one more example, let us suppose that he finds a concretion exhibiting spiral or concentric lines. He will regard this as a symbol of the Midmost itself, a token of his relation thereto also--no matter to what totem he may belong, or to what region he may be related by birth. For the spiral lines perceived in this crystal resemble those of the marks upon the sand produced by the whirling about of objects like red-topped grass by the whirlwind, yet which are regarded as the tracks of the whirlwind god, whose breath is the midmost of all the winds of the world.

Permit me to here give parenthetically a striking illustration of the way in which these primitive Shamans personify phenomena of nature, by instancing their personification of this god of the whirlwind. Of all the winds of heaven, the whirlwind alone is upright--progresses as man does, by walking over the plains. The whirlwind god is therefore endowed in part, with the personality of a man; but like the eagle, also, the whirlwind flies aloft and circles widely in the sky; therefore he is endowed with the wings and tail, the head, beak and talons of an eagle. Since the sand which he, the whirlwind, casts about pricks the face as would minute arrows, the dreadful wings of the god are supposed to be flinty, and his character warlike or destructive, as is that of the eagle; yet of all the Beings of Wind, he is the most potent, for he twists about or banishes utterly from his trail, either the north wind or the south, the east wind or the west, and overcomes even gravity--the pulling-breath of the earth or under world--and therefore is the god of the midmost among all the six gods of wind. Thus, lucky in a purely practical way, is he who finds under given auspicious circumstances, his name-token in the shape of a little concentric concretion, for he will be in the line of ordination thereby, to the Central Council or Priesthood of his people. . .

Now I have gone a long way around the subject in hand, in order to measurably substantiate my reasons for thinking that Dr. Morris is correct in his hypothesis as to the sacred and symbolic character and origin of the pentagonal dodecahedron which he has exhibited and commented upon here to-night. A figure even as elaborate and difficult of production in stone as is this, could readily have been formed by Indian artisans. Its shape might have been suggested in the process, perfectly familiar to them, of knapping a block or cube of stone, and afterwards breaking away its angles by battering, to form a sphere; or, better still, by the shapes of balls of clay--naturally formed round in the

hands--and used as by the Zuñis in their processes of name-divination just described; or again, by the shapes of pentagonal or other like--ever sacred--crystals. The scratchings or figures observed upon the various faces of this stone are quite such as might well have been drawn to differentiate them as being related to one region or another, and in all probability the figures thus scratched were further marked with pigments symbolic of the different regions, when this stone was used in such processes of divination. Close observation of the more distinct lines of these figures on the faces of the stone, shows that they were made by a flint point, not a metal instrument; for they are double--that is within each one is a minute bead such as would be produced by the fracturing of a fine point of flint or other hard concoidal stone when drawn over the surface of another stone like this--and not simply V-shaped as would have been the case had a metal instrument been used.

Some question may arise in the minds of those who have listened to Dr. Morris' paper, and to my comments thereon, as to the meaning of the twelve faces in this particular specimen; since, as I have explained there are only six regions, the north, west, south, east, upper and lower, that the midmost is at once surrounded by and contains within, itself. But I failed to say earlier and in the proper connection, that to the primitive-minded man, as there is no form without life, so there is no life-form, without due duality of origin--the father and the mother. Consequently we find that in relation to all things, (with tribes of primitive peoples like the Zuñis of to-day, and like the mound builders of long ago, who possessed and revered this object), the sexenary division is duplicated; but since there can be only one middle or content, the sexenary division is with them symbolized by the number seven, and when duplicated, we have, not fourteen, but thirteen; that is, six pairs which are visible, but only one for the concentric or synthetic middle, since there can be but one actual centre or middle to anything, even to the great world.

Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism

**INTRODUCTION TO ZUÑI CEREMONIALISM, By
RUTH L. BUNZEL, *From the Forty-seventh Annual Report
of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. All page
references are to the original.***

CONDITIONS OF LIFE

The Zuñi tribe numbered in 1928 approximately 1,900 individuals, settled in the desert of western New Mexico on land which the nation had already inhabited for many centuries prior to the advent of the Spaniards in 1540. The reservation which they now hold under Government protection is a strip of land roughly following the course of the Zuñi River from its headwaters near the Continental Divide southwest to a point some miles east of the Arizona border. The general conformation of the land is a high, broad valley dropping sharply from northeast to southwest. The upper end of the valley is hemmed in by rugged mountains of red and white sandstone, cut by deep canyons densely forested. Toward the west the country lies open. The average altitude of the valley is about 6,000 feet.

The Zuñi River which drains this country is a permanent stream, which, however, varies greatly in volume of water. For the greater part of the year it is a thin trickle threading its devious way through broad, glistening mud flats. During the summer season this trickle may be transformed within a few moments into a raging torrent that inundates the mud flats and frequently overflows the containing banks. These sudden floods, caused by cloud-bursts in the eastern mountains, generally subside within a few hours, although the stream frequently runs high for two or three days during the spring freshets, when the river is said to be impassable for days at a time. The valley is traversed also by numerous arroyos filled with rushing water in times of flood, but otherwise quite dry. In all the surrounding mountains are numerous permanent springs of sweet water.

The mountains and canyons of the east, well watered by virtue of their nearness to the divide, are covered with thick forests of conifers. The and plains of the west sustain only a meager covering of sage, greasewood, yucca, and small cacti, with occasional poplar and cottonwood trees near springs and along watercourses.

The high altitude and excessive aridity produce a healthy and invigorating climate. There are great seasonal and daily fluctuations in temperature. There are summers of blazing noons (110° F. is by no means unusual) and cool, almost, chilly, nights. In winter, especially in December, the nights are bitter cold, the days, for the most part, mild and sunny.

There are two periods of precipitation--in summer from July to September, and in winter from December to March. The summer rains begin early in July, increasing in intensity as the season advances. The rainy season ends about September 15. In summer the sun rises every day in an unclouded sky of brilliant blue. By noon this blue dome begins to fill with great puffs of white cumulus clouds, increasing in density, with heavy black clouds along the southern horizon. The late afternoon is generally marked by sudden and violent showers of short duration. These showers, which are very local, can literally be seen stalking out of the southeast just before sunset. The storms increase in frequency, intensity, and duration toward the close of the rainy season. The most destructive rains occur in September.

The winter precipitation starts with light snowfalls early in December. December is a month of low temperatures and frequent snow falls. After the New Year the temperature moderates, but the weather continues very inclement, snow and rain alternating. There is a great deal of fog and continuous downpours of cold rain.

The spring months are marked by high winds of prevailing westerly direction. These winds from the open desert are laden with fine sand and cause untold discomfort. The sand storms of May, striking the young corn, are especially destructive.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Zuñis have been agriculturists for many centuries. Since very early prehistoric time they have raised maize, beans, and squash by a system of dry cultivation.[1] From the first Spanish settlers they obtained the seeds of wheat. This, however, could be grown only specially favored localities which could be irrigated by hand from large, permanently flowing springs. Recently, in 1909, the waters one fork of the Zuñi River have been impounded behind a dam built by the United States Government. From this reservoir sufficient water is drawn to irrigate a strip of land on the north bank of river, immediately adjacent to the village. This strip, approximately 1 mile wide and 6 miles long, is well suited for the cultivation of wheat and alfalfa. Maize is still raised by old methods of dry farming on sandy fields lying at a considerable distance from the village, mainly situated on the south bank.

From the Spaniards, also, the Zuñis got their first sheep. They now own large and profitable herds. These are kept in remote parts

[1. Zuñi agricultural methods are admirably described in Cushing's *Zuñi Breadstuffs*, *Indian Notes Monographs*, Museum of the American Indian, vol. Viii, pp. 157 ff.]

of the reservation. The wealthiest herders even rent land in surrounding townships. Rabbits are still hunted, primarily for sport, but the deer and antelope, once important items in Zuñi economy, have vanished from the mountains. Sheep, furthermore, are the chief source of negotiable wealth. The sale of wool in June and of lambs in October provides the herders with a considerable cash income for the purchase of luxuries of white manufacture. They have, also, horses derived from the same source and a few cattle, but the land is not suitable for cattle breeding. Cattle are not milked and are used for meat only. Some women have a few pigs and chickens. The labor of agriculture and herding is done entirely by the men.

Herding, of course, is an all-year-round occupation, at which men take turns, groups of brothers herding their sheep together and taking turns in watching them. A man with his own herd usually goes three times a year, for a month at a time, unless he is wealthy enough to pay some one to do this for him. All men who own sheep spend lambing time with their herds to see that all lambs are properly earmarked. At this time the sheep are herded at permanent camps, and the women also go out there. Lambing occurs in April and is followed immediately by shearing. Sheep dipping takes a few weeks for everyone in midsummer.

The first agricultural work of the season is early plowing and the planting of wheat in February or March. In March the irrigation ditches are cleaned. Corn must not be planted until after certain ceremonies held about the time of the vernal equinox, and frequently it is delayed until after wool-sell. The cornfields are plowed over, but the actual planting is done with the digging stick. The early summer, after the return from sheep camp and after the summer solstice ceremonies, is spent hoeing and irrigating. There is an alfalfa crop in June and another in August. There may be another in November, but this is not usually harvested. The horses are turned into the unharvested field for winter pasture. The wheat harvest begins in August and continues until all is in, which may not be until November. The wheat is cut with a sickle, threshed by horses, and winnowed by hand on primitive outdoor threshing floors.

Peaches, squash, and melons ripen in August and must be harvested before the frosts, which may occur at this altitude any time after the end of August. There is a spell of heavy rain in September which interrupts outdoor work. The first green corn is ready for eating in August, but the general corn harvest does not take place until November. This is the last agricultural work, except for a few people who do a little fall plowing. The months from November

until March, free of agricultural work, are given over to the great ceremonies--the Ca?lako, the winter solstice ceremonies, society initiations, the winter katchinas, and sometimes the general tribal initiation.

The 1,900 inhabitants live, for the most part, in Zuñi proper and its immediate vicinity. There are, however, three large farming villages and one small one, which are occupied for varying periods during the summer months. Even those families that make homes there permanently return to Zuñi after harvest time for the period of the great ceremonies in December and January.

None of the farming villages have any civil or religious organization of their own, nor are any religious ceremonies performed a of them, except when a dance set from one of the kivas is invited to dance there during the summer.

Despite modern expansion[2] the main village still remains a whose physical compactness is reflected in an intricate and closely knit social organization.

There are households, kinship groups, clans, tribal and special secret societies, and cult groups. A man must belong to serve these groups, and the number to which he may potentially belong almost unlimited. There is no exclusive membership. He is born into a certain household, and his kinship and clan affiliations are thus fixed, unless altered by adoption. At puberty he is initiated into one of the six dance groups that comprise the male tribal society. He may, through sickness, be conscripted into one of the medicine societies; if he takes a scalp he must join the warriors society; and if connected with a sacerdotal household he may be called upon to join one of the priesthoods.

These groups all have their joint activities and a great part of a man's time is spent in participation in these activities. His economic activities

are all bound up with the household, a communal unit to which he has certain obligations. His ordinary social contacts are all predetermined by his family and clan affiliations. Religious participation is confined to attendance at the ceremonies of those groups with which he is identified. In fact, the only sphere in which he acts as an individual rather than as a member of a group is that of sex. A man's courtship and marriage are matters of individual choice. In the bid for attention they suffer from being entirely divorced from group activity. At Zuñi no action that is entirely personal and individual receives more than passing interest. Births, deaths, and initiations figure largely in local gossip--marriages do not. It is curious to note that among the culturally related Hopi, where a marriage is the occasion for elaborate gift exchanges between the

[2 Population movements in and out of the town are analyzed by Kroeber in his 'Zuñi Kin and Clan, pp. 120, 198.]

clans of the bride and groom, weddings are one of the most frequent topics of conversation.

The economic unit is the household, whose nature and methods of function illustrate admirably certain very fundamental Zuñi attitudes. The household is a group of variable composition, consisting theoretically of a maternal family; that is, a woman and her husband, her daughters with their husbands and children. To this permanent population is added a fluctuating group of miscellaneous male relatives of the maternal line--the unmarried, widowed, divorced, and those rendered homeless by passing domestic storms. This group occupies a single house consisting of several connecting rooms. There is a single kitchen drawing upon a common storehouse. The household owns certain cultivated fields which can not be alienated. In addition, the various male members individually own certain fields--generally fields recently brought under cultivation--which remain their own after they have severed connection with the household. However, all fields, whether collectively or individually owned, are cultivated by the cooperative labor of the entire male population of the household. The products go into the common storeroom to become the collective property of the women of the household. The women draw on the common stores for daily food and trade the surplus for other commodities. Sheep are owned individually by men but are herded cooperatively by groups of male kindred. When the profits of the shearing are divided a man is expected out of these to provide clothing for himself, his wife and children, including children by previous

marriages, and his mother and unmarried sisters, in case they are not otherwise provided for.

Personal relations within the household are characterized by the same lack of individual authority and responsibility that marks the economic arrangements. The household has no authoritative head to enforce any kind of discipline. There is no final arbiter in disputes; no open conflict. Ordinarily the female contingent of blood relatives presents a united front. A man finding himself out of harmony with the group may withdraw quietly whenever he chooses and ally himself with another group. With his departure obligations cease, and his successor fathers his children. Diffusion of authority and responsibility is especially marked in the treatment of children.

The tribe is divided into 13 matrilineal exogamous clans, varying greatly in size from the Yellowwood, consisting of two male members, and which will therefore become extinct with the present generation, to the large so-called Dogwood (Pi?tcikwe) clan, which comprises several hundreds of individuals. The kinship system follows, in the main, the Crow multiple clan system, all members of one's own clan being designated by classificatory terms. There are different terms for classificatory relatives of the father's clan, Adoption is frequent, and the usual terms are applied to adoptive relatives. The terms are stretched to include also all affinal relatives. There is no avoidance and no joking relations. There is some indication of a joking relationship between a man and women of his father's clan, especially his father's blood sister, who is also his most important ceremonial relative. A woman has important ceremonial obligations to her brother's children, especially his male children, and in most cases she is compensated for her services. The clan as such has no social or political functions, although each individual feels his closest ties to be with members of his clan, upon whom he calls for assistance in any large enterprise, such as harvest, housebuilding, initiations, etc. His closest ties, naturally, are with blood kin, especially the maternal household in which he was born.

Each male is initiated at puberty into the kadcina or mask dance society, which thereby assumes the rôle of a tribal cult, in distinction to other ceremonial groups of more restricted membership. Other ceremonial groups are the 12 medicine societies composed of medicine men and those whom they have cured, the war society, the rain priesthods, and innumerable minor cults, consisting in the main of members of maternal households to whom are intrusted the care of various objects of

fetishistic power. Most men of advanced age are affiliated with several of these groups.

The real political authority of the tribe is vested in the council of priests, consisting of three members of the chief priesthood and the heads of the three other priesthoods. The head of the hierarchy is the head of the chief priesthood--the house chief ($k^{\wedge}a'kwemosi$), $p^{\wedge}ekwin$, who is priest of the sun and keeper of the calendar, is, as his name indicates, a sort of talking chief for the priesthood. Two bow priests, members of the war society, act as messengers and the executive arm of the priesthood. The heads of the *kacina* society are called on in an advisory capacity in matters relating to their province. The principal matters to come before the council for decision are the appointment of civil officers, choice of the impersonators of the gods at the annual festival, the insertion of important ceremonies, such as the tribal initiation, into the regular calendar, the discussion of what action should be taken in cases of calamity, such as earthquakes and drought, the determination of tribal policy in new contingencies such questions as whether automobiles are fire, and should therefore be taboo during the winter solstice. The maintenance of these policies is the duty of the bow priests and the secular officers.

The priests do not act in secular affairs, being too sacred to contaminate themselves with dispute or wrangling. Crime and warfare are the concerns of the bow priests. Civil law and relations with aliens, especially the United States Government, are delegated to the secular officers appointed by the council.

The only crime that is recognized is witchcraft. An accusation of having caused death by sorcery may be brought by the relatives of the deceased. The bow priests examine the accused and review the evidence. If found guilty in former days the accused was hung by his wrists and subjected to other forms of torture until he confessed. If the confession was of such a nature as to vitiate his power by revealing its source, a common *Zuñi* idea, he might be released at the discretion of the bow priests, or he might be executed. Public torture and execution of witches has been stopped by Government authorities but convicted witches may be done away with secretly unless they escape to other villages.

Revelation of the secrets of the *kacina* cult to the uninitiated is a crime against the gods and is punishable by death by decapitation.

Punishment is meted out by masked impersonators of the gods, appointed by the heads of the katchina society. No such executions have taken place within the memory of living men, but they figure prominently in folklore, and the authority and readiness of the priests so to act is never questioned in Zuñi. Flogging by masked impersonators has recently been substituted for execution. During one of the writer's visits katchinas were summoned to administer punishment to a youth found guilty of selling a mask. The accused escaped so the katchinas whipped all men in the kivas for purification.

Crimes of personal violence are rare, but such as do occur are considered matters for private adjustment, either with or without the help of the civil officers. Murder by overt means, not sorcery, bodily injury, rape, and theft are settled by property payments by the family of the guilty man to the family of the one who has been wronged. These payments are made promptly and quietly by the guilty man's relatives, since they are likely to fare worse in the hands of the officers than in those of private individuals. Adultery is not a crime. Along with stinginess and ill temper it is a frequent source of domestic infelicity and divorce, but is never regarded as a violation of rights. Sexual jealousy is no justification for violence.

The chief duties of the officers (governor, lieutenant governor, and eight *tenientes*) are the adjudication of civil suits, such as boundaries, water rights, inheritance, restitution for loss or injury to livestock, management of cooperative enterprises of a nonreligious character, such as road building, cleaning of irrigation ditches, execution of Government ordinances regarding registration, schooling, etc., and all manner of negotiation with outside powers. Because of the increasingly diversified contacts with whites, the office of governor is becoming more and more exacting and influential, although it still lacks prestige in native opinion. The civil officers hold office at the pleasure of the priests and may be removed by them at any time and for any cause. The office is not one that is sought, since the settlement of disputes must inevitably be a source of grievance to someone, and the thing that a Zuñi will avoid above anything else is giving offense.

In all social relations, whether within the family group or outside, the most honored personality traits are a pleasing address, a yielding disposition, and a generous heart. All the sterner virtues--initiative, ambition, an uncompromising sense of honor and justice, intense personal loyalties--not only are not admired but are heartily deplored. The woman who cleaves to her husband through misfortune and family

quarrels, the man who speaks his mind where flattery would be much more comfortable, the man, above all, who thirsts for power or knowledge, who wishes to be, as they scornfully phrase it, "a leader of his people," receives nothing but censure and will very likely be persecuted for sorcery.

A characterization intended to convey the highest praise was the following: "Yes, ----- is a nice polite man. No one ever hears anything from him. He never gets into trouble. He's Badger clan and Muhekwe kiva and he always dances in the summer dances." The informant could be eloquent enough when she wished to detract.

No single fact gives a better index to Zuñi temperament than that suicide is absolutely unknown among them, and the very idea is so remote from their habits of thought that it arouses only laughter.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In so far as the culture of any people is an integrated and harmonious whole, it shows in all its phases the same character and individuality. At Zuñi the same ceremonious collectivism that characterizes social activities is the essence also of all religious participation. The relation between man and the supernatural is as free of tragic intensity as the relation of man to man. The supernatural, conceived always as a collectivity, a multiple manifestation of the divine essence, is approached by the collective force of the people in a series of great public and esoteric rituals whose richness, variety, and beauty have attracted the attention of poets and artists of all countries. Nowhere in the New World, except in the ancient civilizations of Mexico and Yucatan, has ceremonialism been more highly developed, and nowhere, including these civilizations, has it gone so far toward taming man's frenzy. In Zuñi, as in all the pueblos, religion spreads wide. It pervades all activities, and its very pervasiveness and the rich and harmonious forms in which it is externalized compensate the student of religion for the lack of intensity of that feeling. For although the Zuñi may be called one of the most thoroughly religious peoples of the world, in all the enormous mass of rituals there is no single bit of religious feeling equal in intensity and exaltation to the usual vision quest of the North American Indian.

MAN AND THE UNIVERSE

THE SOUL

According to Zuñi belief, man has a spiritual substance, a soul (tse?makwin, thoughts, from tse?ma, to think, ponder). This is associated with the head, the heart, and the breath. The head is the seat of skill and intelligence, but the heart is the seat of the emotions and of profound thought. "I shall take it to my heart" means I shall ponder it carefully, and remember it long. The word for life is t?ek?ohanan:e, literally daylight. The breath is the symbol of life. It also is the means by which spiritual substances communicate and the seat of power or mana. Inhaling is an act of ritual blessing. One inhales from all sacred objects to derive benefit from their mana. At the end of any prayer or chant all present inhale; holding their folded hand before their nostrils, in order to partake of the sacred essence of prayer.[3] The feather is the pictorial representation of the breath. Death occurs when "the heart wears out." When a person is very sick his heart is wearing out. "Medicine men can fix it up when they come to cure, and it will go for a while, but sooner or later you will have to get a new one." Getting a new heart is the first rite in society initiations.[4]

Dreams are believed to be of supernatural causation, and foretell the future if one can properly interpret them. Certain persons in particular are believed to "dream true." Dreams of the dead are believed to be visitations of the dead, and are always portents of death. Visual and auditory hallucinations are believed to be similarly caused. "Bad dreams," a term which includes hallucinations, is a disease of supernatural origin, as opposed to bodily disease, which is caused by witchcraft. There are special rituals for curing "bad dreams," to which we shall allude frequently in the following pages.

In rare instances the soul can leave the body and return to it again. This occurs during sickness and is a matter of great seriousness. A friend has reported such an experience as follows:

"When I was sick of the measles I was very sick. On the third day I didn't know anything. Maybe I fainted or maybe I really died[5] and came back. I never believed that could happen, but it really did, because when I came back the room was going round and round and there was a little light coming through the window, although there was a bright light in the room. While I was dead I dreamed I was going toward the west." The narrative goes on to describe her encounter with her dead grandfather and unknown dead women, her "aunts."

[3 See texts for symbolism of breath as the seat of sacred power.

4 Texts, p. 802.

3 The two words are the same in Zuñi (acek^ä).]

"I was so happy to see my grandfather. Since then I've never worried about dying, even when I was very sick, because I saw all these dead people and saw that they were still living the way we do." After this experience the girl was initiated into a medicine society,[6] to "save her life," because her people (i. e., the dead) had asked her for feathers.

Visual and auditory hallucinations are caused by supernaturals. They are regarded as omens of death. The most common hallucinations of this type are the apparent movement of sacred objects on an altar--especially masks.

Death is usually caused by witchcraft. The usual method of the sorcerer is to shoot foreign bodies into his victim. But other more indirect methods may be used. Sorcery, however, is never practiced openly as in Oceania. No one admits having sorcery, and everyone suspects others very vaguely. Suspicion of sorcery subjects a person to social ostracism, but a death caused by sorcery is an occasion for formal interference on the part of the authorities. There is considerable internal and comparative evidence in the body of witchcraft belief and practice to indicate that their present great development is post-Hispanic, and that the belief in less specific supernatural causation is earlier and more aboriginal.

Considerable confusion exists in the Zuñi mind concerning the fate of the soul after death. General folk belief has it that for four days after death it remains in Zuñi, causing great inconvenience, and, indeed, danger, to survivors, and on the fourth day departs for Katcina Village (kolhuwala:wa)[7] in the west. However, various cult groups hold beliefs at variance with this. Dead medicine men, probably not all members of medicine societies, but those who possess the ultimate powers of "calling the bear," join the beast priests at Cipapolima in the east.[8] The name Cipapolima is undoubtedly related to the Keresan shipap^u, the place of emergence and the destination of the dead. The word shipap^u is not known at Zuñi, but wenima (Keresan wenimatse) is sometimes used esoterically in songs for Kolhuwala:wa. When the priests invoke the uwanami in prayer they also call by name deceased

members of their order,[9] indicating that deceased priests join the uwanami at the four oceans of the world.

Corpses are prepared for burial according to the ceremonial affiliations of the deceased. All are clothed in everyday clothing, men in white cotton shirts and trousers, women in calico dresses and black woolen blanket dresses. In addition, each wears the characteristic garment of his group: male members of societies the hand-woven

[6 See pp. 528, 791.

7 See text of origin myth, p. 574.

8 See prayer of medicine man, pp. 804, 829, 831.

9 Stevenson, p. 175, substantiated by further information.]

loin cloth which constitutes their ceremonial costume, officers of the Katcina society the white embroidered kilt and embroidered blanket of the kalcinas and, possibly, masks.[10] Priests, curiously enough, are adorned for burial with the face paint and headdress of warriors.[11]

Infants were formerly buried within the houses, as was common in almost all prehistoric villages; because "they thought they would have no place to go," and so they "wanted them around the house." Most people admitted that there was some doubt whether the uninitiated, for example women, are admitted to Kolhuwala:wa, although folk tales frequently allude to their going there to join their husbands.

The rôle of the dead in the religious life is described below (p. 509). At this point it need only be said that they are the bestowers of all blessings, and are identified especially with rain. If rain falls the fourth day following the death of a noted man it is usually thought of as his rain, and is a source of consolation to the bereaved. The worship of the dead is the foundation of all Zuñi ritual. The dead form part of the great spiritual essence of the universe, but they are the part which is nearest and most intimate.

THE EXTERNAL WORLD

To the Zuñi the whole world appears animate. Not only are night and day, wind, clouds, and trees possessed of personality, but even articles of human manufacture, such as houses, pots, and clothing, are alive and sentient. All matter has its inseparable spiritual essence. For the most part this spiritual aspect of things is vague and impersonal. Although all objects are called ho?i, "living person," in a figurative sense, they are not definitely anthropomorphic; they have consciousness but they do not possess human faculties. To all these beings is applied the term k^?äpin ho?i "raw person"; man, on the other hand, is a "cooked" person.

Prayers are full of description of natural phenomena in anthropomorphic guise. I quote some of the most striking:

When our sun father
Goes in to sit down at his ancient place,
And our night fathers,
Our mothers,
Night priests,
Raise their dark curtain over their ancient place.....

That our earth mother may wrap herself
In a fourfold robe of white meal;
That she may be covered with frost flowers;
That yonder on all the mossy mountains,
The forests may huddle together with the cold;

[10. Hodge is the authority for this statement.

11. Stevenson describes, pp. 315-317, the burial of Naiuchi, priest of the Bow and also head of Eagle clan priesthood. However, the Onawa priesthood use the same face paint and headdress in interring their dead.]

That their arms may be broken by the snow,
In order that the land may be thus,
I have made my prayer sticks into living beings.

Following wherever the roads of the rain makers come out,
May the ice blanket spread out,
May the ice blanket cover the country;
All over the land
May the flesh of our earth mother

Crack open from the cold;
 That your thoughts may bend to this,
 That your words may be to this end;
 For this with prayers I send you forth.

When our earth mother is replete with living waters,
 When spring comes,
 The source of our flesh,
 All the different kinds of corn,
 We shall lay to rest in the ground.
 With their earth mother's living waters,
 They will be made into new beings.
 Coming out standing into the daylight
 Of their sun father,
 Calling for rain,
 To all sides they will stretch out their hands.
 Then from wherever the rain makers stay quietly
 They will send forth their misty breath;
 Their massed clouds filled with water will come out to sit down with
 us;
 Far from their homes,
 With outstretched hands of water they will embrace the corn,
 Stepping down to caress them with their fresh waters,
 With their fine rain caressing the earth,
 With their heavy rain caressing the earth,
 And yonder, wherever the roads of the rain makers come forth,
 Torrents will rush forth,
 Silt will rush forth,
 Mountains will be washed out,
 Logs will be washed down,
 Yonder all the mossy mountains
 Will drip with water.
 The clay-lined hollows of our earth mother
 Will overflow with water,
 From all the lakes
 Will rise the cries of the children of the rain makers,
 In all the lakes
 There will be joyous dancing
 Desiring that it should be thus,
 I send forth my prayers.

That our earth mother
 May wear a fourfold green robe,

Full of moss,
 Full of flowers,
 Full of pollen,
 That the land may be thus
 I have made you into living beings.

That yonder in all our water-filled fields
 The source of our flesh,
 All the different kinds of corn
 May stand up all about,
 That, nourishing themselves with fresh water,
 Clasping their children in their arms,
 They may rear their young,
 So that we may bring them into our houses,
 Thinking of them toward whom our thoughts bend--
 Desiring this, I send you forth with prayers.

Yonder on all sides coming to the forests,
 And to some fortunate one
 Offering prayer meal,
 Crushed shell,
 Corn pollen,
 We broke off the straight young shoots.
 From where they had stood quietly
 Holding their long life;
 Holding their old age,
 Holding their waters,
 We made them come forth,
 We brought them hither.
 This many days
 Yonder in our houses
 With us, their children,
 They stayed.
 And now this day,
 With our warm human hands
 We took hold of them.

With eagle's wing,
 And with the striped cloud wings of all the birds of summer,
 With these four times wrapping our plume wands
 (We make them into living beings)
 With our mother, cotton woman,
 Even a roughly spun cotton thread,

A soiled cotton thread,
 With this four times encircling them
 And tying it about their bodies
 And with a water bringing hair feather,
 We made our plume wands into living beings.
 With the flesh of our mother,
 Clay woman,
 Four times clothing our plume wands with flesh,
 We made them into living beings.
 Holding them fast,
 We made them our representatives in prayer.

From wherever my children have built their shelters,
 May their roads come in safety.
 May the forests
 And the brush
 Stretch out their water-filled arms

And shield their hearts;
 May their roads come in safety,
 May their roads be fulfilled.

Of this animate universe man is an integral part. The beings about him are neither friendly nor hostile. In so far as all are harmonious parts of the whole, the surrounding forces sustain and preserve humanity in the status quo.

Among these vague impersonal forces are certain clearly defined individuals and classes of beings who definitely influence human affairs. These are such beings as the sun, the earth, the corn, prey animals, and the gods of war. These are called a:'wona:wi'lona[12] "the ones who hold our roads." They, too, belong to man's world, and have no animus against man. But in as much as they may withhold their gifts, their assistance must be secured by offerings, prayers, and magical practices.

The sense of conflict as the basic principle of life does not dominate, man's relation to the universe any more than it dominates man's relation to man. The Promethean theme--man's tragic and heroic struggle against the gods--has no place in Zuñi philosophic speculation. Nor have any of the other concepts of cosmic conflicts which have always absorbed the interest of Asiatic and European philosophers and mystics, the antithesis between good and evil, or between matter and spirit. There is no Satan in Zuñi ideology, and no Christ.

The world, then, is as it is, and man's plan in it is what it is. Day follows night and the cycles of the years complete themselves. In the spring the corn is planted,

and if all goes well the young stalks grow to maturity and fulfill themselves. They are cut down to serve man for food, but their seeds remain against another planting. So man, too, has his days and his destined place in life. His road may be long or short, but in time it is fulfilled and he passes on to fill another rôle in the cosmic scheme. He, too, leaves his seed behind him. Man dies but mankind remains. This is the way of life; the whole literature of prayer shows no questioning of these fundamental premises. This is not resignation, the subordination of desire to a stronger force, but the sense of man's oneness with the universe. The conditions controlling human affairs are no more moral issues than those, like the blueness of the sky, to which we may well be indifferent. It is a remarkably realistic view of the universe. It is an attitude singularly free from terror, guilt, and mystery. The

[12. This term Mrs. Stevenson erroneously interprets as referring to a bisexual deity; creator and ruler of the universe. The term is never used in this sense, nor was I able to find any trace of such a concept among them. The confusion seems to be due to the fact that the missionaries have hit upon this term as the nearest equivalent to "God." The Zuñis, accordingly, always translate the term "God." When asked if a:wonawi'lona is man or woman they say, "Both, of course," since it refers to a great class of supernaturals. The following texts show that the term is applied to any being addressed in prayer.]

Zuñi feels great awe of the supernatural, and definitely fears certain beings in his pantheon—the recently dead, the Koyemci, certain "dangerous" katinas, but this is quite different from the cosmic terror that crushes many primitive and civilized peoples.

COSMOLOGICAL BELIEFS

The cosmology of the Zuñis is extremely fragmentary. The earth is circular in shape and is surrounded on all sides by ocean. Under the earth is a system of covered waterways all connecting ultimately with the surrounding oceans. Springs and lakes, which are always regarded as sacred, are the openings to this system. On the shores of the encircling ocean live the Uwanami or rain makers.[13] They have villages in the four world quarters. The underground waters are the home of Kolowisi, the horned serpent.

Within the earth are the four enclosed caves which the people occupied before coming out into this world—the four wombs of earth mother. The sky (a?po?yan:e, stone cover), solid in substance, rests upon the earth like an inverted bowl. The sun has two houses, in the earth and in the sky. In the morning he "comes out standing to his sacred place"; in the evening he "goes in to sit down at his other sacred place." The sun also travels north and south, reaching his "left hand" (i.e., southernmost) sacred place at the winter solstitial rising. The change in the length of days passes unnoticed.[14]

The moon is reborn each month and in 14 days reaches maturity; after that her life wanes. These are, in general, inauspicious days. Children born while the moon is waning are unlikely to live long.

The stars are fixed in the sky cover. The most prominent feature of the night heavens is the milky way, frequently mentioned in myth and song and figuring prominently in religious art. Some of the stars and constellations are named and recognized--the morning star (Venus or Jupiter) (*moyatcunlhana*, great star), Ursa Major (*kwililekă*, the seven), Orion's belt (*ipi?lakă*, the row), the Pleiades (*k?upa:kwe*, seed stars). No observations are made of the positions of the stars and movements of the planets. All calendrical computations are made on the basis of the movements of the sun and the moon.

Clouds and rain are the attributes of all the supernaturals, especially the Uwanami and the *kacinas*. Wind and snow are associated with the War Gods. Windstorms during ceremonies are due to incontinence or other malfeasance on the part of participants or to sorcery on the part of some jealous or envious outsider. The whirlwind appears in folklore, but not in ritual. All natural phenomena are personalized, and tales are told of them. But they are not therefore necessarily *a:wona:wil'ona*.

[13. See P. 513.

14. See p. 534 for more detailed account of the calendrical system.]

There is little speculative interest in the origin and early history of the world, animate and inanimate, although there is great interest in the early history of mankind, and the origin of laws, customs, and rituals. Zuñi myth and ritual contain innumerable expressions of what Haeberlin calls the "idea of fertilization," [15] but to the Zuñis these are unrelated episodes--they do not view them as parts of a great cosmological concept. There are many tales of a maiden being impregnated by the sun or the rain; the sun is called "father," the earth "mother"; and the people are believed to have originated within the earth in the fourth "womb." [16] Yet the general concept of the sexuality of the universe as the source of life, which is found all about them, most fully developed among the Omaha and the Yuman tribes, and in attenuated form among the Hopi, is not known at Zuñi. Cushing records the myth of the sky cohabiting with the earth to produce life, indicating that the notion was current in that day. It has completely vanished at the present time. I have recorded Zuñi creation myths from priests and laymen, in secular and ritualistic form, and all commence the same way, nor do the Zuñis recognize in these myths the implications of profounder cosmological concepts. [17] They are not interested in cosmology or metaphysics. It is interesting in this connection to note the extreme paucity of etiological tales as compared with other North American mythologies.

There was, however, a mythic age, "when the earth was soft," during which things now impossible took place. During this time animals could become human, and humans could change into animals. During this period also the katchinas came in person to the villages. It was at this time that customs originated and took form. Then the earth hardened; things assumed their permanent form and have since remained unchanged.[18]

RITUAL: THE CONTROL OF THE SUPERNATURAL

TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

Man is not lord of the universe. The forests and fields have not been given him to despoil. He is equal in the world with the rabbit and the deer and the young corn plant. They must be approached circumspectly if they are to be persuaded to lay down their lives for man's pleasure or necessity. Therefore the deer is stalked ritualistically; he is enticed with sacred esoteric songs, he is killed in a prescribed manner, and when brought to the house is received as an

[15. Haeberlin, *The idea of fertilization in the culture of the Pueblo Indians*. M.A.A.A., vol. III, no. 1.

16. The word t?ehulikwin is used for womb, but also for any dark enclosed place. It means literally "inside space."

17. Text in ritualistic form, p. 549.

18. Many tales open, "Long ago when the earth was soft.]"

honored guest and sent away with rich gifts to tell others of his tribe that he was well treated in his father's house.

So, too, the great divinity, the sun, and all the lesser divinities, the katchinas, the rain makers, the beast gods, the war gods, and the ancients, must be reminded that man is dependent upon their generosity; and that they, in turn, derive sustenance and joy from man's companionship. The myth of man's beginnings opens as follows: "Indeed, it has come to pass. In this world was no one. Each day the sun came out. Each day he went in. In the morning no one gave him prayer meal. No one gave him prayer sticks. It was a lonely place. He said to his two children, 'You will go into the fourth womb. Your fathers, your mothers... you will bring out into the daylight of your sun father. . . .'"

For all techniques for coping with the spiritual essence of things the Zuñi have the general term t?ewusu, "religion." This concept embraces all rituals from the casual gesture of offering meal to a dead bird to the most highly elaborated ceremony, any sanctified custom, any urgent request. The basic element seems to be a request, explicitly stated or merely implied, for aid or succor, bolstered by an action or complex of actions that is automatically effectual. Practically all the techniques employed by primitive or civilized man to influence the supernatural are known at Zuñi--fetishism imitative magic, incantation, and formulæ figure largely in ritual while the more personal approaches of prayer (which in Zuñi, however, is largely formulistic), purification, abstinence, and sacrifice are also conspicuous. The weighting is on the side of the mechanistic techniques which are highly developed. The personal techniques appear always in their milder and more ritualized forms. Prayer is but slightly removed from formula and incantation, only very moderate forms of abstinence are practiced, and these are rigidly circumscribed; sacrifice is never more than the offering of a pinch of corn meal and a prayer stick. One of the important means of achieving rapport with the spirit world, intoxication, is unknown in Zuñi or the other pueblos. Intoxication has been important in the religions of Mexico, and the peyote cult has recently spread to all tribes of the plains and the plateau, but it has never been adopted in the pueblos, except at Taos. On the plains early Indian tribes without drugs produced the same sense of heightened and unearthly experience by means of self-torture and the most rigorous abstinence. The Zuñis use narcotic and vision-producing drugs, the Jamestown weed (*datura*) and the mysterious *tenatsali*, but for such prosaic purposes as to discover lost property or the author of sorcery. Although they employ many of the ritualistic forms used throughout North America, such as fasting and purging before ceremonies, these are used for an entirely different purpose and with different effects.

FETISHISM

A large part of Zuñi ceremony centers about the veneration of sacred objects. Some of these, like the fetishes of the rain priests, are of indescribable sanctity, and in them rests the whole welfare of the people. At the other end of the scale are little pebbles, of which almost every man possesses several, which he may have found in the mountains and to which, because of their peculiar form and color, he imputes magical properties. To all such objects are made periodic offerings of corn meal, and at stated times they are removed from their usual resting places and honored. Zuñi fetishes are themselves

powerful, and offerings are made to them directly, but they are also the means of reaching still more powerful supernaturals. The important objects of this type are the fetishes (eto:we) of the priests, and their accompanying objects; masks, both tribal and personal; the altars of the medicine societies; stone images of the Beast Gods, whether owned by groups or individuals; the feathered ears of corn (mi:we) given to members of higher orders of societies at their initiation; personal fetishes or amulets of all sorts. Medicine, paint, feathers, and all other items in the regalia of the katchinas, are more or less sacred.

The eto:we of the priests correspond to the medicine bundles of other North American tribes. They consist of the eto:we proper, bundles of plugged reeds filled with seeds or water containing miniature frogs, according to Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, p. 163), pots of sacred black paint, and a miscellaneous assortment of obsidian knives and arrow points, "thunder stones," polished round stones that are rolled over the floor during their ceremonies, rattles of olivella shells and sometimes mi:we like those of society members. These objects are believed to have been brought by the Zuñi from the lowest of the four worlds where they had their origin and are called *tcimi-k[^]?äpkoa*, "the ones that were at the first beginning." They are kept in sealed jars in houses where they are believed to have rested since the settlement of the village. They are "fed" regularly at each meal by some woman of the house where they are kept, and are removed only for the retreats held in their honor. (See below, cult of the Unawami, for brief account of these ceremonies. For the location of these eto:we, the membership of the priesthoods and the order of retreats, see Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, p. 163 ff., and Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 165 ff.) All altars are called *teckwin:e*, a name derived from the stem *teckwi-* meaning sacred or taboo.

Masks are with few exceptions connected with the katchina cult. Some are, like the fetishes of the rain priests, "from the beginning" and are tribal property administered in trust by self-perpetuating cult groups. Other masks are individual property which are destroyed at the death of the owner. Like eto:we, masks are regularly fed.

The altars of the medicine societies consist of painted slat altars, a sort of reredos erected at certain of their ceremonies, stone images of the Beast Priests, tutelary gods of the medicine societies, and the same sort of miscellaneous collection of objects as are used on priests' altars. Furthermore, each member of the higher or curing orders of the medicine societies possesses a *mi?le* (plural *miwe*), an ear of corn wrapped in feathers which is his personal amulet, and is destroyed at

his death. The miwe of members are placed on society altars during all ceremonies.

Some men always carry with them pieces of medicine roots or packages of red paint as amulets. Others possess collections of pebbles and sticks of black paint, from which they seek help in special emergencies, and which are honored with prayers and songs. Perfect ears of corn and ears with flattened ends are believed to have protective powers. One man sold to the writer a personal fetish, a "teckwin:ε," together with the ritual and prayers connected with its use. The fetish consisted of four stones, two slender uprights about 2 inches long, one brown and one white, male and female, respectively, a curiously colored triangular stone about an inch long called the "heart" and another round stone called the "head." There was a ritual for setting them up, and prayers. The ritual was used at the winter solstice "or any time."

There also is the "Santu," a small St. Francis, inherited from early Franciscan padres, whom the Zuñis consider a Virgin, and who is besought at a special festival held in her honor, for the blessing of fertility.

The possession of a major fetish, such as eto:we or a mask, protects the house where it is kept; "it gives you something to pray for and makes the house valuable." But its possession may also be a source of danger, for if neglected or desecrated it may cause harm to its keeper. That is one of the reasons why priests endeavor to be exemplary in their conduct.

COMPULSIVE MAGIC

About each sacred object clusters a body of fixed ritual of magical purport. A large number of these magical practices might be classed as imitative magic. During the retreats of priests polished round stones are rolled across the floor to "call the thunder," for thunder is caused by the rain makers rolling the thunderstone in their ceremonial room. At many points in ceremonies tobacco smoke is blown to the six cardinal points "that the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath." There are innumerable rites of this kind. Among the most conspicuous are the presence on every altar of water from a sacred spring, "that the springs may always be full"; the sprinkling of water to induce rainfall; the blowing of smoke to produce clouds; the mixing of great bowls of yucca seeds to produce clouds; the rolling of the thunderstones (the Hopi

device of stamping on boards, and the use of the "lightning stick" seem not to be employed at Zuñi); the planting of seeds in the floor of new houses to produce fertility; the conservation of ashes and sweepings in the house during the winter solstice ceremony and finally throwing them out with the prayer, "May you return as corn; may you return as meal"; the placing on winter solstice altars of ears of corn for plentiful crops; and of clay images of peaches, domestic animals, jewelry, and even money to secure increase; the presentation of dolls to pregnant women for safe delivery; the use of bear paws in medicine ceremonies "to call the bear"; and finally, the whole practice of masking in order to compel the presence of the supernaturals in their other bodies, i. e., as rain. The list might be greatly amplified. Many of these practices have been analyzed by Doctor Parsons, *Increase by Magic*, American Anthropologist, vol. 21, p. 203. There is a certain elasticity in these practices and new ones based on this principle may be readily introduced.

These techniques, despite their mechanistic character, belong distinctly to the realm of religion, since they require a special setting to be effective. The Zuñis use yucca root for washing the hair, and great bowls of the suds are mixed in much the same way they are on the priests' altars. But a woman does not bring rain every time she washes her hair, nor a man every time he smokes a cigarette. These everyday arts become magical techniques only when performed by special persons at stated times and places, in the presence of certain powerful fetishes and to the accompaniment of set prayers, songs, and other ritual acts. Sorcery consists largely in using these and other magical techniques outside of their legitimate settings.[19]

This brings us to another type of magical compulsion which is less apparent but perhaps more fundamental in the development of Pueblo ritual, which might be called, for lack of a better term, formulistic magic. This is the use of apparently irrelevant formulæ or actions to produce a desired result. The efficacy of the formula depends upon its absolutely correct repetition. Every word, gesture, bit of regalia is part of the charm. Hence, the great perturbation in Zuñi if a dancer appears wearing a feather from the shoulders instead of the breast of the eagle, if a single gesture before an altar is omitted, or if the words of a prayer are inverted. A very large part of Zuñi ritual is of this type; in fact all imitative magic has its secret formula

[19. A common type of love sorcery, practiced by men, is to get control of a woman's person by possessing oneself of a fragment of her clothing, a bit of the

fringe of her shawl or belt, and carry it about constantly in the pocket or tied to the headband. Should this fail as a love charm, the sickness or death of the victim can be caused by exposing the fragments in a high windy place. Prayer sticks may also be used for sorcery.]

to give it validity. These formulæ comprise the great mass of esoteric practice. To this category belong rituals for setting up and removing altars, prayer-stick making, all songs and dances, and most important of all, practically all of the so-called prayers.

PRAYER

Prayer in Zuñi is not a spontaneous outpouring of the heart. It is rather the repetition of a fixed formula. Only in such prayers as those accompanying individual offerings of corn meal and food is a certain amount of individual variation possible, and even here variation is restricted to the matter of abridgment or inclusiveness. The general form of the prayer, the phraseology and the nature of the request, conform strictly to types for other prayers. All more important prayers are fixed in content and form, and great importance is attached to their correct rendition. The rigidity increases in proportion to the importance of the occasion. The words of these prayers, like the fetishes themselves, are *tcimik?^änapkoa*, "according to the first beginning." That the desired undeviating repetition claimed for prayers is not always achieved is illustrated by a study of variants to be published in the *Journal of American Folklore*, which shows also the very narrow margin of variability. That a long prayer should have changed so little in the 50 agitated years since Cushing's time is really remarkable.

There are definite fixed rituals and prayers for every ceremonial occasion, and any moderately well-informed Zuñi can identify any of them even when removed from its proper setting. As a check upon informants I read all the prayers I had collected to another informant, a young woman who herself was not actively associated with any major cult, but who was generally well informed through her family connections. In every case she could identify the prayer after about five lines had been read. "It belongs to A:'ciwani--to P?ekwin. This is what he says when he first goes in in summer"; or "It is the prayer for planting prayer sticks. Anyone can use it." The same woman, however, asked me to copy down for her the prayers for offering the monthly prayer sticks, and for offering corn meal, so that she could learn them, for she knew no prayers for these occasions: "I never learned any prayer for the prayer sticks, and so I just put them down and sprinkle corn

meal without saying anything. My husband belongs to a society and knows these prayers but he would not teach me his prayers. I would have to go to my 'father' (the man who initiated her) to learn them and I would have to give him a present for teaching me." This same woman could repeat long prayers when they occurred in tales, so it was not lack of knowledge.

This brings us to another important point, namely, that not only must a prayer be repeated verbatim to be effectual, but it must have been acquired by legitimate means. It must be learned according to definite technique from someone who has the right to use it, and it must be paid for. Otherwise "maybe you can say it but it won't mean anything, or maybe you'll forget it when the time comes to say it." Hence the confusion concerning just what is and what is not "esoteric" in Pueblo ritual. Knowledge of the details of "esoteric" ceremonies is widely diffused, but the power to perform any ceremony effectively is restricted. And since there is an undefined feeling that in teaching prayers, "giving them away," as the Zuñis say, the teacher loses some of the power over them, men are "stingy" with their religion.[20] Therefore a man who win tell readily enough a long difficult prayer that he has learned out of curiosity, or as an investment against the time when the present owner dies, will balk at telling a simple common little prayer for offering corn meal to the sun, which everyone knows, but which nevertheless "belongs" to him in a way that the other does not. Hence the paradoxical situation that the very last person to ask for an a:ciwani prayer is one of that group. This, incidentally, is one of the reasons why Christian missionaries are ludicrous in the eyes of Zuñis. "They throwaway their religion as if it weren't worth anything and expect us to believe it." Such conduct is not only ridiculous but irreverent.

There are other formulæ at Zuñi besides prayers and songs. Many ritualistic acts, such as offering corn meal or prayer sticks, are of this character. Once the writer caused considerable perturbation by sprinkling corn meal upon a Zuñi altar. "Because sprinkling corn meal is like a prayer; even if you don't say anything you are asking for good luck, and because you are strong when you go away you will take all our good luck with you to your country." Similarly no one at Zuñi would make me a prayer stick to offer with the offerings of my family at the solstice, although many connived at my acquiring prayer sticks for scientific purposes.

SINGING AND DANCING

Singing and dancing by large groups hold an important place in public and secret rituals. Many ritual acts are accompanied by song. There are special song sequences for setting up and taking down altars, for mixing medicine water or soapsuds, for bathing the head at initiations, to accompany various acts of curing. These are all special songs of the curing societies. like prayers, they must be

[20. This was made painfully evident to the writer in the death of one of her best informants who, among other things, told her many prayers in text. During his last illness he related a dream which he believed portended death and remarked, " Yes, now I must die. I have given you all my religion and I have no way to protect myself." He died two days later. He was suspected of sorcery and his death was a source of general satisfaction. Another friend of the writer, a rain priest, who had always withheld esoteric information, remarked, " Now your friend is dead. He gave away his religion as if it were of no value, and now he is dead." He was voicing public opinion.]

learned ritualistically. They are in the nature of incantations; many of them are in foreign languages or have no intelligible words. In addition to these songs of the medicine societies, there are many individually owned songs of magical power, especially songs for planting, for "dancing the corn":[21] individual medicine songs, or songs associated with personal amulets. Certain women also have grinding songs in addition to the well-known songs of the men. These esoteric songs, especially those connected with curing, are very valuable. One man paid a pair of moccasins, a blanket, and a saddle for a song to be used as a love charm. The Great Fire Society has a song for delayed parturition but only two old men of the society know it and they are "stingy" with it. It is the knowledge of songs of this kind which makes the great medicine men of the tribe.

The more patent musical literature of the tribe is the large body of dance songs. These are of many kinds, the songs of the katchinas, the songs sung by the medicine societies for such katchinas as do not sing for themselves, the songs of the medicine societies for the general winter curing ceremonies, for initiations, and for special dances. Katchina songs differ rhythmically and melodically among themselves, those, say, of Kok?Okci are quite different from those of Hemucikwe, or the still more divergent Kumance, and all katchina songs are sharply differentiated from medicine songs. The songs of the various societies differ, and a man can usually classify any song he hears. With the exception of a few secret songs, all songs are songs of sequence, sung by groups, the leader holding the sequence.

Katcina songs are made new for each dance. Song making probably is usually the setting of new words to traditional melodies, according to fairly fixed patterns of structure. The dance step is a simple beating of time with the foot, the body movements being synchronized with the song rhythm. Rhythms are simple, but the melodic structure is subtle and complex. A fuller account of katcina dancing is given on page 896. Most katinas use only rattles to accompany the song. One group uses a bundle drum, the Koyemci use a barrel drum, and one set uses the pottery drum of the medicine societies.

The dance songs of the societies are more vigorous in rhythm than those of the katinas, and almost always employ the drum in addition to rattles. A chorus surrounding the drum sings for the dancers. The dance step also is more energetic. Sometimes choirs from the medicine societies sing for certain katinas, and in that case the rhythm and dance step are those associated with society rather than katcina songs. The societies have song sequences for each of their ceremonies. Most of these are traditional in tune and words, but

[21. A ceremony performed by the women of each household at the winter solstice when the corn is taken out and "danced" so that it will not feel neglected during the ceremonial season.]

innovations in words are introduced in specified places. These innovations, as well as those of the katcina songs, are frequently social comment. The society choirs are led by the drummer who holds the sequence. He is a permanent officer of the society, although his office is not sacred like that of the medicine chief or fire maker.

The following partial list of the song cycles of the Great Fire Society is some index of the wealth of musical endowment at Zuñi:

Chief song cycle.[22] Dance songs used in general curing ceremonies in December. This contains 6 sequences containing, respectively, 29, 15, 16, 17, 14, and 31 songs.

Thunder songs. Twenty songs for the first dancing of katinas at New Year.

Dancing songs (for the dancing of katinas at the New Year). Seven sequences, the number of songs not known.

Katcina songs. For dancing of kalcinas at winter dance series and at Ca?lako. Number of songs not known.

Medicine water songs. Eight songs for making medicine water; no drum.

Fire-making songs. Four songs used for making New Year fire; no drum.

Purificatory songs. Four songs for purification sung at the conclusion of dancing; no drum.

Storm-cloud songs. Twenty-two songs without drum sung for rain on first night of winter solstice. Very esoteric.

Songs of blessing. Sung for increase on eleventh night of winter solstice. Number not known, "a big bunch." Esoteric.

Dawn songs. "Two big bunches" sung at closing of meetings during solstice. Very esoteric. No drum; slow rhythm.

Prayer-stick songs. Four songs for blessing prayer stick bundle before planting. Very esoteric.

A number of special songs sung at the new year meeting: a "going out song," a "coming-in song," a song calling by name the appointees to sacred offices, a song welcoming the New Year.

This does not include the songs of the special meetings of the society used at their public dance in January and February, individual curing ceremonies, and initiations. The informant died before the list was completed. Some of these songs are used only once a year or, like initiation songs, at intervals of several years, and their content and sequence must be kept by the drummer.

With the exception of a few lullabies and children's play songs, there is no secular music at Zuñi. The only work songs, those for the grinding of corn, are sacred, since everything connected with the handling of corn is sacred activity. There are two sequences of songs for ceremonial grinding; the most popular are the Flute songs,

[22. The sequences are all named.]

taken out of the dance songs of the Corn dance and retaining the characteristic ritard at the close which is found in all dance songs. These songs are sung by men accompanied by drum. Women have songs which they use during summer when drumming is taboo.

Group dancing is regarded as a pleasurable activity, pleasing alike to gods and man. Joy is pleasing to the gods and sadness is a sin against them; therefore, for the common man dancing is the most readily accessible and effective form of worship. Usually it is a boy's first voluntary participation in ritual. He dances in mask before he learns the simplest prayer--some people never learn prayers--and long before he learns to make his own prayer sticks. The dance, particularly the masked dance, is preeminently the province of the young, although many men continue to dance in old age. The origin myth of kadcina dancing stresses its pleasurable side. It relates that when the people first settled in villages and increased in number they did not know how to enjoy themselves.[23] So their priests made prayer sticks and sent them to their lost children who had been transformed into kadcinas, and the kadcinas came and danced for their people. But they were the dead, and so when they came someone died. Therefore the people were instructed to copy their masks and dance with them. "When you dance with them we shall come and stand before you," the kadcinas promised, and also promised that it would not fail to rain. Kadcina folklore abounds in tales of the devices used by kadcinas to enable them to come to Itiwana to dance. There is no myth to explain the origin of unmasked dancing, but the same ideology of summoning the supernaturals in this manner is current. And during the winter solstice, when all the ritual groups are holding their ceremonies, the heads of households take six perfect ears of corn and hold them in a basket while they sing for them. This is called "dancing the corn," and is performed that the corn may not feel neglected during the ceremonial season.

The principal occasions for dancing are the series of summer and winter kadcinas, the culminating ceremonies of the Ca?lako, the retreats of the medicine societies during the solstices, initiations, and the Scalp dance. Certain societies hold special ceremonies in which dancing by members and outsiders figures prominently, the winter ceremonies of the Wood Society and Big Fire Society; the Yaya, the dance of the Shuma?akwe. The so-called Corn dance and the Santu dance are other ceremonies in which dancing is conspicuous. In all these cases dancing accompanies less spectacular rites, usually extending over a longer period than the

dance itself. Frequently the dance is subsidiary to these secret and potent rites. Usually it is the younger and less responsible members of the group who dance, the priests and leaders meanwhile remaining in retreat or sitting quietly behind

[23. See origin tale, p. 605.]

their altars. Even in kadcina dances, where the dance itself is the essential rite, the pattern of dancing for the priests is preserved. In summer the kadcina dances are held during the season when the priesthoods are in retreat, and the kadcina group always dances in front of the house where the priests are "in."

In order for any rite to be efficacious the protagonist must "have a good heart," or, to use more familiar phraseology, he must be in a state of grace. Joy and freedom from care are the chief requirements of a state of grace, second only to physical purity. Therefore the custom of dancing for the priests while they are in retreat, and of various groups visiting to dance in one another's house during synchronous periods of retreat. During a kadcina dance that lasted for several days a group of "little dancers"[24] came one night to dance in the kiva. "Because the dancers could not go home to their wives, and were lonely in the kiva. Therefore these others came to dance for them so that they should not be sad."

Connected psychologically as well as ceremonially with public dancing is the practice of clowning. There are organized groups of clowns who assist at all kadcina dances and amuse the populace by obscene or satirical or childish pranks. There are masked and unmasked clowns; the masked clowns, the Koyemci,[25] are the most feared of all the kadcinas. The Ne?we:kwe society also are clowns, and are regarded as the most powerful medicine men, and potential witches. They are famous for love magic.

OFFERINGS

Offerings of various kinds are included in all Zuñi rituals. The principal offerings to the supernaturals are food, tobacco, prayer meal (coarse cornmeal containing ground white shell and turquoise), and prayer sticks. The usual food offering consists of a bit of food from each dish that is set out, thrown into the fire or merely dropped on the floor with a brief, perfunctory prayer. The supernaturals nourish themselves on the spiritual essence of the food. All priests and the wives of priests

make such an offering before eating of any dish. Also women in houses where fetishes are kept offer food in the fire before serving a meal. These offerings are more formal at quasi-ceremonial feasts, such as the feasts accompanying house building, harvest, etc. Men during participation in ceremonies also make offerings of food in the river, where it is readily accessible to the gods. Food offerings are made especially to the ancestors (a:lhacina:we) and the katchinas. On the day of the dead large quantities of food are sacrificed in the river and the fire

[24. The "little dancers" are the children of the katchinas. One or a group may come to play pranks in connection with any katchina dance. They are impersonated by young boys.

25 For fuller accounts see p. 946, and Parsons, p. 229.]

Meal is offered to the sun each morning by all men who hold any permanent or temporary sacerdotal position and by many other individuals, both men and women. Meal is sprinkled on prayer sticks when they are planted, and on masks, fetishes, and other sacred objects when they are taken out for use and when they are returned to their places. It is sprinkled upon katchinas by onlookers, and their leader sprinkles meal before them "to make their road." Handfuls of meal are thrown into the air through the kiva hatchway to welcome the new year. A bowl of corn meal stands on every society altar and everyone who enters the room to participate in the ceremony sprinkles corn meal on the altar before taking his place. In addition to the use of meal as an offering it is also used for delineation of sacred symbols. Every altar is set up upon a painting of white meal representing clouds, and from the center of this a line runs out toward the door of the room, or the foot of the ladder. This is the road of life and along it persons entering the room walk up to the altar. It is also the road by which the supernaturals enter. Colored sand paintings, similar in technique to those of the Navaho, are used in initiation ceremonies. A cross of corn meal marks the place prepared to receive a sacred object, corn meal is used to mark the walls of a house at its dedication, and marks of corn meal are made on the hatchway of the kivas to indicate the duration of a ceremony. Corn meal is rubbed on the head and face of the newborn and on the body of the dead. In short, there is no ceremonial occasion on which it is not used.

The most important and valuable gift to the gods is the prayer stick. This is a small stick, carefully smoothed and painted, to which various feathers are attached with cotton cord. The length and form of the stick,

the wood of which it is made, the color of the pigment, and the feathers are all definitive of the character of the offering, and vary according to the beings to whom it is offered, the sacerdotal position of the giver, and the occasion upon which it is given.

The whole matter of the varieties and manufacture of prayer sticks is too complex to go into here. A few outstanding points can be mentioned. The wood most commonly used is the red willow. For certain occasions other shrubs are required. When wood for prayer sticks is gathered corn meal is offered to the shrub from which the twigs are cut. Only perfectly straight shoots are taken. Generally the bark is removed. There are four common prayer stick measures; from the tip of the middle finger to the base of the finger, to the center of the palm, to the wrist, to the inside of the elbow. Frequently faces are indicated by notching one side of the stick. The feathers are attached to the back of the stick and are thought of as constituting its clothing. The two upper feathers are the most important and characteristic. Usually they are from the turkey and eagle, respectively; or they may both be from the eagle. Feathers from the breast or back of the turkey are used on sticks for the ancestors and the katchinas, tail feathers of the turkey on certain sticks made by the *a`ciwani*. Sticks for the sun, moon, and the Uwanami have a downy eagle feather in this position and the use of this feather entails particularly stringent taboos upon the giver. Sticks for the war gods, and for the katchina priests (the *Ca?lako* sticks) have an eagle tail feather in this position. The second feather is almost always one from the shoulders or back of the eagle. After this comes a duck feather, and feathers of the "summer birds," all the brightly colored birds: jay, red hawk, oriole, bluebird, humming bird, road runner, etc. Birds are snared or shot for their feathers, and the feathers are carefully kept, wrapped separately in paper and laid away in native wooden boxes with sliding covers. The feathers are attached with commercial cotton cord. The sticks are painted after the feathers are attached. The character and manufacture of the pigments are described in another place (p. 859). Most sticks are painted black, but those for the sun and moon are painted blue and yellow, respectively, and these colors have sex associations. Paired blue and yellow sticks are symbolic of fecundity.

The principal occasions upon which prayer sticks are offered by large groups of people are at the solstices. On these occasions persons of both sexes and all ages offer to the ancestors and to the sun (if male), or to the moon (if female). Furthermore, at the winter solstice all members of the katchina society make a second offering to the katchina and members of

the medicine societies to the tutelary gods of their societies. At each full moon all members of societies offer to the ancestors, to the *kacinas* (if males) and to the tutelary gods of their societies. At the winter dances and at the end of *Ca?lako* each man makes a prayer stick for the *kacinas*, but does not himself plant it. Furthermore, a large part of the ritual of every ceremony concerns the making and offering of special types of prayer sticks by those participating. Prayer sticks are sometimes offered individually and sometimes the offerings of many persons are bundled together into a *k[^]?ä-atcin:e* which is deposited by someone delegated to plant it. Prayer sticks are buried or deposited in corn fields, in the river mud, in shrines in the mountains, in springs, in excavations in or near the village.

Prayer sticks provide the clothing of the supernaturals. Just as the supernaturals nourish themselves on the spiritual essence of food offered in the fire or the river, they clothe themselves in the feathers of prayer sticks. This is especially true of the *kacinas*, whose beautiful feathers form their most conspicuous ornaments. (For a treatment of this idea in folklore, see the tale of *Hetsitulu*, p. 1048.)

The offering of prayer sticks is one of the most important acts of *Zuñi* ritual and four days after making any offering of prayer sticks the giver must refrain from sexual intercourse, and from quarreling. There are additional restrictions connected with special offerings after the offering to the sun at the winter solstice one must eat no meat or anything cooked with grease for four days.[26] The same restriction applies to the *a:ciwan:i* after offerings to the *uwanam:i*, and to *p?ekwin* after his various offerings to the sun. Also to all novices, including boys initiated into the *kacina* society, after their initiation. (They plant prayer sticks as the final rite in the initiation.) [27] After the plantings of the *Ca?lako* party the members and their households must refrain from trade for four days. There is no restriction on work for wages. No one trades during the first four days of the winter solstice--many people do not trade for 10 days--and the households of priests do not trade while these priests are in retreat. The feeling about trading at these seasons seems to be that since these are periods of magical power, during which forthcoming events are preordained, if property passed out of one's hands during this time all one's wealth would soon melt away. Therefore, during these periods, necessities are purchased at the store on credit, but no payments are made.

Prayer sticks are especially male offerings. Although women frequently offer prayer sticks they never make them. Their male relatives (actual or

ceremonial) make them for them. So also, although men offer food and corn meal, it is always prepared for them by the women. This division in ritual is a reflection of the general economic pattern, in which the females supply food and the males the clothing of the household. So also women furnish the food of the gods and men their clothing.

TABOO AND ABSTINENCE

The special restrictions which follow the planting of prayer sticks is part of a general feeling of taboo directed toward all things sacred. The Zuni word for taboo is *teckwi*. An altar is called *teckwin:e* (sacred thing); a person upon whom there is any ceremonial restraint also is *teckwi*. It is almost impossible to reduce the list of Zuni taboos to any sort of system. Some of them seem even more fortuitous than their magical formulæ. Some prohibitions are dictated by fear or repulsion, some are designed to preserve the power and sanctity of rituals and objects, others are rites of purification, one at least is designed to provoke the pity of the gods, the vigil of the priests

[26. Except members of the *ci?wana:kwe*.

27. The restrictions on meat and grease, as well as salt and sugar, are observed after all prayer-stick plantings in other pueblos.]

before the coming of the corn maids (see myth, p. 914). The following activities are all "*teckwi*" in Zuni terminology:

Foods.--Members of the *ci:wana:kwe* society must not eat jack rabbit, nor a common purple-flowered herb. This is felt so strongly that a member of this society will not even touch a jack rabbit nor permit it to be brought into the house in which he lives. No Zuni eats or touches meat or grease during the first four days of the winter Solstice; [28] priests refrain from eating meat and grease for 10 days, find during the periods of their retreat; *p?ekwin* does not eat meat and grease after offering prayer sticks to the sun; initiates do not eat meat for four days after their initiation; warriors who have taken a scalp do not eat meat, grease, salt, or any hot food for one year; mourners (especially widows and widowers) do not eat meat, salt, or hot foods for four days following a death.

Objects.--All sacred objects are taboo to all people who do not "belong" to them. The strength of this feeling varies according to the power of the

fetish. No one would dare to touch one of the priest's fetishes except the chief of the priesthood, and no one will enter the room where it is kept except the chief priest and the female head of the house. This is true also of the permanent masks and society altars. When the people who keep one of the Ca?lako masks moved to a new house they called the head of the kiva whose mask they kept to transfer it, "because they were afraid to touch it." Corn fetishes, prayer sticks, ceremonial garments are all handled with great respect, and no more than necessary.[29]

Places.--The rooms where sacred things are kept are taboo to outsiders. All shrines are taboo except when visited officially. There is one War God shrine (co?lhuwayällakwi) which may be visited by those who wish to pray for good luck in war or gambling. Otherwise it is not permitted for individuals to visit shrines even for purposes of prayer.[30] Rooms where retreats or ceremonies are being held, unless the ceremony is specifically public, are taboo to those not belonging to the ceremony. If any one crosses the threshold he is "caught," and must be initiated into the group, or where this is impossible (like meetings of the katchina priests), must be ceremonially whipped and make certain payments to his "father." Altars are always erected on the side of the room away from the door, "the valuable place." Strangers are always seated near the door, by the fireplace and away from the "valuable place." Mourners and warriors who have taken scalps sit "away from the fire."

[28. Certain exceptions to this rule are discussed on p. 623.

29. A good friend would not unwrap her mi?le for me to look at, although she permitted me to examine it when it had been taken out for a ceremony.

30. Mrs. Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, p. 154) gives a graphic description of the reluctance of her Zuñi guides to accompany her to k?olhuwala:wa:. The writer has had similar experiences with guides who showed her the location of shrines but themselves refused to approach them.]

Sex taboos.--Sex relations are forbidden between members of the same clan or the same medicine society. Relations with members of the father's clan are frowned upon. A man may not have relations with the wife of a member of his kiva or medicine society (his brother's wife, hence his sister).[31] These are primarily social taboos but the punishment for them is of the same kind as punishment for breaking of strictly religious taboos.

Sex relations are taboo during the 10 days of the winter solstice, for four days following the planting of prayer sticks, and during participation in dances or other ceremonies.[32] Warriors who have taken a scalp must refrain from sexual intercourse for one year and must go through a ceremony of purification at the end of that time before they may again sleep with their wives.[33] The same rules apply to the widowed who wish to remarry.

Other tabooed activities.--Priests, and others holding temporary or permanent religious offices, must not engage in any quarrels or disputes with fellow tribesmen or outsiders. Hence, they are not appointed to civil offices. One must not quarrel for four days following planting of prayer sticks. Priests and appointees to religious office must not leave the Zuñi Valley during the terms of their office. (This is a taboo that is frequently broken to the distress of the orthodox.) This prohibition against going about may be an extension of the retreat to the daily life of those who are regarded as "working for their people all of the time." There are no taboos upon labor, except in the case of initiations, when the novice must do no work, and especially must lift no heavy weights during the four days between the ceremony at which he receives a new heart and his final initiation. No one must sleep during attendance at religious ceremonies, but there seems to be no restriction on conversation. There are certain ceremonies in which speech is forbidden to participants, especially the 24-hour vigil of the priests, while awaiting the arrival of the corn maids on the last day of the Ca?lako ceremonies. There are a number of special taboos relating to the wearing of masks a man while wearing a mask must not speak, he must not give anything away, he must not engage in any defiling activity. A man wearing a mask or kadcina body paint is teckwi to others, and must not be touched, approached, or stared at. There are also special taboos concerning death, mourning, and the scalp dance which incorporates all the purificatory rites of mourning. For four days the widow or widower (also the scalper and the woman who has touched the scalp) must not approach the fire, must not touch or be touched by anyone, must not receive anything directly from the hand of another person, must not talk, and

[31. These are only the more important incest rules, a full discussion of which belongs to another place.

32. In many ceremonies this is extended to include touching, even accidentally, addressing, or even seeing a person of the opposite sex.

33. There is some confusion about the sexual taboos placed upon the woman who brings the scalp (see p. 674).]

must sleep very little, if at all. The food and sex taboos observed at this period have already been mentioned. There are also special taboos relating to death by violence, by lightning, or away from home. There are no strictly religious taboos upon pregnant or menstruating women. There are, of course, many taboos that belong to the realm of folklore rather than that of religion.

To all of the foregoing prohibitions, as well as others not mentioned, the Zuñis apply the word *teckwi*, but it is obvious that they embrace many different attitudes toward the tabooed object or action. There are the taboos relating to death and mourning, sacred objects, places, and rites. In all these cases the prohibition rises out of the mingling of fear and reverence in the attitude toward the sacred. Fear is the predominant feeling actuating the rites for the dead, and the fear of the dead is extended to those intimately associated with him in life. Hence, the widow is untouchable during the period when the malice of the dead is active. Those who have killed an enemy in warfare are similarly threatened, since they have cut off a man before his time. In the taboos against touching sacred objects and trespassing on sacred places the feeling of fear is less apparent but none the less present, for sacred things are dangerous in proportion to their power. Whereas death is feared as the result of violating taboos of mourning, in the case of other violations the fear is vague and general, and the results of infringements are less clearly foreseen.

On the other hand, there are a number of personal restraints which are forms of abstinence rather than taboos. To this class belong the sex prohibitions, the prohibitions on certain kinds of foods at certain times, and the restrictions upon the activities of persons participating in ceremonies. The general purpose of all these restrictions is withdrawal. That they are not primarily purificatory is shown by the fact that in many cases they follow rather than precede the approach to the gods; as, for instance, the sexual taboos following the planting of prayer sticks. A man approaching the gods with a request cuts himself off from the world in order that he may concentrate all his thoughts upon wresting his desire from the supernatural. For this purpose all distracting activities are denied him.

Relations with women are forbidden, also trading, quarreling, moving about. The fullest expression of this spirit is the retreat which forms the

basis of all important ceremonies. The retreat is practiced by many ceremonial groups, but the more important retreats are those of the priesthoods who "go in" in turn during the summer, and those of the medicine societies at the winter solstice and at initiations. The katcina priests hold retreats before the public ceremonies of the Ca?lako. Retreats are always practiced by groups. The individual retreat is not found at Zuñi. A retreat always is preceded by the making of prayer sticks. In the evening these are made into k[^]aetcin:e (see p. 500) and planted somewhere outside the village. When the emissaries return, the group "goes in" in the house where their sacred possessions are kept. The men have brought their bedding to this house, for they are to sleep there during the period of the retreat. Usually the sacred things are taken out and an altar is set up. During the retreat the room containing the sacred objects is taboo to all outsiders. The men do not leave the room (except in the case of the medicine societies, where men may go out in the day time and eat at their homes). They sleep in the house of their retreat, and their meals are served by a woman of that house, the wives of the men contributing cooked food. There are frequent sessions of song, prayer, and meditation, especially at night. Retreats usually last four or eight days. The Koyemci (see p. 946) "go in" for 14 days, and brief retreats of one night are held by priests at the solstices and at other times. Retreats frequently end with a second prayer stick planting, with the usual restrictions on conduct for the four following days, which make of this period a modified form of retreat. The main priesthoods open their summer retreats with a period of strictest retreat. In addition to the usual restrictions they forego all animal food. On the fourth day they make a second offering of prayer sticks, and, although they remain in seclusion for four days longer, the food restriction is lifted. They do not plant prayer sticks again on coming out. The minor priesthoods disband on the fourth day, although they are still under restrictions. The bow priests, although they plant prayer sticks and are "in," do not remain in their house. The "poor man" who has planted prayer sticks is in much the same position as the bow priest. Although not confined to his house he is somewhat withdrawn from life and is "sacred."

Priests live always under certain restraints, and in this restriction of activity of certain individuals may be seen the germs of a monastic life. However, it is not the sexual prohibitions that are made lifelong for the holy men of Zuñi. Celibacy as a way of life is regarded with extreme disfavor by the community. Mrs. Stevenson states (Zuñi Indians) that p?ekwin although married is expected not to cohabit with his wife, but I could find no evidence that this is the case. He is expected to observe rigidly the long periods of sexual continence, which his elaborate

ceremonies require, but continence at other times is not considered necessary or desirable.

There is, moreover, a marked difference in attitude between the Zuñi priest and the Christian or Buddhist monk. Zuñi ideology does not oppose matter and spirit as conflicting or mutually exclusive principles. The priest, therefore, does not renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil because the world and the flesh are evil. Rather he strips his life of trivial, irrelevant, and distracting matters in order to leave his mind free for his great work--the material and spiritual welfare of his people.[34]

PURIFICATION

In addition to these taboos and restrictions which may be regarded as secondarily purificatory there are also certain positive rites of purification. Among these bathing, especially bathing of the head, holds first place. Bathing of the head is obligatory before participation in any ceremony and usually at the conclusion of the ceremony. For important festivals everyone in the village bathes his head. The head of the newborn infant is bathed before he is presented to the sun. In most pueblos a name is given at this time, but not at Zuñi. Bathing of the head with name-giving forms the culminating rite of initiations; after important participations in masked ceremonies the head and body are bathed by paternal aunts. The purpose of ritual bathing after ceremonies is to make the participants safe for human contact. The ceremony at which the Koyemci are paid for their year's work by their paternal clan is called "washing." At this the head is bathed symbolically with water and corn meal. Curiously enough, the sweat bath is never used ritualistically at Zuñi, although it is used therapeutically and forms an important part of rituals of all surrounding tribes, including the Navaho and the ancient and modern peoples of Mexico. One ceremonial group (lhewe'kwe) bathes in the frozen river during its ceremonies. As in other North American tribes, purges and emetics. are used for ceremonial purification.

Ashes are used for purification after childbirth and at points in the ceremonies of medicine societies. Piñon gum is burned and the smoke inhaled as a rite of purification after a death in the household or as a protection against witches, whenever sorcery is suspected.

There is a special form of purification called "wiping off " (cuwaha) used in connection with war and healing. This consists of expectorating

into cedar bark or corn husk (on a prayer stick in some cases of cures), waving the packet four times over the head in counterclockwise circuits and throwing it down, or, in the case of healing, taking it out toward the east to be buried.

During the initiations of boys into the kadcina society property is destroyed for purification. Kadcinas visit all the housetops in the village, and from each a bowl or basket is thrown down and destroyed. This also is called *cuwaha*.

Whipping, never used as a means of punishment, is reserved for purposes of purification. During initiations kadcinas go about the village whipping everyone they meet unless they carry corn or water, "to take away the bad luck." People call upon the kadcinas at other

[34. For a description of the priestly ideal, see texts, p. 666.]

times to whip them to cure them of "bad dreams" (see p. 481). The whipping of the initiates is probably also purificatory.

CEREMONIAL PATTERN

A full ceremony at Zuñi utilizes all of the foregoing techniques. The usual ceremonial pattern is a retreat followed by a dance. Frequently the dance is public, the retreat, of course, always being secret. Sometimes, also, the dance is not performed by the same group that hold the core of the rite, but by some cooperating group or by an organized group of laymen (e. g., the dances by girls and youths during the scalp dance). The relative importance attached to the esoteric and the spectacular approaches varies among the different cults. The ceremonies of the kadcina society are weighted on the side of the spectacular. In the summer kadcina dances only the leaders offer prayer sticks and observe continence, and even for them there is no formal retreat. The priesthoods, on the other hand, concentrate on secret rites and dispense entirely with public dancing, unless some kadcina group chooses to honor one of the priesthoods by dancing on its "middle day."

A retreat usually opens and closes with offerings of prayer sticks. Sometimes there is a public announcement of the opening of the ceremony such as the announcements by *p?ekwin* of the solstices, of the opening of the scalp dance, and the beginning of the *Ca?lako* festival. There is some kind of set-up of sacred objects—a formal altar, fetishes,

masks, medicine water, etc.--and much of the ritual of the retreat is concerned with the manipulation of these objects. Those participating in the retreat practice various forms of abstinence. Sexual continence is always required. Sometimes there are taboos on certain foods or, rarely, on all food. There is a variable amount of seclusion. At intervals throughout the retreat there are recitals of prayers and songs. The rest of the time is spent preparing paraphernalia for the final dance, if there is to be one, rehearsing, and telling tales, especially the origin myths in the ritualistic forms appropriate to the particular ceremony. A great deal of instruction in ritualistic affairs is given during these retreats.

The form which the concluding ceremonies takes is subject to unlimited variation. Each ceremony has its characteristic features, of which the most conspicuous is always group dancing. Dancing always continues with brief intervals for many hours; the emotional effect is cumulative, although there is no definite climax. The dancing itself is always reduced to its barest essentials--the rhythmic repetitions of a single body movement. Although impersonation is common there is no dramatic representation. Whenever myth is suggested it is in a highly stylized and symbolic form. Great importance is attached to correctness and uniformity in costume and regalia, which are definitive for each dance. Dancing may be continuous, like the initiation dancing of the societies, or may be broken by intervals filled with clowning, jugglery, or other rituals, like the summer katchinas, or two or more groups may dance in turn.

Dancing is always semipublic. Sometimes, for example, the last night of the winter ceremony of the medicine societies, specially privileged outsiders (that is, outside the active group) may attend. Other dances are performed in lay houses or outdoors and are free to all who wish to come, including whites.

Despite the enormous complexity of Zuñi ceremonialism the elements of which it is built and the underlying patterns are comparatively simple. The ideology is difficult of comprehension because it is monistic, abstract, and impersonal where we tend to be dualistic, concrete, and personal, but the philosophical ideas in themselves are neither abstruse nor involved. So also the complexity of ritual is more apparent than real. All ceremonies have five principal aspects--the manipulation and veneration of sacrosanct objects; offerings; purification, abstinence, and seclusion; recitation of sacred formulæ; public celebration. Each of the five approaches is itself subject to little variation. The texts recorded in the following pages illustrate how little

complexity has been introduced into prayer. Prayers may be long or short, condensed or expanded, but the content, outline, and phraseology are always the same. So, too, with other techniques. The complexity of Zuñi ritual is a complexity of organization rather than content. The baffling intricacy of ceremonies like the winter dance of the Wood Society and associated groups, and the initiation of boys into the Kacina society are due chiefly to two processes in organization: The diversification of function and the piling up and telescoping of distinct ceremonies. It is characteristic of Zuñi rituals that their different parts are not necessarily performed by the same individuals or the same groups. The group that makes offerings and goes into retreat may have no control of the sacred object in whose honor the retreat is being held. Everything connected with the handling of fetishistic objects may belong to a second group, while a third group holds the sacred words of the chants, and yet a fourth group manages the public ceremonies. Each of these groups has its own organization, mode of succession, and minor rituals, so that the complete picture of any major ceremony, such as the Ca?lako, with all its ramifications, gives an impression of bewildering and baffling complexity.

It is more difficult to uncover the ceremonial pattern in ceremonies which are the products of coalescence. The winter solstice ceremonies, thought of at Zuñi as a unit, are clearly a synchronization of independent cults. In other cases the essential separateness of parts of a ceremony is somewhat obscured. The dance of the Wood Society and other groups is undoubtedly an amalgamation of at least two factors: A snow-making ceremony comprising a retreat of the keepers of the "winter fetishes," with a dance in their honor, the muaiye, combined with a war ceremony of the bow priesthood in conjunction with the warlike societies. We are here not necessarily dealing with a historical process. The ceremony is certainly now conceived as a unit and may always have been as it is at present, although in view of the complex history of Zuñi as shown archaeologically there is no reason to doubt that any ceremony may have been derived from several diverse sources. But however diverse the sources, the resulting product has been well pruned to fit the Zuñi pattern.

The public rituals constitute the most important esthetic expression of the people. Not only are they "artistic" in the superficial sense, in that they embrace the types of behavior which we arbitrarily lump together as "the arts"--ornament, poetry, music, the dance--but they provide the satisfaction of the deeper esthetic drive. Zuñi children do not mind being whipped by the Sălimop?iya "because they are such pretty

dancers." I have heard women say of the mourning ceremonies of the Ca?lako, "We all cry. It is so beautiful that our hearts hurt." I have watched the faces of old men as I read to them the texts of their prayers. Zuñi rituals have a style of their own that belongs to ritual as an art. They are ordered and formal; they are well designed; they begin in quietness and end in serenity. Their quality is gracious and benign. They have moments of splendor, but they are not gorgeous or "barbaric" or frenzied. All of Zuñi life is oriented about religious observance, and ritual has become the formal expression of Zuñi civilization. If Zuñi civilization can be said to have a style, that style is essentially the style of its rituals.

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

The basis upon which all Zuñi ceremonialism rests is the cult of a:'lhacina:we, the ancients or the ancestors. In their worship all participate, regardless of age, sex, or affiliation with special cults. Nor are the a:'lhacina:we ever omitted from the ceremonies devoted primarily to the worship of other beings. The special and characteristic offering to the a:'lhacina:we is food. At the great public ceremony devoted to them exclusively, Grandmothers' Day^[35] (Catholic All Souls Day), the outstanding feature is the sacrifice of great quantities of food in the fire and the river. They receive other offerings, too—prayer meal, smoke, and, of course, prayer sticks. The prayer stick for a:'lhacina:we is a small stick painted black, the principal feather being from the back of the turkey. Offerings of food to a:'lhacina:we form a

[35. See p. 621.]

conspicuous part of all public ceremonies, and no prayer omits to mention them. So pervasive is this cult of the ancestors that other classes of beings (the *kacinas*, for instance) tend to merge their identity in them.

The a:'lhacina:we are, in Zuñi terminology, a:'wona:wi'lona, "the keepers of the roads"; that is, beings who guide, protect, nourish human life. They are, therefore, as a group, beneficent beings. They are identified with the greatest of all blessings in this and land, the clouds and the rain. In prayers they are referred to as "those who have attained the blessed place of waters," and when they return they come clothed in the rain. When, on summer afternoons, the great cumulus clouds pile up along the southern horizon, a Zuñi mother will point them out to her

children, saying, "Look, there the grandfathers are coming!" However, this identification with the rain is not restricted to the a:'lhacina:we, but appears also in beliefs concerning other supernaturals, especially the U'wanam:i, the so-called rain makers, and the koko or masked gods or katchinas. Even the A'hayuta and the We:'ma:we walk in the rain. Rain is an attribute of divinity, and all the divine ones come clothed in waters. The dead are, in general, the bestowers of all blessings for which the Zuñis ask--life, old age, rain, seeds, wealth, power, fecundity, health, and general happiness.[36] Despite their prevailingly beneficent character, toward individual dead persons, and especially toward the recently dead, the attitude is strongly ambivalent, mingled of tender reverence and fear. This fear is not due to the evil nature of the dead, but to the fact that so long as they remember human life they will long for their dear ones left behind in this world. Therefore they come to trouble them in dreams and day dreams, until the living man sickens of grief and dies. Therefore the recent dead must be cut off. Their road is darkened with black corn meal, and they are implored, with offerings of corn meal and prayer sticks, not to trouble the living.

There is nothing esoteric in the worship of the ancestors. In this all individuals are on an equal footing and have direct access to the supernaturals without the mediation of priests. There are no fetishes or other permanently held paraphernalia used in their worship, nor are there special places sacred to them, unless perhaps the river bank, especially the point called Wide River, where offerings of food are customarily made. No man stands in any special relationship toward them. It is quite clear that there is no ancestor worship in the restricted meaning of the word. A man prays to the ancestors, not to his own ancestors. Certain groups of men have special relations to certain groups among the dead--priests invoke deceased priests, medicine men deceased medicine men, impersonators of the katchinas their predecessors in office, but never their progenitors as

[36. See texts, p. 611.]

such. Such special relationships belong in the realm of special cult activities which will be considered.

Against this background general nonesoteric religious activities have developed a large number of esoteric cults, each devoted to the worship of special supernaturals or groups of supernaturals, and each having a priesthood, a body of secret ritual, permanent possessions of fetishistic

power, special places of worship, and a calendrical cycle of ceremonies. I distinguish six major cults of this type, which might be named from the supernaturals toward whom their principal ceremonies are directed: 1, the cult of the Sun; 2, the cult of the Uwanami; 3, the cult of the katcinas; 4, the cult of the priests of the katcinas (a distinct but closely related Cult [37]); 5, the cult of the Gods of War; 6, the cult of the Beast Gods. The functions, activities, and personnel of these groups overlap and interweave in a bewildering intricacy that baffles analysis. The p?ekwin who is speaker of the sun is also priest; he has certain specifically priestly functions. Some activities belong to one, some to another, of his affiliations. This is true also of the bow priests, leaders of the war cult, who as guardians of secret rites are associated with fraternities; the fraternities or medicine societies, which are devoted primarily to the worship of the Beast Gods, gods of life, medicine, and witchcraft, have one ceremony devoted entirely to the invocation of the Uwanami. Some are of distinctly warlike character; others possess masks and take part in masked rituals. However, in spite of this interlocking, there is no difficulty in assigning any major ritualistic group in Zuñi to one or the other of these cults on the basis of supernatural sanction, method, and tangible possessions.

THE CULT OF THE SUN

The sun is the source of all life. Indeed the word for life is t?ek?ohanan:e, daylight (t?e, time or space; k?ohana, white; n:e, nominal suffix). The sun is therefore "our father,"[18] in a very special sense, but not in the sense of progenitor. He is associated in worship with the moon, who is "our mother." However, life is not thought of as springing from the union of these two. The moon is "mother" by courtesy only. The animating female principle of the universe is the earth mother, but there is no cult of the earth.[39]

Each morning as the sun sends his first level beams striking across the houses his people come out to meet him with prayers and offerings. Men and women stand before their doors, facing the east,

[37. See p. 521.

38. "Father" in Zuñi is a term of respect applied to all supernaturals and to all human beings who have any claim to one's respect or affection.

39. The phallic element is not absent from the worship of the sun and moon. At the solstices adult males plant blue sticks to the sun, females yellow ones to the moon. The sticks planted in the Ca?lako homes, which are specifically for fecundity, are double; one stick is painted blue, the other yellow, and they are male and female, respectively. Like the sun prayer sticks, they are made with downy feathers of the eagle.]

their hands full of corn meal which is offered to the sun, with prayers for long life. Every priest or appointee to ceremonial office and every man during the time he is engaged in any ceremony must observe this morning ritual. But many others, "poor people," never omit it, even on the most bitterly cold winter mornings.

But the great ceremonies at which the sun father is honored are in the keeping of his special priest, whose title, p?ekwin, means, literally, speaking place. The p?ekwin is the most revered and the most holy man in Zuñi. Even in this society which diffuses power and responsibility until both become so tenuous as to be almost indiscernible, the p?ekwin is ultimately held responsible for the welfare of the community. He holds his power directly from the Sun Father, with whom he has a very special and intimate relationship. The p?ekwin performs many duties in no way connected with his office as priest of the sun. He is the active member of the priestly hierarchy and the officiating priest at all ceremonies at which the priests function jointly. It is he who sets up the altars for these ceremonies and even the altar for the scalp dance; it is he who meets the priests of the katchinas when they visit Zuñi and "makes their road"; it is he who installs new priests, including bow priests, and formally appoints to office the impersonators of the katchinas.

As priest of the sun he is the keeper of the calendar. He sets the dates for the solstices, from which all other ceremonies are dated. His calculations are based on observation of the sunrise in winter and the sunset in summer. These observations are made at shrines outside of the village. When the sun rises (or sets) behind certain landmarks, the date for the solstice is at hand. However, the calendar is disarranged by the desire to have the celebration of the solstice coincide with the full moon, and the p?ekwin is the subject of bitter criticism when the sun fails to oblige in this matter. It is at the solstices that the sun is celebrated with great public ceremonies. For some period before the p?ekwin observes fasts and continence and makes frequent offerings of prayer sticks to the sun and moon and the ancients. In winter the public ceremonies are opened by the p?ekwin's announcement made from the housetop at dawn. At this time he orders the people to make prayer sticks for their

sun father and their moon mother.[40] For 10 days the p?ekwin "counts days" for his sun father. Then on the tenth day all people offer their prayer sticks to the sun or moon, along with others for the ancients, and special society offerings. The solstice ceremonies continue for 10 days longer, but the part of the sun in them is finished on the tenth day.

In summer the announcement by the p?ekwin takes place eight days before the planting, and the whole celebration is less elaborate.

[40. See texts, p. 636.]

As in the winter, there are other ceremonies at this time but in different forms."

The p?ekwin has, furthermore, a great public ceremony, the lha:hewe or Corn Dance, which should be performed every fourth year in midsummer. It has not been performed for many years. This ceremony commemorates the departure of the corn maids and celebrates their return. It follows the usual ceremonial pattern of periods of retreat spent in preparation for the public ceremony of the last day. On this occasion the e'tone of the priests are exposed in public and there is dancing alternately by two groups of girls.

The writer has not seen this ceremony. It has not been held for many years, and very little is known about it save that "it belongs to p?ekwin." Since it is so peculiarly his dance we may assume that it is connected in some way with the worship of the sun, but what this connection is, toward what blessing it is directed, and what techniques it employs are by no means clear from the only description we have, and further information is lacking.

THE CULT OF THE U'WANAM:I

The U'wanami, a term generally translated rain makers,[42] are water spirits. They live in all the waters of the earth, the four encircling oceans and the underground waters to which springs are gateways. Cumulus clouds are their houses; mist is their breath. The frogs that sing from every puddle after the drenching summer rains are their children. The ripple marks along the edge of ditches washed out by heavy rains are their footprints.

The worship of the U'wanami is enormously elaborated and is in the hands of the priesthoods, of which there are 12.[43] Each priesthood contains from two to six members. Several have women associates. Membership, in the main, is hereditary within matrilineal family groups the family in whose house the fetish of the group is guarded. Each group operates with a fetish. These fetishes, the e'to:we, are the most sacrosanct objects of Zuñi worship. They were brought from the innermost depths of the earth at the time of the emergence and are kept in sealed jars, from which they are removed only for the few secret rites in which they are employed. In these e'to:we rest the power of the priests. (For description of e'to:we see Stevenson, p. 163 ff.) Besides the e'to:we various other objects are

[41. See p. 537.

42. The term rain maker is a very misleading one. In Zuñi thought all supernaturals are rain makers. The Uwanami are definitely associated with the six regions and are probably the Zuñi equivalent of the Keresan shiwana, or storm clouds. The bow priests of the Uwanami, K^älhawani, Tsik^ahaiya, Kopctaiya are associated with thunderstorms and sudden tempests. (See texts, p. 664.)

43. I have omitted the p?ekwin and the bow priests who occupy the fifth and sixth places in the order of retreats, because they are not, strictly speaking, priests, but function merely ex officio. They do not possess e'to:we. (See pp. 591, 592, 660.)]

included in the sacred paraphernalia of the priests--pots of sacred black paint, round stones, "thunder stones," obsidian knives, and other objects, all of which were brought from the lower world. The e'to:we themselves are each in two parts, k^ä'etow:e, water fetish, and tcu'e'to:we, corn fetish. The rain-making function is decidedly the more important.

In addition to the objects on the altar of their retreat, the chief priesthood is said to maintain a permanent altar in the fourth underground room of their house. In addition to the usual objects on priestly altars, this altar contains two columns of rock, one of crystal and one of turquoise, a heart-shaped rock which is "the heart of the world," with arteries reaching to the four cardinal points, and various prayer sticks, including two, male and female, which are "the life of the people." All objects on the altar, including the e'to:we, are, said to be petrified. This altar is the center of the world, the spot beneath the heart

of k[^]?änastep?a when he stretched out his arms. Only the high priest himself has access to this chamber.[44]

The priests, as such, hold no public ceremonies, although their presence is necessary at many ceremonies of other groups. Their own ceremonies for the Uwanami are held in secret in the houses where their fetishes are kept.

At the winter solstice the priesthoods observe a one-night retreat. Following the planting of the prayer sticks to the sun is a taboo period of 10 days, during which many rites are celebrated. On the fifth or sixth night (depending on the phase of the moon) each priesthood goes into retreat in its ceremonial house. During the day the priests make prayer sticks for the U'wanami of the different directions. Before sunset these are deposited at a distant spring. When the messengers return from the spring the various sacred objects are removed from their jars and placed on a meal painting, along with cars of corn, clay models of peach trees, animals, even money, upon which the blessing of increase is invoked. All night prayers are chanted and songs sung. The ceremony ends at sunrise. This ceremony is repeated by all the priests in their respective houses at the two full moons following.

The great ceremonies of the priests occur after the summer solstice. At this time rain is urgently needed for the young corn plants just rising out of the ground. The rainy season starts about July 1. Should the rains be delayed beyond that date great hardship is suffered.

Four days following the summer planting of prayer sticks the priesthoods begin their great series of summer retreats which last from

[44. Information concerning this altar was secured from a fairly reliable informant who gained access to it and made a very remarkable painting of it. The author does not consider the information quite beyond question, but gives it for what it may be worth.]

the end of June well into September; that is, throughout the whole rainy season. The four chief priesthoods, associated with the north, east,[45] south, and west, go in for eight days each. They are followed late in July by the p?ekwin and the Bow Priest, who go in for four days each, and later by the minor priesthoods ("darkness priests"), who also go in for four days each. As in the winter, the day preceding the retreat is spent in making prayer sticks, which are deposited in the afternoon at the

same sacred spring. The altar is set up that night. Since the sole preoccupation is with rain magic, no corn or peach trees are used on the summer altar. For four days following the planting to the U'wanami, the supplicants refrain from eating meat or grease, in addition observing the usual requirements of continence and kindness. Throughout this period they remain night and day in their ceremonial room. No outsider enters but the woman of the house who serves their meals. There are frequent sessions of prayer and song, especially during the hours between midnight and dawn. The U'wanami are invoked, and the deceased priests of the order are called upon by name. All are believed to be present. On the fourth day, at dawn, prayer sticks are offered to the ancients, and after that the minor priests are free, except for the restriction on sexual activity for four days following any offering of prayer sticks. The four principal priesthoods remain in seclusion for four days longer. At dawn on the eighth day they come out, and that same evening the set next in order goes in. (For order of retreats, see Stevenson, p. 180.)

The purpose of these retreats is to secure rain--immediate rain for the thirsting young plants. Should the days of any group fail to be blessed with rain it receives the censure of the community, and one of its members will surely be suspected of laxness in the observance of his duties.

The rain priests are, like the p?ekwin, holy men. They are expected to keep themselves aloof from worldly affairs. In former times they did no manual labor, but lived on contributions from the people, but this is no longer the case. The priest should be gentle, humble, and kind. Above all, he is supposed to eschew quarrels.

Associated in worship with the Uwanami is Kolowisi, the horned water serpent who inhabits springs and underground waters. With the characteristic Zuñi elasticity he is variously conceived as individual and multiple. One folk tale collected by the writer describes Kolowisi's village with all the serpents engaged in masked dances as at Kolhuwala:wa.

Kolowisi is the guardian of sacred springs and punishes trespassers, especially women. In an unpublished song recorded by Cushing,

[45. The usual cycle of north, west, south, east is reversed in this instance.]

Kolowisi is associated with flood, although the familiar Hopi myth of Palulukong has not been recorded for Zuñi. He also figures in myths of magical impregnation. This is in harmony with his rôle in ritual where he appears at the initiation of small boys, a ceremony designed to impress the youngsters with the power of the katchinas. At this ceremony he vomits forth water and seeds which are given to the children to take home. The water is sprinkled on their corn, and the seed is used for planting.

The effigy of Kolowisi which is used at this ceremony[46] is kept by the Kolowisi priesthood, a group belonging to the Corn clan which stands ninth in the order of retreats according to Mrs. Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, pp. 167, 179). Although this group is invariably called the Kolowisi priesthood, the association with Kolowisi may well be secondary like the association of the priests of the west with the Koyemci masks, or of the twelfth priesthood with the K[^]ana:kwe.

The public ceremony of Kolowisi takes place in connection with the initiation of little boys.

The effigy of Kolowisi enters the village accompanied by the initiating katchinas at sunset on the eighth day of the ceremony.[47] He spends the night in Hek[^]apa:wa kiva where he is suckled by Ahe?a, the grandmother of the katchinas. The following morning the head of the serpent is thrust through the kiva wall, while the katchinas dance for him. In the afternoon he vomits water and corn, fertilizing talismans for the novices.

THE CULT OF THE KATCHINAS [48]

During their search for the middle the Zuñis had to ford a stream.[49] The first group of women to cross, seeing their children transformed in midstream into frogs and water snakes, became frightened and dropped them, and they escaped into the water. The bereaved mothers mourned for their lost children, so the twin heroes were sent to see what had become of them. They found them in a house beneath the surface of Whispering Waters (hatin k[^]?ai'akwi). They had been transformed into the katchinas, beautiful with valuable beads and feathers and rich clothing. Here they spent their days singing and dancing in untroubled joyousness. The twin heroes reported what they had seen, and further decreed that thereafter the dead should come to this place to join the lost children.

The identification of the dead with the *katcinas* is not complete. When men offer prayer sticks, they offer to the ancients and to the

[46. Pictured in Stevenson, pls. xiii and xiv.

47. For abridged description of this ceremony, see p. 975. Fuller but incomplete account in Stevenson, pp. 65-102, the portion describing the part of the Kolowisi being found on pp. 94-96, 100, and 101.

48. *Katcina* is a Hopi word, which has become standardized in the literature of the pueblos. The Zuni term is *koko*.

49. Origin myth, text, p. 595.]

katcinas, and their sticks are different--those of the *katcinas* contain, in addition to the turkey feather, that of the duck, for the *katcinas* travel between their village and the village of their fathers in the form of ducks. There is great confusion in regard to the destination of the dead. Those who in life are intimately associated with the Beast Gods at death join them at, their home in *Ci'papolima*, in the east. There is some indication that the priests join the *U'wanami*. Only those who are intimately associated with the cult of the *katcinas*, that is, members of the *kotikan:e* (*katcina* society), and especially officers in this society and possessors of masks, can be sure of admission to the village of the *katcinas*. There seems to be no clear idea of what becomes of people without ceremonial affiliations--women and children, for instance.

The lost children pitied the loneliness of their people and came often to dance for them in their plazas and in houses prepared for their use. But after each visit they took someone with them (i. e., someone died). Therefore they decided no longer to come in person. So they instructed their people to copy their costume and headdresses and imitate their dances. Then they would be with them in spirit. (See text, p. 605.)

These dances, in which the *katcinas* are impersonated, are the most spectacular, perhaps the most beautiful, of all Zuni ceremonies. Instituted according to tradition solely as a means of enjoyment, they have become the most potent of rain-making rites, for since the divine ones no longer come in the flesh, they come in their other bodies, that is, as rain. The mask is the corporeal substance of the god and in donning it the wearer, through a miracle akin to that of the Mass in Roman Catholic ritual, becomes the god.

Therefore the masks with which this cult operates are second in sacredness to the fetishes of the rain priests themselves, They are the property of individuals; they are buried with his other possessions four days after death. The possession of a mask is a blessing to the house; it guarantees the owner admission to the dance house of the gods, and is the means by which the spirit can return after death to delight his beloved ones on earth and assuage his own loneliness. Therefore, as soon as a man can afford the very considerable expense involved, he will have a mask made for himself. These masks are carefully guarded in the back rooms of houses, protected from the eyes of children. Like the fetishes of the rain priests, they receive daily offerings of food from some female member of the household. When they are to be used they are repainted by someone whose special office that is, and redecorated to represent the special god to be impersonated.

The organization which performs the rites of the *kacinas* is the *ko'tik^än:e* or *kacina* society, whose membership comprises every adult male. In exceptional cases females may be initiated.[50] The initiation includes two separate ceremonies frequently separated by several years. Until the rites are completed, at about the age of 10 or 12, boys are expected to be kept ignorant of the mysteries of the cult, and to believe the dancers are indeed supernatural visitors from the village of the gods. At the first ceremony they are severely whipped by the *kacina* priests[51] to inspire them with awe for these creatures. There is another and more severe thrashing at the second ceremony. Whipping is the prerogative of the *kacinas*. It is employed by no other ceremonial group at Zuñi and as a mechanism of juvenile punishment is unknown. The American method of establishing discipline by switching is met at Zuñi with horrified contempt. The *kacinas* whip to instill awe for the supernatural, but also to remove sickness and contamination. The whipping of *kacinas* is a blessing. It is administered with the formula, "May you be blessed with seeds" (*t?o? t?owaconan aniktciat!u*). Therefore outsiders are never whipped.

The *kacina* society has a set of officers, the *kacina* chief (*ko'mosona*), his *p?ekwin* (*ko'p?ekwin*), and two bow priests, who act as hosts when the gods come to dance. They receive them, lead them into the plazas for their performances, sprinkling corn meal before them. They are the arbiters in all matters pertaining to masked rituals. The society is organized into six divisions (*upa:we*), associated loosely with the six directions. Each group has a house of special construction set aside for the use of the *kacinas*-the so-called *kivas*. [52] In early days these were men's clubhouses, but their use is now being abandoned, even in

ceremonies, in favor of more modern and spacious dwelling houses. Membership in one or another of these six groups is determined by the choice of a ceremonial father at a boy's birth or, at the latest, at the time of the preliminary initiation. His association is lifelong, unless he is expelled for sexual transgression or severs his connection because of disagreement with the leaders. In either case he will be received gladly into another group. Each group has a number of officers--from two to six or more--who run its affairs. They decide upon the dates for dances and the particular dance to be performed; they compose new songs, decorate the masks, assemble the costumes, and rehearse with the participants. Upon them also falls the more vital task of performing the secret rituals that will insure success. They prepare and plant prayer sticks and observe

[50. "To save their life" if they suffer from hallucinations, the mental sickness caused by supernatural brings.

51. See p. 521.

52. Kiva is a word which has been adopted into southwest literature to denote the subterranean or semi-subterranean chambers found in all modern and prehistoric pueblos, The word is of Hopi provenience. The Zuñi term *kiwitsin:e* is probably derived from it.]

all the ritual requirements attendant thereon. They consecrate new masks and bless all the dancers before they leave for the plaza.

The dances themselves are large group dances, performed by one or of dancers in formation, frequently with solo performers. The costumes, including masks, are brilliant, picturesque, often of workmanship; the songs are varied and striking. The performances proceed with the spirit and precision of a well-trained orchestra. The dance groups in summer frequently number over 60 As many as 90 have been observed.

Each kiva group is required to dance at least three times during the year--once in the winter, once in the summer, and once in the fall, during the five days following the departure of the *Ca?lako* gods.[58] In addition to this they may dance at any other time they choose, except the 4 days following the close of the *Ca?lako* festival and the 10 days of the winter solstice. The dances of the winter series are performed indoors at night but may be repeated outdoors on the following day. The summer dances are performed outdoors and in the daytime.[54]

Eight days after the close of the winter solstice the kiva which is to inaugurate the winter series sends in two katchinas to announce the dance on the fourth night following.[55] On the appointed night society altars are set up in the six houses which fill the rôle of kivas, and society choirs are summoned to provide music for the dancers. The various groups of dancers make the rounds of these six houses. The kiva presenting the dance will perform one of about six traditional dances. This group brings seeds to be distributed among the populace. On the same night any other kiva that wishes to participate will prepare dances which may be in the traditional style or some new variant, fanciful, grotesque, or amusing. The hilarity of the occasion is increased by the presence of isolated groups of dancers, especially the "little dancers," the mischievous children of katchina village, and dance of masked or unmasked clowns. At the indoor dances not all participants need be masked, and where no mask is used the same magical power resides in the face and body paint. If the dance is repeated outdoors where it can be viewed by the uninitiated masks are obligatory.

In contrast to the light-hearted gaiety of the winter dances, those of summer are marked by great solemnity and intense religious devotion. At this time rain is urgently needed, and the whole religious mechanism strains to the task of compelling it.

Eight days after the summer solstice and on the "middle (i. e., fourth day" of the retreat of the first priesthood, the gods, accompanied

[53. See pp. 702, 941.

54. Except the first dance of the summer series, when all-night ceremonies are held in the kiva on the night preceding the outside dancing.

55. At least, so it used to be. At present the dance is held "when they get ready."

by the Koyemci[56] and officers of the katchina society, appear at sunset, marching across the plain. They come from the village of the katchinas.[57] From now on until they are sent home in November, the katchinas are believed to be present in the village, lurking in the kivas. After dancing in all the plazas the dancers retire to the home of the Katchina Chief where an altar has been set up. After all-night ceremonies they dance throughout the day in the four plazas while society choirs continue to sing in the house of their retreat and the house of the Koyemci. This first dance is a most solemn occasion. Until rain falls the

participants may touch neither food nor drink, nor engage in any unnecessary conversation. They must, of course, observe sexual continence. At later dances continence is required only of the leaders who have offered prayer sticks and of the Koyemci.

After this first dance other kivas follow as they can get ready. It is considered desirable to perform these dances as rapidly as possible while rain is needed. But with characteristic Zuñi procrastination they are put off and finally performed in rapid succession in September, and the resulting deluges play havoc with the crops already ripe for the harvest.

The gods remain in the village until they are sent home in the fall. In November, after the regular series of dances is over, and it is evident that no more extra dances are to be interpolated, the gods are sent home. The Koyemci are generally the first to go. One night they will be heard singing in the yard before their house. After making the rounds of the plazas they go out toward the west, and whoever dares stick his head outdoors while they are about will surely be drawn along with them (i. e., he will die). After the Koyemci have gone the others follow within a few days.

They all return again to Zuñi with the Katsina Priests when they come for the Ca?lako ceremonies. After the Katsina Priests depart for their home the others remain to dance for five nights in the houses they have dedicated and in the plazas of the town. Certain dances are regularly performed during this time and others may be introduced. On the fifth day they depart for the east to visit the supernaturals who dwell in that quarter. On that day every man who owns a mask takes it out to the east of the village. Here he offers prayer sticks and food in one of the six holes dug by the kiva heads. Setting down the mask and making a road of meal toward the east, he sends him out. For four days the masked gods are visiting in the east, and consequently no masked dances may be performed. They return after four days, and from that time on until the beginning of

[56. See p. 946.

57. Every fourth year there is a pilgrimage by the priests, officers of the Katsina Society, and the chosen impersonators of the priests of the masked gods to the home of the gods, a lake 86 miles west of Zuñi. On other years the offerings are made at Rainbow Spring, 17 miles to the southwest.]

the winter solstice any of the dances performed after Ca?lako may be repeated by request, or new ones may be presented.

THE CULT OF THE KATCINA PRIESTS[58]

Intimately associated with the foregoing activities are those rites and ceremonies which form the cult of the kadcina priests. This cult also employs, as its principal technique for controlling the supernatural, impersonation by means of masks. But the beings impersonated are of a different order. The masks are differently treated and the character of the rites in which they function, and the personnel and calendrical cycle are quite independent. Like all supernaturals, they are bringers of rain, but the special blessing which lies within their power to bestow is fecundity. The kadcina priests also live at Ko'luwala:wa (kadcina village) and form, indeed, the priestly hierarchy that rules that village. But they are definite individuals, with personal names and distinct personalities. There are, for instance, the Koyemci--they are the fruit of an incestuous union between brother and sister, and display the stain of their birth in their grotesque appearance and uncouth behavior. They are the sacred clowns, privileged to mock at anything, and to indulge in any obscenity.[59] On them fall the most exacting sexual restrictions. They are the most feared and the most beloved of all Zuñi impersonations. They are possessed of black magic; in their drum they have the wings of black butterflies that can make girls "crazy." [60] In the knobs of their masks is soil from the footprints of townspeople.[61] One who begrudges them anything will meet swift and terrible retribution. But everyone goes in hushed reverence and near to tears to watch them on their last night when they are under strict taboo. At this time, from sundown until midnight the following day, they touch neither food nor drink. They neither sleep nor speak, and in all that time they do not remove their masks. This truly heroic self-denial earns them the sympathetic affection of the people, an affection manifested in the generous gifts that are given them on this their last day in office.[62]

P?autiwa, chief of the masked gods at Ko'luwala:wa, is a truly magnificent person. His prestige is enormous. He possesses in unlimited measure the three most admired qualities--beauty, dignity, and

[58. The term is awkward, but it is a literal translation of the Zuñi term.

59. They are, however, surpassed in obscenity by the Ne?we:kwe. The presence of white people at Zuñi is resulting in the gradual suppression of these practices. The word obscene is used advisedly since their practices are universally so regarded at Zuñi. Here the proprieties are meticulously observed. It is a society of strong repressions. Undoubtedly the great delight in the antics of the clowns springs from the sense of release in vicarious participations in the forbidden.

60. I. e., sexually.

61. A widely used love charm.

62. The very deep affection that is felt for the Koyemci is by no means extended to the impersonator when he is released from office.]

kindliness. In folklore he appears as the successful lover of mortal maids. Literature is full of the exploits of his illegitimate offspring, to whom he is unfailingly generous. His two brief appearances at Zuñi mark him as a prince of gods and men. The moment he appears in the plaza at the close of the solstice ceremonies, the hilarity which has prevailed subsides in an instant and is replaced by hushed reverence. The two gods who have been making merry on the housetop to the great delight of the populace suddenly pale to insignificance before the newly risen splendor of P?autiwa's beauty and stateliness.

His p?ekwin, K^äklo, is very different. He is a bustling, officious, self-important individual, somewhat ridiculous in spite of his great power. In the midst of his most sacred ceremony he engages in none too gentle horseplay with the Koyemci. His speech is an incoherent jumble.

Sayataca is more austere. Like P?autiwa, he has tremendous dignity and prestige, but he lacks P?autiwa's charm. When he speaks--and he speaks often and at incredible length--his voice booms with authority and importance.

One might continue to enumerate the personality traits of the individual katchinas. The Sayalhia, avengers and exorcisers, hideous and terrible; the Ca?lako, giant gargoyles, terrifying but not unlovely; the Sä'limop?ia, youthful and beautiful, and impetuous with the ardor of youth; and many others.

Each of these appears at Zuñi to perform a special ceremony which he alone has the right to perform. For each of these katchinas there is a

permanent mask used only in his rites. This is tribal property. It is the mask given by the Divine One himself, and has been passed down through the generations like the fetishes of the rain priests. Like them, these ancient masks are kept permanently in jars in definite houses, from which they are removed only for use and with elaborate ceremony. Furthermore, connected with each is a cult group which preserves its secret ritual, including the words of prayers and chants.

The mask of P?autiwa is kept in a house of the Dogwood clan. The cult group in charge of his ritual comprises all who have ever impersonated the god at his appearance in the winter solstice. These men meet each year to select the impersonator. He learns the prayers and rituals from some older man of the groups and is thereafter permanently associated with this group.[63]

The masks of the Cula:witsi, Sayataca, Hututu, and the two Yamuhakto are kept in another house of the Dogwood clan. The custodians of their cult are a self-perpetuating group of four men of various clan affiliations. The impersonators of the gods are chosen by the priests and go to the cult heads to learn what they must do.

[63. Certain members of the Sun clan form a subsidiary cult group, whose function is to dress P?autiwa.]

This knowledge--that is, the power which it confers--is "given back" at the end of the year.

The Koyemci masks are kept in the house of the West priesthood. Their cult is in the keeping of four groups of men who themselves impersonate the gods. Each group holds office for a year and returns again after four years. The head of the group, who impersonates the father, is appointed by the priests and he chooses his associates, filling any vacancies which may have occurred since the last incumbency.

The six Ca?lako masks, associated with the six kivas, are kept in six different houses and each has a permanent group of wo:we,[64] who instruct the impersonators in the duties of their offices. The impersonators are chosen by the officers of the kivas and hold office for a year.

The mask of K^ä'klo is kept in the house of the p?ekwin of the Kacina Society. His rites are known to a group of four men, who take turns in

impersonating the god. The head of this group receives from the priests a crook summoning him to appear.

The 12 Sälimop?ia masks, two of each color, are kept in six different houses, along with other masks associated with them in the principal ceremony in which they appear, the preliminary whipping of little boys. Each kiva has a Sälimop?ia wo?le who is trustee of their ritual.

At the new year ceremony which terminates the celebration of the solstice P?autiwa comes to give his orders for the coming year. He leaves with the priests or on the roofs of the kivas the feathered sticks with which are appointed those who impersonate the gods at the great fertility ceremony of November, the so-called Ca?lako. He leaves one stick for the father of the Koyemci, one for each of Sa'yataca group, one for each of the six Ca?lako. There is also a stick for Bitsitsi, who is not a katchina, but who plays an important rôle in the ceremony of the Corn Maids which follows the Ca?lako. In this P?autiwa himself appears.

The impersonators are chosen immediately--the impersonators of the Koyemci and the Sayataca group by the priests, two impersonators for each of the six Ca?lako by the officers of their respective kivas. Each month at the full moon they plant prayer sticks at distant shrines, visiting them in a body in fixed order. After October the plantings take place every 10 days, and as the time for the ceremony approaches, each group goes into retreat like priests, in its ceremonial house. The great public ceremony is held in the houses of prominent citizens who volunteer to provide this costly service. There should be eight houses, but in recent years the expense involved has become so great that not enough men volunteer. In that case the groups double up at the last moment. The house is newly built or completely renovated for the occasion, and the visit of the gods is the

[64. Literally servant or domesticated animal, a word that defies translation.]

dedication and blessing of the new dwelling. They deposit prayer sticks under the threshold and in the roof-symbols of fertility. The sticks are double, painted blue and yellow, and they are male and female respectively. They plant seeds in the center of the floor and on the altar leave a basket of seed corn to be used by the host in his spring sowing. The burden of their prayer is that the store rooms may be filled to

overflowing, and the house so full of children that they jostle one another in the doorway. (See text of Ca?lako prayer, pp. 718, 773.)

The gods depart after all-night ceremonies but during the following days each kiva presents a masked dance. They may present more than one if they so choose. These dances are performed for five nights in all the houses and on the fifth day in the plaza. On this day the Koyemci, who have remained in retreat throughout this period, are rewarded for their services by gifts from the members of their fathers' clans. Late at night, after visiting every house in the village to bestow a final blessing, they are released from their arduous duties.

The Koyemci, in addition to participating in this cycle of ceremonies, are required to attend upon the masked dancers during the summer dance series. On these appearances they play the rôle of clowns; and many of their games are of frankly phallic significance.[65] In their drum they place the wings of black butterflies, a potent love charm.

Every fourth year[66] P?autiwa leaves a feathered staff for K^ä'klo, by whose order is performed the preliminary whipping of the small boys. K^ä'klo does not himself perform this rite. He comes twice at intervals of eight days to inform the priests and officers of the kivas that this is the wish of the gods. They in turn appoint the gods who administer the whipping--12 Sä'limopia, four Sa'yalhia and 10 other gods. The ceremony, held the day after K^ä'klo's final visit, is one of the most elaborate and spectacular at Zuñi. The boys are severely whipped in the plaza. They are taken into the kiva to have feathers tied in their hair as a symbol of their novitiate. The writer has never witnessed this ceremony, and can only guess at its significance on the basis of the description given by Mrs. Stevenson.[67] The point seems to be exorcism. The boys are whipped "to save their lives," and previous to this, there is general whipping and destruction of property throughout the village, "to take away bad happenings." The Sä'limopia and Sayalhia appear as exorcisors during the winter solstice ceremony. And whenever any taboo of the masked god cult is broken the Sayalhia appear to administer punishment and to whip

[65. See E. C. Parsons, Notes on Zuñi, pt. 2, p. 229.

66. Due to recent disintegration this ceremony has not been held for more than six years.

67. Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 65.]

all present in order to counteract the contaminating influence of the transgression. At the Ca?lako two Salimopia are present to perform this service.

The final whipping of the boys is performed by the Sayalhia by order of the priests, some time during the Ca?lako festivities. This also seems to be a rite of exorcism, and is followed by general whipping to remove bad luck.

Another masked ceremony held at irregular intervals, and by express order of P?autiwa, is the dance of the K^ä'na:kwe or white gods. This is a group dance like the kiva dances but is performed by a special self-perpetuating cult group owning ancient masks and esoteric ritual. The beings impersonated are of a different order. They do not live at Koluwala:wa. They are essentially hostile, and therefore must not remain overnight in the village. Their rites have no place in the regular cycle. They bring with them seeds, which are given to the priests, and large quantities of food, which they throw away to the people, so the purpose of their rite may be assumed to be fertility.

THE CULT OF THE WAR GODS

The war cult of the Pueblos, as in other tribes, is greatly in abeyance at the present time due to enforced peaceableness. Although the Pueblos probably were never aggressive warriors, intertribal warfare was once an important part of life, and was accompanied by elaborate ceremonies.

The gods of war in Zuñi are the A'hayuta, twin children of the Sun begotten of a waterfall when the Zuñis, wandering in search of the middle, were in dire need of military leadership.[68] They led the people to victory and gave them the rites of war. They are the patrons of contests of all kinds, including foot races and games of chance. In folklore the A'hayuta appear as two dirty, uncouth, cruel, and disobedient children, masking their great powers behind obscene and ridiculous exteriors. They live on the mountain tops, they are lords of the high places, and their shrines are on all the prominent mountains about Zuñi.

The cult of the A'hayuta, the gods of war, and leadership of war parties, is delegated to the Bow Priests, and several less important groups, the priests who keep pa?eton:e, a war fetish, the priests of the great shell and the scalp chief, who takes care of the scalps in the scalp house, and the men who carve and decorate the idols of the war gods.

Membership in the bow priesthood is restricted to those who have killed an enemy. No matter what the circumstances of the killing, no escape is possible from the burden of membership, for the slayer

[68. See text of origin myth, p. 597.]

must seek magical protection from the vengeance of the ghost. The bow priesthood supplies this protection. He is initiated in the course of the scalp dance, which celebrates the victory and propitiates the ghost.[69]

The bow priesthood is organized in somewhat similar fashion to the medicine societies a circumstance which led Mrs. Stevenson to include it among them. There is a society chief and a battle chief. They have a ceremonial chamber in a house in the eastern part of the town, where certain of their ceremonial paraphernalia is kept. Pa?ettone, which is used only in war rites, is kept in another house, and has its own hereditary priesthood, members of which are not necessarily Bow Priests. The great shell also has its own priesthood. It is brought out for all war ceremonies. The Scalp Chief has a male and two female associates, who take charge of the scalp from the time it is brought into the village until it is placed in the scalp house. He plants prayer sticks each month for the scalps. At the winter solstice and at the scalp dance idols are made of the elder and younger War Gods. They are carved, respectively, by men of the Deer and Bear clans. These are hereditary offices, and each has several associates, male and female.

The Bow Priests are leaders in war and defenders and protectors of the people in times of peace. To them falls the task of policing the town, in the religious but not the civil sense. In this capacity they must wage constant warfare against the insidious inner enemy--namely, the witches-whose secret power causes sickness and death. Of this activity, too, they have recently been stripped. They are furthermore the defenders and the executive arm of the religious hierarchy. They protect their altars from desecration, carry their messages, and execute their orders. To perform these duties two bow priests are assigned to the

priestly hierarchy, two to the katchina and two to each of the medicine societies.[70]

The great annual ceremony of the Bow Priests is held at the winter solstice. Six days after the p?ekwin announces the solstice a man of the Deer clan and a man of the Bear clan and their associates start to make the images of the War Gods to be used at this ceremony. On the tenth night following the p?ekwin's announcement these images, together with pa?ettone, the great shell, the e'tow:e of the chief priests, and all the paraphernalia of the war cult are taken to the chief kiva. In the kiva are assembled the priests of the council, the priests of pa?ettone and the great shell, the image makers and their associates, and the full membership of the bow priesthood. At

[69. See texts, p. 674.

70. That is, this used to be the pattern. The bow priesthood is now reduced to three members--one who has no society affiliations serves the priests, one is Bow Priest of the katchinas, and associated also with the Rattlesnake Society, the third is associated with the Hunters and the Little Fire Society, and formerly served the priests.]

this time the Bow Priests sing comato:we.[71] the songs given to the Bow Priesthood at the founding of the order by A'hayuta. At dawn the ceremonies end and later in the day the images are taken by the Bow Priests and the priests of the council to two of the mountain shrines of A'hayuta. This is the day on which everyone plants prayer sticks to the sun.

At the full moon in March the Bow Priests make prayer sticks for A'hayuta. At night they meet in their ceremonial room, where their altar is set up.[72] There are no images of the gods of war at this time. Again during the night comato:we are sung. Four days later there is a kick-stick race under the special patronage of the gods of war. After this it is safe for people to plant corn. Spring wheat is planted before this time, but corn is planted only after these ceremonies. The precise nature of the connection between the War Gods, stick racing, and planting is obscure.

There are no ceremonies for the War Gods at the summer solstice. However, the two Bow Priests who serve the priests of the council have their place in the series of summer retreats for rain. The day the

p?ekwin comes out they plant prayer sticks to the U'wanami Bow Priests. For four days they observe all the requirements of retreat, save that they do not remain in seclusion in their ceremonial room. Instead they visit each day a distant mountain shrine of A'hayuta where they offer corn meal and turquoise. They have no altar at this time--probably because all their fetishes are for war, and therefore can have no place in these purely priestly activities.[73] The bow priesthood does not convene at this time.

Formerly the bow priests held a great public dance after harvest in the fall. This was an occasion of great festivity, as always when there is dancing by the girls. Like the scalp dance, it was accompanied by sexual license. However, the dance has not been performed in 20 years, since two girls of a good family were killed by a stray shot from the housetops. The Bow Priests met in their ceremonial room, but there was no altar and no offerings of prayer sticks.

The scalp dance is held at irregular intervals, whenever an enemy is killed. Its purpose is to induct the scalper into the Bow Priesthood for his own protection, to strip the dead enemy of his power and develop his capacities as rain maker, and to celebrate fittingly with all manner of festivity the destruction of the enemy. The principal events are outlined in another place.[74]

There are other groups which have definite associations with war. The Ant society figures prominently in the ceremonies of the scalp

[71. The word means "spiral." It is accompanied by a circle dance. Approaching spiralwise toward a center is characteristic of war dances throughout North America. See text of origin myth, p. 597.

72. This ceremony has never been described. The writer has not witnessed it; merely knows that it takes place.

73. Or perhaps because of the association between A'hayuta and wind, snow, and cold weather.

74. p. 674.]

dance and the O'winahaiye. The Wood society holds a ceremony in which the Bow Priesthood participates. The Great Fire society is privileged to wear the great feather, part of the war chief's regalia. The

arrow order of this society uses the body paint of the war chiefs. The Hunters' society is also a war society. The members of this, as well as those of the Cactus society, can not be inducted into the bow priesthood, because they are already warriors. Members of the Cactus society offer prayer sticks to A'hayuta. The Hunters' and Cactus societies have male members only.

All these groups, however, are devoted primarily to the worship of the Beast Gods and receive from them their sanctions and power.

THE CULT OF THE BEAST GODS

To the east at Cipapolima live the Beast Gods (we'ma:we or we'ma a:'ciwan:i). These are the beasts of prey and partake of their rapacious nature. They are the most dangerous and violent gods in the Zuñi pantheon. They are the priests of long life (onaya:nak^ä a:'ciwan:i, literally road fulfilling priests). They are the givers of medicine, not only medicinal plants, but the magic power to make them effective. They are the source also of black magic or witchcraft. Their leaders are associated with the six directions, as follows: North, Mountain Lion; west, Bear; south, Badger; east, Wolf; above, Knife-wing;[75] below, Gopher. Of all, the most powerful is the Bear. He is compelled through impersonation at curing ceremonies. The symbol of his personality is the bear paws which are drawn over the hands and have the same properties as the masks of the gods. The worship of the beast gods is conducted by 12 societies or fraternities. Membership in these societies is voluntary and is open alike to males and females.[76] All offices are held by men, and only they have the ultimate magical powers--the powers of impersonating the bear, the use of the crystal, the power to remove sickness by sucking, and the use of magical songs. Some knowledge of therapeutic plants is hereditary in certain matrilineal families. Except for midwifery, which is practiced independently, all medical practice is in the hands of these societies. They are, in fact, medical guilds, closed corporations which guard their secrets jealously. The combined body of esoteric knowledge and ritual held by these groups is enormous, and this is genuinely esoteric. To collect it one would have to be on terms of utmost intimacy with all the officers in all the societies. No knowledge is more closely guarded than this.

[75. A mythical monster with wings of knives. Mrs. Stevenson names eagle as god of the upper regions, and shrew for below. The present list is quoted from a prayer of the Great Fire society.

76. Except the Cactus society, a war society, and Hunters which have only male members. The Cactus society cures wounds made by bullets or by any pointed object, including cactus. The Hunters have no curing rituals.]

Each society in addition to practicing general medicine has a specialty--one cures sore throat, another epilepsy, another has efficacious medicine for delayed parturition, yet another cures bullet wounds, and so forth.

Initiation into the societies is a precaution taken to save one's life. If a person is desperately ill he is given by his relatives to one of the medicine societies.[77] The officials of the society come in a body to cure him. They bring with them all their ceremonial paraphernalia and lend the whole force of their ritual toward defeating the disease. If the patient recovers he is not necessarily cured. He has been granted a respite, and until he fulfills his pledge and receives a new heart and places himself under the direct protection of the Beast Gods through joining the society which cured him, his life is in jeopardy. Since initiation involves one in great expense, frequently many years elapse before it is completed.

The societies have, perhaps, the most highly developed ritual of all the cult groups. They possess elaborate altars which are kept in the houses in which they habitually meet. These consist of carved wooden tablets, stone fetishes, and various other sacred objects. These altars are set up on a meal painting at all ceremonies in which the society takes part. On the altar are also placed feathered ears of corn, the personal fetishes of members of the medicine order of the society. This fetish (mi?le) is made for the novice by his father at the time of his initiation; it remains his personal fetish until he dies, when it is dismantled and buried by members of the society. If a man is compelled to be absent from any meeting of his society he or some member of his household takes his mi?le to the society room to be placed upon the altar.

All members of medicine societies plant prayer sticks each month at the full moon. The offering includes, besides the usual sticks for the ancients and for the katchinas, sticks for the Beast Gods, made in each society according to different specifications. These sticks are planted either in cornfields or at Red Bank, a point on the river bank east[78] of town. These are offered separately by each individual.

The collective ceremonies of the medicine societies are held in the fall and winter. During the summer the cult of the Beast Gods is in abeyance. As a symbol of this, the drums of the societies must not be touched during this time, not even to beat out the rhythm for grinding songs. At the full moon in October (in some societies November), the members are summoned to their ceremonial house. They make

[77. In less serious cases an individual medicine man is called. He removes the cause of sickness and is paid for his trouble. At the winter ceremony the recovered patient has his head bathed in the society room and exchanges gifts with his "father."

78. The Beast Gods live in the east. Therefore all ceremonies of the curing societies are oriented toward the east, in contrast to ceremonies for the ancients and the *kacinas*, which are oriented toward the south and west. It is interesting to note that historically the medicine cult is undoubtedly of Keresan, i. e., Eastern origin.]

their prayer sticks here during the day. At sundown the altar is set up. Female members, who do not attend this meeting, send food and leave their *miwe* for the altar. After dark the drum is taken out and songs of the Beast Gods are sung. The gods are present in the village at this time, much the way the *kacinas* are present throughout the summer.

The great meetings of the societies are held at the winter solstice. On the ninth day following the P?ekwin's announcement society members meet early in the morning at their ceremonial houses. The day is spent in prayer-stick making. The solstice prayer-stick bundles of the societies are the most elaborate and beautiful products of this highly developed art. They contain sticks for the ancients, for deceased members of the society, and for *Paiyatamu*[79] gods of music, poetry, flowers and butterflies. Included in the bundle are the crook, symbol of old age, and twigs of various medicinal plants. There are no offerings to the Beast Gods at this time.

At sundown the altar is set up. Women members, if they are not planning to attend the night meeting, come bringing food and their *miwe* and sprinkle corn meal on the altar. Late at night, about 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, the *Ne?we:kwe* visit the *kiva* where the priests have been waiting in silence before the altar of the Gods of War. Here they perform a rite of exorcism, without which the ceremony can not proceed. When they have left the Bow Priests start their song. As soon as their drum is heard the society people, who have also been waiting in

their own houses, start their own rites. The songs sung at this time are for the U'wanami. They are among the most beautiful and sacred of all Zuñi songs, and are known only to the most learned members of the societies. The ceremony ends at daybreak. The members come home, each bringing with him his *mi?le*, his bundle of prayer sticks, and a bundle of several ears of corn that have rested all night on the altar. The corn is kept for spring planting and the prayer sticks are buried that afternoon, along with each man's individual offerings to the sun and the ancients. After this planting all society members except the Sa'niakakwe and the Ci'wanakwe must abstain from all animal food for four days, in addition to the usual requirement of continence. The food taboo obligatory for society members is optional with others. For them, too, it used to be obligatory and is probably related to the offering to the sun.

This ceremony is for rain and fertility. It has nothing whatever to do with curing, and in it the Beast Gods play no rôle, it is quite

[70. *Paiyatamu* is the Keresan word *payatyamu*, "youth." He is associated with all things gay and youthful. He is another romantic adventurer in folklore. His prayer stick, significantly, is double, and is painted blue and yellow, the colors associated with sex. The flutes of *Payatamu* are played at the phallic ritual of *O'lolowickya*. (Parsons: Winter and Summer Dance Series.) They are important in the Corn dance.]

distinct from the "going in" of the Beast Gods which immediately follows it, and is so regarded by the Zuñis themselves.

On the evening of the tenth day of the solstice, the day of the universal planting, the societies convene for their great retreat.[80] Female members sleep at home, and return in the daytime to attend to their household duties. Their attendance, even at the evening meetings, is not obligatory until the final night. Male members, however, are in retreat; they sleep and eat at their society houses, although they are permitted to visit their homes between times. This privilege is not accorded to officers of societies who observe as strict a retreat as priests. The altar is put up on the first evening, and remains in place until the conclusion of the ceremonies on the fourth morning following. The room is taboo to outsiders, with the exception of members of the household.

The days are spent making prayer sticks and preparing their costumes and regalia for the great ceremony of the last night. At night songs are sung for the Beast Gods. Each day at dawn the members go out in

groups to offer corn meal and to present their miwe to the rising sun. During the evenings tales are told and instruction in the ritual is given.

On the last night all the society members, male and female, assemble in full ceremonial costume, including face and body paint. To the society house also come those who wish to be cured of chronic ailments, since curing during public ceremonies entails no obligation on the part of the patient.[81] About midnight a fresh altar is prepared. Sometimes there are demonstrations of fire eating and other tricks by qualified groups before the chief business, the invocation of the Beast Gods, is reached. The songs of the Beast Gods are sung with the accompaniment of rattle and drum, and society members dance. The dance is without formation, members rising to dance whenever they choose and leaving the floor when they are tired, usually after four or eight songs. The purpose of this dancing is to create a proper atmosphere in which to summon the Beast Gods. The participants gradually work themselves into a state of mental excitement bordering on hysteria. Finally those who are qualified to impersonate the bear,[82] draw over their hands the bear paws that lie on the altar, and

[80. The Lhe'we-kwe do not go in at this time. Their retreat follows six days after the close of the solstice ceremonies.

81. The following ceremony of purification is held in Cochiti during the winter: "People may go to the giant, flint, or cikame houses. The ritual is similar. The shamans approach each person, touch him and draw out an object, usually a stone, which he is told is a sickness. An altar is erected with cornmeal paths and fetishes but the rainbow arch is not used. After the sickness has been removed each person is given water "medicine" from the bowl. This is sprinkled over their bodies and they are allowed to drink some. This same formula is used in times of actual sickness. The shamans sing and pray all night while the people pray and walk around the altar sprinkling corn meal to the animal helpers and protectors. (Goldfrank, p. 72.)

82 Only the oldest and most learned of the medicine men. They acquire power to summon the bear only after the expenditure of great effort and much property.]

in so doing assume the personality of the bear, much as the wearer of a mask becomes a god. They utter the cries of animals and otherwise imitate beasts, especially the bear.

In this condition they are enabled by gazing into the crystal to see the hidden sickness in those present. When they see sickness in anyone they

draw from his body the foreign substance that has caused it. Dust, stones, bits of calico, feathers, fur or the entrails of animals are extracted from the mouth and other parts of the bodies of patients. Each article as it is extracted is exhibited to the company and dropped into a bowl to be disposed of the following day. Both practitioner and patient are nude save for the breechcloth, which necessitates considerable skill in sleight-of-hand, even though clumsy tricks would pass in the prevailing state of hysterical excitement. It is general knowledge that these "cures" are accomplished by sleight-of-hand. However, such knowledge by no means decreases the respect in which these tricks are held. These practices have the sanction of powerful and greatly feared divinities and are performed directly under their control. The act itself is but a symbol of the relationship with the supernaturals. The efficacy lies not in the performance of the act itself but in the god-given power to perform it.

As the night advances the excitement increases. Groups of medicine men and women selected by the society chief visit other society houses in response to invitations previously delivered with the customary offering of corn meal. They dash through the streets simulating cries of animals. They are barefoot--practically nude, although the ground may be covered with snow or ice.[83] In the house of their hosts they give demonstrations of their curing powers.

The ceremony ends at dawn. The excitement suddenly subsides. The miwe are once more taken out to the sun. On returning to the ceremonial room there are brief concluding ceremonies in a quiet vein. Then the altar is dismantled and the members depart to eat breakfast at their homes. Meat is served for the first time in four days.

In the afternoon male members of societies offer prayer sticks to the Beast Gods.[84] For four days continence must be observed.

The Lhewekwe observe their great retreat for the Beast Gods after the winter solstice ceremonies are at an end. The stick-swallowing order of the Great Fire society also has a retreat at this time. The retreat terminates in a public dance by both societies with exhibitions of sword swallowing. In connection with this there is a retreat with a public dance on the last day for mu'etowe, a snow fetish. So that the whole ceremony combines functions of curing and weather control.

[83. The men are naked, and temperature on a midwinter night may be below zero.

84. At the same time all initiated males offer to the masked gods. There are also special plantings by males and females for fecundity and wealth.]

We already alluded to the attendance of the Ne'wekwe at the winter dances of the masked gods, and their summer ceremony, which is only rarely performed. This ceremony comprises a four-day retreat with prayers for rain, at which there is no singing to the drum of the songs of the Beast Gods. The retreat ends with an all-night ceremony the last night and a public dance the last day. In this ceremony, as well as in the initiation rites, importance is given to various obscene and cruel practices. The dance may be repeated by request. In this ceremony they are assisted by the Ci'wanakwe.

The other ceremonies of the medicine societies which are held at irregular intervals as occasions arise are concerned specifically with curing and initiation. Curing ceremonies are very secret. Only officers of the societies and those possessed of the required medical knowledge and magical powers are present. Prayer sticks are made and an altar is set up in the sick room and songs are sung. There is a general rite of exorcism by spitting. Since disease is generally caused by a witch injecting foreign bodies into the patient, the most obvious method of cure is to locate and remove the foreign substance. The medicine man locates the foreign substance either by use of the crystal or by partaking of a vision-producing drug.[85] The practitioner then removes it by the same sleight-of-hand that is practiced at public healing ceremonies. Or, if the patient knows who has bewitched him, or learns it under the influence of tenatsali, the Bow Priests are summoned and attempt to extract a confession from the accused. The confession strips him of his power and effects an automatic cure. In former days witches were hung. Since this practice has been ended by the United States Government authorities witch baiting has declined in importance in medical practice and greater weight is given to extracting foreign bodies.[86]

The ceremonies in the sick room are continued for four nights, provided the patient lives that long. Purely therapeutic measures, massage, sweating, blood letting, and the administration of drugs may be employed as supplement and continue beyond the period devoted to magical practices.

Should the patient recover he must eventually fulfill his pledge of membership in the society, thus placing himself permanently under the protection of the Beast Gods. The initiation ceremony is held in November, or after the winter solstice ceremonies. The retreat begins four days before the full moon, so that the final ceremony comes the night the moon is full. The initiation rites are in part public ceremonies. To the final ceremonies other societies are invited in a body, and persons of no society affiliation may attend as individuals. Frequently there are public dances outdoors, as part of the initiation

[55. The men are naked, and the temperature on a midwinter night may be below zero.

56. At the same time all initiated males offer to the masked gods. There are also special plantings by males and females for fecundity and wealth.]

rites. In these there is great variability among the different societies. In all, however, the core of the ceremony is the same. It is described in some detail in another place.[87]

THE CALENDAR

Between all of these independent cults is the binding element of calendrical observances. Each cult has ceremonies extending through an annual cycle, starting from the winter solstice, and returning again into the winter solstice. Their solstice ceremonies are all nicely synchronized. They are fitted into a period of 20 days, and so neatly arranged that there are no conflicts, even for a man with varied ceremonial affiliations.

The name by which the Zuñis refer to the period of the solstice is *itiwana*, the middle, the same name that they give, esoterically, to their village. Mrs. Stevenson and others interpret this as being a contraction of the sentence *yätokä i'tiwanan te' ?tci* "the sun reaches the middle." This is unquestionably correct, but the term has a more significant connotation. It is the middle of the year, the point common to all the different cults, and is indeed the center of their whole ceremonial life. There is no doubt that the Zuñis themselves think of their rituals as being organized about this focal point. Their application of the term "middle" to it is sufficient indication.[88] The linguistic identification of concepts of time and space is characteristically Zuñian. The solstice is, therefore, the center of time, just as *Zuñi* itself is the center of space.

The winter solstice ceremonies start when the *p?ekwin* announces from the housetop that all men shall make prayer sticks for the sun to be offered in 10 days. The date is calculated by observations of the sunrise from a petrified stump in a cornfield east of the village. When the sun rises at a particular point on the mesa to the southeast it is time for the *p?ekwin* to start his own plantings. If correctly calculated, then the general prayer-stick planting will take place on the day when the sunrise reaches its most southerly limit--that is, on the 22d of December. However, the Zuñis seem never to have been able to decide on the

relative merits of solar and lunar calendar, and the desire to have the observation of the solstice occur at the full moon disarranges the calculations and naturally leads to dissention among the various priests. However, the date is definitely set by the p?ekwin and the others, whatever their views, fall into line.

[87. See p. 701.

86. E. C. Parsons (Winter and Summer Dance Series in Zuñi in 1918, University of California Publ., v. 17, No. 3, p. 171) designates the winter dance series of the *kacinas*, *koko a-wan itiwana*, the *itiwana* of the masked gods. These dances follow at stated intervals after the solstice, but are not actually part of it. This indicates the Zuñi pattern that each cult must have a center, and this center must correspond to the centers of other cults. The *kacinas* do not figure in the solstice ceremonies proper.]

The ceremonies fall into two periods of 10 nights each.[89] The first nine days are spent in preparation of great quantities of prayer sticks by all men. Images of the war gods are carved by men to whom this office belongs. The great ceremonies begin on the tenth night. On this night the new year fire is kindled in the *kiva* and the Bow Priests hold their ceremony for the War Gods. At the same time all the societies hold ceremonies in honor of the *Uwanami*.

On the following morning the images of the War Gods are taken to their shrines. The priests take the younger brother to Corn Mountain to a shrine the position of which is visible at the village. There the priests kindle a fire, and the appearance of their smoke is the signal for the beginning of the great fire taboo. For the next 10 days--that is, until dawn on the twentieth day--no fire or light must be seen outdoors, nor must any sweepings or ashes be thrown out. For the whole period priests observe continence, eat no animal food, and they and their households refrain from trade of any description. Others observe continence for eight days following the planting of prayer sticks, and refrain from animal food and trading for four days. The conservation of fire, and especially the saving of ashes and sweepings, are fertility magic, that the house may be full of corn, as it is of ashes. Throughout this period a sacred fire is kept burning in He'?'iwa *kiva*.

The eleventh to the fourteenth nights 10 are given over to the retreats and ceremonies of the medicine societies, with the great all-night ceremony ending at dawn on the fourteenth day. On this afternoon

occurs the second general planting of prayer sticks to the katcinas, the Beast Gods, and to the ancestors for wealth.

On the following day the priests again make prayer sticks for the Uwanami in preparation for their retreat the following night. This takes place on the sixteenth night. The prayers are for rain and fertility. On the altar are placed clay images of animals and objects on which blessings are invoked. The prayer sticks are planted at springs the following morning.

Also late on the sixteenth night all the kivas are visited by P?autiwa (called on this occasion Komhalhikwi, "witch god") who throws into each a ball of fine corn meal to be used during the coming year by the Ca?lako impersonators in their morning prayers. His visit takes place late at night when none can see him. The rite seems to be one of exorcism.

On some night during the 10 days of the fire taboo, generally the night of the priests' retreats, each family that owns sacred possessions of any description employs them in rites of fertility magic.[91] Clay

[89. In computing the dates of ceremonies only nights are counted. The p?ekwin's announcement is made at dawn. The following night is the first day. Taboo periods begin at sundown or late afternoon and continue through four nights, ending the fourth morning at dawn. The days are not counted.

90. Sometimes called "the first four nights of the komosona's count." For 10 days the p?ekwin counts days for the sun. Then he is finished and the komosona counts days for Pautiwa.

91. Itsuma:wa, the ritualistic term for planting.]

objects, similar to those used on the altars of the priests, are modeled by the women of the house. These are set out at night along with ears of corn and the sacred object, mask, rain fetish, sacred medicine, or personal fetishes such as pebbles to which are imputed magical properties. For one night the family are in retreat. They remain awake until day and repeat prayers and songs whose burden is a request for fertility of crops and flocks, and the fecundity of women. The ears of corn are set aside for spring seeding. The clay objects are later buried in the floor of the house, or thrown out on the twentieth day with the sweepings. They are the seed from which the real objects will grow.

On one of these days pregnant women, especially those who have been unfortunate with previous babies, visit the shrines at the base of the rock pillars on the west side of Corn Mountain. A woman undertaking this pilgrimage is accompanied by her husband and a priest. They deposit prayer sticks at the foot of the rock pillars and she scrapes a bit of dust from the rock and swallows it, from one side if she desires a boy, from the other if she wishes a girl. In addition to this, or instead of it, a pregnant woman may have made for her at this season a doll, similar to those sometimes given to children during the winter dances of the *kacinas*. The doll is made by anyone who "knows how," that is, who has the supernatural power to make it effective. It will ensure a safe delivery and a healthy child.

Meanwhile the impersonator of P?autiwa for the final day has been chosen. On the nineteenth day the priests of the council make the crooks of appointment to be given to the impersonators of the *kacina* priests. Just before sunset arrive Ci'tsukä and Kwe:lele, two masked gods from the east. They bring the new year from the east. Their masks belong to the Great Fire Society and appear, along with another mask, at certain curing ceremonies of that society. I can offer no explanation of the conspicuous part they play in the celebration of the New Year. They go to the chief kiva where are assembled the priests of the council and the impersonators of P?autiwa and the four Sai'yalhia. They dance all night in the kiva to the songs of the Great Fire Society. Late at night the Saiyalhia visit all the kivas "to send out the old year." It is a rite of exorcism. At dawn the new year fire is kindled. Before sunrise the *kacinas*, accompanied by the p?ekwin, the chief of the *Kacina* Society and the guardian of the sacred fire, go out to the east carrying fire brands and a lighted torch. After brief prayers they return. The sound of their rattles as they pass is a signal to the people. The great fire taboo is now ended and from each household the men and women emerge bearing live coals from the fire, and the accumulated ashes and sweepings. Soon the fields from which night has not yet departed blossom with a hundred piles of glowing embers. The masked gods return to the kiva where they dance until day. Anyone, man, woman, or child, who desires good luck, may go to the kiva at this time to receive the blessing of the presence of the gods.

The day is one of great festivity and rejoicing. All day the gods from the east dance on the roof of the kiva, throwing food and other articles to the populace. Meanwhile the bow priests summon to the kiva the men chosen to impersonate the gods during the coming year. When they have all arrived the wands of office are distributed by the p?ekwin.

The merrymaking continues in the plaza until sundown, when P?autiwa appears. He visits all the kivas. On the roof of each he lays down the crook of office for the Ca?lako god to be chosen from that kiva. The bar of the hatchway he marks with four lines of corn meal, to indicate that the masked gods will visit the village. Then using a twig to represent a scalp, he performs a brief ritual symbolizing the taking of an enemy scalp. Thus he brings the new year. After visiting all the kivas he departs for the west, taking Ci'tsuk^ä, and Kwe'lele with him.

After dark each house in the village is visited by Tcakwenaok^ä, a female masked impersonation and the special guardian of women in childbirth.[92] She is accompanied by other masked gods. As the group reaches each door live coals are thrown out of the house as a rite of purification. Tcakwenaok^ä comes only once to bring the blessing of fecundity. The other gods return for four consecutive nights, in accordance with the promise of P?autiwa. In early days the first dance of the winter series took place four days after the departure of the exorcising divinities (Stevenson, p. 141). Now it takes place any time the leaders wish. This closes the celebration of the solstice, unless the retreat and dance of the lhewekwe which follow 10 days after the coming of P?autiwa be considered as part of the solstice ceremonies.

Theoretically the second half of the Zuñi year repeats the ceremonial calendar of the first six months. As in December, the summer solstice is marked by a ceremonial period called i'tiwana, the middle. As in the winter, this is a synchronization of independent cults. But here the resemblance ceases. The actual ceremonies, and above all the relative weight of various elements, are quite different.

Before the summer solstice the p?ekwin makes daily observations of the sunsets from a shrine at Ma'tsak^ä, a ruin a few miles east of Zuñi. When the sun sets behind a certain point on the mesa to the northwest the p?ekwin begins his plantings to the sun and to the ancestors. On the morning after his fourth planting he announces that in eight days everyone shall make prayer sticks for the sun, the moon, the ancients,

[92. In 1927 the visit of Tcakwenaok^ä was omitted. The man who owns her mask, a very dangerous one, and knows her ritual, was in prison for burglary. No one else dared touch the mask. (See p.931.)]

and the katinas. The prayer sticks are offered in the afternoon of the eighth day, which should be the summer solstice, June 22. The offerings

are less elaborate than those of the winter solstice, but their precise nature is not known to the writer. There is only one planting. Prayer sticks for the *katcinas* are offered together with the others on the eighth day. There are no offerings to the Beast Gods. The offerings are made in cornfields. For four days everyone refrains from sexual intercourse, trading, and quarreling, but there is no restriction on food.

On the day preceding the offering the societies, except the Wood Society,[93] meet in their houses. Altars are erected, but there are no images of the Beast Gods. The members remain in retreat overnight, and their prayers on this occasion, as on the night preceding the solstice in December, are directed primarily toward the rain makers. There is no four-day retreat in honor of the Beast Gods following this, and no general healing of the sick. This part of their activities is temporarily in abeyance.

On the third day following the solstice the impersonators of the *Koyemci* visit each house in the village and are doused with water by the female inhabitants as a suggestion to the supernatural powers to do likewise. Then they go into retreat.

On the fourth day following the general prayer stick planting the first of the chief priesthoods goes into retreat, to remain in for eight nights.

On the same day preparations are begun for the first of the summer rain dances. Every fourth year a pilgrimage is made to the village of the *katcinas*, a lake about 80 miles to the west. On the fourth day following the solstice the officers of the *katcina* society and the impersonators of all of the *katcina* priests, accompanied by the chief of the Hunters Society and men of the Deer and the Badger clans leave for the home of the gods. The lake is reached on the evening of the second day. Offerings of prayer sticks are made at various shrines and turtles are hunted. The party returns next morning, arriving at *Zuñi* the fourth day at sunset, the seventh after the solstice.

On intervening years the same party leaves at dawn on the seventh day to plant at a spring at *Ojo Caliente*, 17 miles southwest of *Zuñi*. The spring symbolizes the more distant shrine. Since the date coincides with the monthly planting of the *katcina* priests, the impersonators separate, some going with the others to *Ojo Caliente*, some taking the offerings of his fellows to the spring at which they make their regular monthly planting. Each person makes offerings for both springs.

[93. Stevenson, p. 150. This society does not meet with the others in the winter rites. Its rituals are especially potent for bringing cold winds and snow. For it to function at this time would be disastrous.]

Returning at evening, the party from the katchina village is met on the plain by a group of katchinas from the kiva that is to present the first dance. The priests bring the gods back with them from their village. From now until they are sent home in the fall they are present, though invisible, in the village. After dancing in the four courts of the village the dancers retire to the house where they are to spend the night. Here one of the societies which has been invited to provide music has erected its altar. The gods are welcomed and throughout the night dance for the delectation of the hosts. Their presence is manifested by rain. Meanwhile the Koyemci hold similar rites in their own ceremonial house.

The dancers on this occasion abstain from food and drink until they have made the round of the plazas four times the following morning, or until rain falls.[94] Each round takes about an hour, and the outdoor dancing begins at sunrise. Dancing in the plazas continues throughout the day, while in the two houses visited by the gods the medicine societies keep up continuous singing. At sunset the dancers depart and the society people dismantle their altars and return home. With this ceremony the celebration of the summer solstice closes.

The chief priesthood remains in retreat for four more nights, and comes out on the eighth morning. The second priesthood goes in that same evening and the rest follow in regular order.

The summer solstice observances are notable in the complete absence of any ceremonies to secure the blessings of the Beast Gods or the Ahayuta. The omission of the Ahayuta is especially noteworthy. In the winter they are appealed to for protection and aid in war, but more especially for snow and cold winds. Prayer sticks are offered at all their shrines in conjunction with the dance of the Wood Society, a potent snow-making ritual. The second calendrical ceremony of the Bow Priesthood is held in March, before corn planting and in preparation therefor. The ceremony has never been observed nor described, nor, unfortunately, have the words of the prayers and songs been recorded. However, it corresponds to the summer solstice ceremonies of other cults, in being a partial repetition, with variations, of their winter observances. The writer hazards the guess, in the absence of direct

evidence, that this is an appeal for snow and violent rains to swell the spring freshets and prepare the ground for the reception of seeds.

If the winter ceremonies emphasize rites having as their object medicine, war, and fecundity, the summer ceremonies are weighted

[91. At Acoma the summer dance of katchinas is held early in July, the public ceremonies consuming four days, from about the 10th to the 14th. These are preceded by a period of purification lasting eight days. The participants abstain from food and especially from water from nightfall preceding the dance until noon the day of the dance. (White, MS.) The date is that of the Hopi Niman. In certain Aztec ceremonies there is prohibition on drinking from nightfall until noon.]

overwhelmingly on the side of rain, the most conspicuous features being the retreats of the priests and the dances of the katchinas. It is tempting to attribute this pattern difference to practical consideration. The first of July is the approximate date of the opening of the rainy season in this semiarid land. At this time the corn plants are about 10 inches high and desperately in need of rain. Two more weeks of drought and blazing heat will bum them beyond hope. Upon prompt and plentiful rains in July depends the welfare of the tribe. It is, therefore, to this end that all the magical resources of the tribe are bent. The Ahayuta, associated with wind and low temperatures, are shunned.

On the other hand, in December the conditions are reversed. The crop is already harvested and whereas it is desirable to have heavy snowfalls in the mountains to feed the spring freshets, inclement weather in the valley is a great hardship and works ruin among the flocks that form so large a part of Zuñi wealth. Therefore prayer sticks are twice offered at the mountain shrines of the Ahayuta with prayers for snow. The Uwanami and the katchinas receive but very meager attention, and the efforts of the tribe are focused on rites directed toward war, medicine and fecundity. At both solstices the sun father is appealed to in similar fashion for his great blessing of life.

PERSONAL RELIGIOUS LIFE

The vast wealth of ceremonial elaboration which we have been considering is notably weak on the side of what have been called "crisis rites." In contrast to the ceremonial recognition given to natural phenomena--the solstitial risings of the sun, the alternation of summer and winter, the perpetual dearth of rain--crises in personal life pass

almost unnoticed. The ceremonies surrounding birth, puberty, marriage, and death are meager and unspectacular. There is sprinkling of ashes for purification of the newborn. On the eighth day of life the infant is presented to the sun with brief prayers, but the occasion is not one of any ceremonial importance. There are no ceremonies whatsoever at marriage, and mortuary rituals are simple and undramatic in comparison with calendrical ceremonies. Relatives are summoned at death. The body is dressed for burial, all present weep and sprinkle corn meal on the head of the deceased with brief prayers, and the corpse is interred at once. Four days later prayer sticks are planted, and the property of the deceased, including certain ceremonial possessions, is buried and additional prayer sticks may be offered to the dead after an interval of time. But there are no public demonstrations and no elaborate ceremonies of mourning.

On the other hand, initiations are always important occasions. The general initiation of all young males into the Katsina Society

corresponds in some ways to puberty ceremonies of other tribes, even though it has very little relation to the physical fact of adolescence. The first "initiation" takes place at the age of from five to seven years. It corresponds to no physiological change and marks no change of status on the part of the child. The child who has been "initiated" in this preliminary ceremony has no more knowledge or responsibility than one who has not yet gone through the rite. The final ceremony at which knowledge is revealed takes place anywhere between the ages of 10 and 20, depending on the interference of schooling--in old days it probably took place between the ages of 10 and 14--and is unrelated either to physical maturity or the assumption of adult responsibilities. It is an initiation solely into the katsina cult and has nothing to do with the social status of the individual. Marriage, for instance, does not depend upon it, nor participation in other ceremonies. Although any initiated boy may, if he wishes, take part in masked dances, he does not feel any obligation to do so. It is usually many years before he assumes even the responsibility of making his own prayer sticks. Curiously enough, considering general North American custom, no notice whatever is taken of the advent of maturity in girls.

Initiations into medicine societies are more clearly ceremonial recognition of personal crises. The initiate is a patient who has been snatched from the jaws of death and his initiation into the group that saved him is the ceremonial assumption of his new status. At his initiation he gets a "new heart," and, as a symbol of the new life he has

begun, receives a new name.[95] This name, however, is not usually used and does not ordinarily replace his childhood name or names. The ceremony may be delayed for years--sometimes as long as 20 years--after the cure which it affirms. Like initiation into the Kacina Society, it involves a minimum requirement of attendance, and the privilege of additional participation as the interests and ability of the individual may dictate. Children need not assume any responsibilities upon initiation.

Religious participation starts among children when, as infants on their mother's backs, they are taken to watch the kacinas dance. The summer dances outdoors are largely attended by small children of both sexes. During the morning and early afternoon they constitute the entire audience. Formerly children were not permitted to attend night dances of the kacinas where the kacinas dance unmasked, but this rule is broken among the more lax parts of the population.

Children learn early to share the interest of their elders in the more spectacular phases of religious life. They are keen observers of dances, they know songs, and give accurate and lively accounts of

[95. Contrary to custom in other pueblos, and reported information from Zuni, naming is not a part of the initiation into the Kacina Society.]

ceremonies which they attend; they are interested in sacerdotal gossip; and they orient their activities about great religious festivals. In early childhood boys and girls are especially interested in religious affairs. Sometime between the ages of 5 and 10 boys make their first direct contact with the deeper aspects of religion, on their preliminary initiation into the Kacina Society. This makes no change in a child's religious life. It is only after his final initiation, which may occur any time after the age of 10, that active participation in dances begins. Boys of 10 or 12 take part in the winter dancing but rarely in the more strenuous dancing of the summer series. At about the same age girls have their attention diverted from religious spectacles to their own adult activities.

Most adult men engage in other religious activities besides the required minimum of kacina dancing and the semiannual prayer stick plantings required of all persons. The younger men, who find exhilaration in dancing and singing, dance many times a year, either with their own

groups or with others, and organize extra dances. As their knowledge of dance forms increases they may advance to formal office in one of the six dance societies. Those who display an aptitude in memorizing long prayers, if of exemplary conduct, may be appointed to impersonate one of the gods.

Membership in curing societies is not ordinarily a matter of individual choice. Once initiated into one of these groups a man may limit his activities to attendance at the regular winter meetings and initiations. Or if he has sufficient intellectual curiosity to pay high for esoteric knowledge he may, by accumulating knowledge and the supernatural power which knowledge gives him, advance to a position of influence in his society. For a successful career as a medicine man, intelligence and ambition seem more important than piety and virtue. However, although a man of questionable moral character may build up a good medical practice, he is not likely to be chosen for office in his society.

Membership in priesthoods is even less a matter of free choice than curing societies. Priesthoods are hereditary in maternal families, and to fill a vacancy the members select the least quarrelsome rather than the most intelligent of the eligible young men.

The priesthoods are the branch of religious service that carries the greatest prestige and heaviest responsibilities. Because of the heavy responsibilities the office is avoided rather than sought, and considerable difficulty is experienced in recruiting the priesthoods. As one informant said, "They have to catch the men young to make them priests. For if they are old enough to realize all that is required of them, they will refuse." She was not thinking of the taboos and restraints of the priestly life, but of the sense of responsibility for the welfare of the tribe which lies so heavily on the shoulders of the priests. The same informant continued: "Yesterday my younger brother went with his uncle to the spring for water for their altar. He was dressed in his *ciwan:i* costume and looked very handsome. As he went out, light rain fell, and everyone was happy that they had been blessed with rain. But my heart hurt and my eyes were full of tears to see my younger brother. He is so young and yet he has his mind on these serious things."

Another and very different type of voluntary participation is to "take the crook" for the *ca?lako*, that is to volunteer to entertain the gods in one's house. This involves the host in very great expense, and can be undertaken only by a man who is wealthy in his own right or who has

wealthy relatives who are willing to help him. This munificence brings to the house the blessing of fecundity but is primarily a social activity in that it merely provides the background for a great tribal festival. Its rewards (to the individual) are to be measured largely in terms of social prestige. If volunteers fail, the obligation to hold the ceremony falls upon members of the religious hierarchy.

The religious activities of women are less varied and picturesque than those of men. In early adolescence a girl's interest is diverted from religious affairs. About the time she assumes adult dress--or did before the days of the American school--she falls under a system of chaperonage that hampers her movements. Especially running around to public dances is regarded as unbecoming. So if she goes to dances at all she goes to watch discreetly from the houses of relatives who live on the plaza, or gets very much dressed up and stands and giggles on the corner of some housetop with a group of equally dressed up and equally self-conscious little girls. Furthermore, about this time she assumes adult responsibilities in the household, and beyond that all her interests are absorbed in mating activities. Adult economic status comes later to boys than to girls. In the years between initiation and marriage boys give much of their attention to dancing, while girls of the same age are cooking, grinding, and caring for their sisters' babies.

After marriage they become even more domestic, and remain so throughout the period of childbearing. Not only is their time filled with domestic duties, but it is displeasing to a man to have his wife gadding about, and Zuni women, despite their economic and social security, are careful not to displease their men. Furthermore, their avenues of participation are restricted. They are not, except in very rare cases, initiated into the Kacina society, the only democratic religious organization. Some of the priesthoods have women members, but these positions are, it seems, even harder to fill than positions for men. One of the reasons is that husbands get very restive under the long periods of continence required of their wives. A man will remain continent during his own ceremonies but seems to think it is too much to expect him to remain continent during his wife's ceremonies also. Here, again, the problem is to catch the girl young enough. Women are initiated into medicine societies on an equal basis and as frequently as men. They participate in the dances of the society, but they are debarred from holding office. They frequently practice medicine and are "given" children for their society, but they must call upon male members for assistance in cures and to perform many of the initiation rites over their children. Women never possess the ultimate medical power, that of

calling the bear, and do not usually possess esoteric songs. However, their knowledge of actual therapeutics is often greater than that of men. Most societies have "mothers" who brew their medicines and jealously guard the secrets of the treatment of medicinal herbs.

Some women who are well endowed mentally exert a good deal of influence indirectly upon religious affairs. Although their activities may be restricted, knowledge is not taboo to them. There are women who know prayers and rituals better than their men folks and some men customarily consult their wives, mothers or sisters on matters of sacerdotal procedure. In the Onawa priesthood the member with the best verbal memory is a young woman, not especially intelligent in other respects. However, she has an aggressive, managing mother who, although not herself a member of the priesthood, is the head of the priestly household, and contrives to run her brothers and children. Several other women have a reputation for their knowledge of esoteric lore. One, in particular, is reputed to be the only person who knows the prayers, songs and secret rituals of Anahoho, one of the *kacinas* coming at the initiation ceremony.

Women are less active in religion than men, but their activity is not essentially different in kind. The richness of ceremonial tends to mask the fact that in any but a superficial sense, religious activity is limited in scope.

The religious life of an individual is exclusively a series of participations in group rituals. No avenue is left open for individual approach to the supernatural. All over North America individual mystical experience is prized. On the plains such experience is valued since it provides one with a guardian in the supernatural world, or furnishes supernatural sanction for some special exploit. Among the Pima of the Southwest, the experience itself is regarded as the highest value in life. In Zuñi the religious life is a highly developed system of techniques for producing rain and furthering the growth of crops. Certain socially valuable attitudes and modes of behavior are regarded as more favorable to this purpose, and much esthetic joy and enhancement of life are achieved through them. But these subjective values are secondary and merely incidental to the primary purposes of religious participation, which is an objective social good.

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