

## **The scalp ceremonial of Zuñi / by Elsie Clews Parsons.**

### **Contributors**

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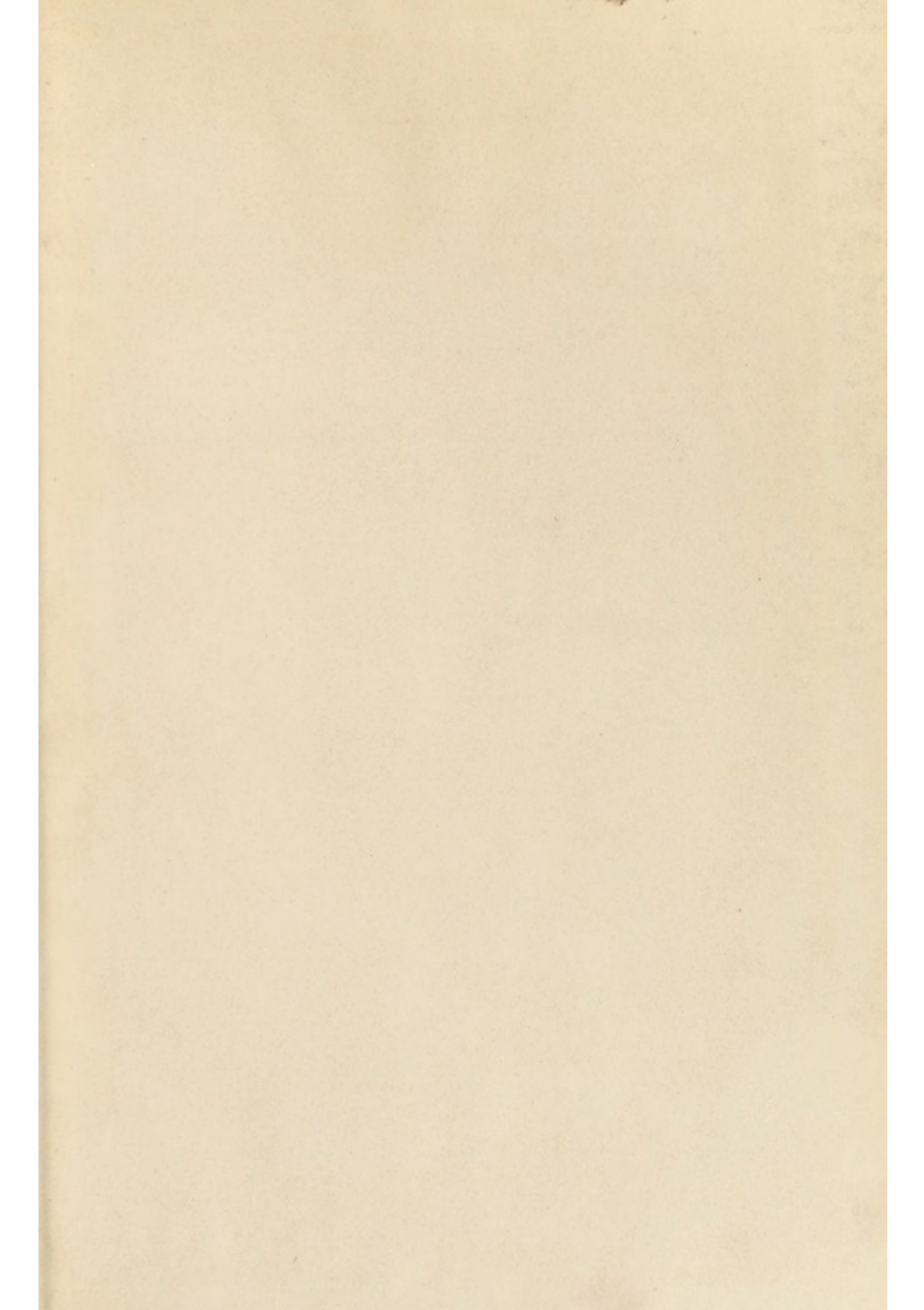
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THE SCALP CEREMONIAL OF ZUÑI

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS



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## THE SCALP CEREMONIAL OF ZUÑI

By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

### INTRODUCTION

**T**HE PUEBLO INDIANS of the Southwest were comparatively a pacific people. They were agriculturists, craftsmen, town-dwellers, accumulating stores of grain, of blankets, of precious stones and shell and of sacred things still more precious, "the things men live by," as is said at Zuñi. Inter-town feuds were not uncommon, one may infer from folk tale and Spanish record, but war unprovoked, raids for depredation, probably occurred but rarely, if ever. From wanton war or raid the towns-peoples themselves, however, were not free — even in historic times there were the Ute, the Apache, the Navaho, the Comanche, migratory or semi-migratory tribes to whom the wealth of the towns was an invitation to adventure.

Against such adventure and exploit the mesa top for the towns-people was in early days a major defense, to which the town plan itself, together with house walls and town walls, probably contributed. A piece of protective town wall still stands by mesa-built Acoma. The valley town of Taos is still girt with a town wall which anciently, the townsmen say, was sentinelled, but which today serves merely as a check upon invasive alien custom. Within the wall, window glass may not be used, nor may men live within the wall without wearing blanket and hair in braids.

This change in function of the town wall of Taos is an outward and visible sign of a parallel change in social organization. The warrior part of the town hierarchy, at Taos and elsewhere, is conspicuous today as a police for the preservation of custom, more particularly for that wall of secrecy which the Old Men know so well is their soundest bulwark against foreign attitudes of mockery or coercion. The "chiefs" of Taos, the "war captains" of the Keres, the war chief and war society of Jemez or Zuñi, are still literally, in Keresan terms, chiefs of the outside world, guardians

against invasion, but the invasion threatened is of ceremonial, of those *costumbres* in Eastern phrase, upon which it is still generally believed in a degree almost incredible, that the well-being of the town depends.

Another not unrelated function belongs to the sometime war organizations, defense against witchcraft. "War captains" or "bow priests" have to guard against witches, whether within or without the town. And as sickness or epidemic, insect pest, drought or windstorm are in large part caused by witches, it is held, this protective function is important indeed. Not only in special instances has witchcraft to be detected, but ceremonials, whether for curing or weather control, have regularly to be safeguarded. At Zuñi two bow-priests belong in theory to every society.

At Zuñi the bow-priests appear not to have of their own any curing function, as have their Hopi and Isletan homologues; but weather control functions they do have: they hold a springtime ceremony against windstorm, as does the war chief of Jemez, and they conduct the first of the spring kick-stick races for rainfall. Most important of all their contributions to weather control, however, is probably the control which is vested in them of the enemy dead.

The Pueblo Indians, like other tribes, were scalp-takers and in each town there was a scalp "house." This was undoubtedly ever thought of as an exceedingly dangerous place to care for; the scalps were a grave risk. In what way were they an asset to the town? In Zuñi theology, where the dead figure conspicuously as rain-makers, the answer is plain. The dead enemy, as well as the dead townsman, might be a reliable and potent rain-maker — if treated properly.

Of such proper treatment the first step would be initiation into the group the sometime enemy was now expected to help, initiation through the familiar ritual of head-washing. This to be followed up by presents of food and of feathers. And these rites are observed, we are to see, in the scalp ceremonial of which the object is twofold—the initiation and, as we would say, propitiation of the dead enemy, and the maintenance of the war society through adding to its membership and emphasizing in public ceremony its importance in the hierarchy.

## THE CEREMONIAL IN 1921

The membership of the bow-priesthood or warrior society of Zuñi was fifteen in 1896, in 1916 it was five,<sup>1</sup> in 1921, four; the society appeared to be dying out. The last scalp dance was performed in October, 1910, but like the ceremonial of 1891, it was not exactly authentic since there was no real initiation, Wayeku, already a bow-priest, acting as "younger brother" (initiate) to the "older brother" or sponsoring by Hompikya of the same priesthood. "Presumedly there will never again be an initiation ceremony or scalp dance at Zuñi," I happened to write in August, 1921. Among Pueblo Indians prediction of any ceremonial extinction is rash. In September, 1921, from the fourteenth day through the twenty-fifth, an initiation ceremony into the bow-priesthood was held at Zuñi, Meku or Loco Joe, a Tobacco clansman and child of Dogwood,<sup>2</sup> the initiate, with Hompikya, an Antelope clansman and child of Crane, again the "older brother" or sponsor.

Meku, it was reported, had taken his scalp from a Navaho girl, found dead in the bush, not far from Gallup. But the hair, if not the scalp, was in two parts, from two heads. "May be he get it from a dead Navaho girl; may be he get it in Gallup from somebody living still," from the barber shop, was what Nick, the cynic, meant. That Meku was foolish or simple enough to be willing to undertake the cost of the initiation was quite generally suggested. As for Hompikya, he was a member of the Snake-medicine society, and the members helped him out with his contributions to the ceremonial.

The night of September 24 I arrived in Zuñi, the last night of the eight nights of dancing around the scalp pole, the night before the final day of the twelve days' ceremony. In the following account I will combine what I saw and what I learned subsequently, more or less systematically, from informants. I will begin with the narrative given in response to my request to tell me about the part of the ceremonial I did not see. . . .

(1) <sup>3</sup>"About sunrise three men came into town to call out that a

<sup>1</sup> Parsons, E. C., Notes on Zuñi, 243, *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, IV, No. 4. 1917.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. his father's clan is Dogwood.

<sup>3</sup> The numbering of the ceremonial episodes, so to speak, is merely to facilitate comparison with the account which is to follow of the ceremonial of 1891.

Navaho had been killed. They called it into an ant hill. 'Come up, hurry up, the Navaho is coming,' one of them called in, the *pasewikyanona* (*pa*, Navaho, *sewikya*, call in). . . . The man in town who heard the call first was to be the first to have his name called out when they threw the arrows the last day. . . .<sup>4</sup>

(2) The Scalp chief<sup>5</sup> (*pamosona*, *pa*, Navaho i.e. scalp, *mosona*, chief) came out to meet them. They would *shuwaha* [cleanse or exorcise] with cedar [waving cedar in the left hand around their heads, spitting on it and casting it down]. "You left your family," said the Scalp chief, "and went to the Navaho country. What happened there?"—"We killed a Navaho. . . Who is to be our father (older brother)?" In this talk they should name<sup>6</sup> an aunt [senior paternal kinswoman] for each man, for the Scalper and his "older brother," to kick the scalp, and, for each, two men to wash the scalp. [These scalp-washers, *tsihakoshonakwe*, are of the same house as the aunt, her maternal kinsmen]. . . . This time they named only one aunt [of the Crane clan] the other aunt [of the Dogwood clan] did not want to do it. Perhaps she was afraid and thought her husband would not like it, because for four nights she [as scalp-kicker] could not sleep with him. [Nor for this period may the scalp-kicker eat meat or salt, nor any hot food].

(3) The scalper (*pachainakoa*, *pa*, Navaho, *ainake*, kill) did not come into town with the others; he stayed out about a mile, and there his family took the midday meal out to him. Late in the afternoon others went out to where he was, the woman scalp-kicker, the two men scalp-washers, men on horseback, and boys. At this time parents tell their boys that if they go out to this place they must stay through—they tell them four times—otherwise the scalp will come after them. For the boys, i.e. youths to smoke, the *pekwin* has six cane cigarettes, one colored for each direction. Four times the youth smokes, the remains of the cigarette being

<sup>4</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Dokila of the Turkey clan. He had never served before. Between the office and clanship there is no connection. The last Scalp chief belonged to the Frog clan.

<sup>6</sup> This part was given rather more incoherently than I have written. My informant told me subsequently that she had been nervous in the beginning of the evening, because her sister's new husband was sitting there and perhaps he would go and tell his people on her.

given to the Scalp chief. . . . [Here is confirmation of what we had learned before about the initiation of the habit of smoking on the occasion of scalp taking, and my informant added that boys who would smoke prematurely are told to wait "until they kill a Navaho." "If you smoke before that," the boy is told, "you will be scared to death; when anything happens, you will not be able to stand it."]

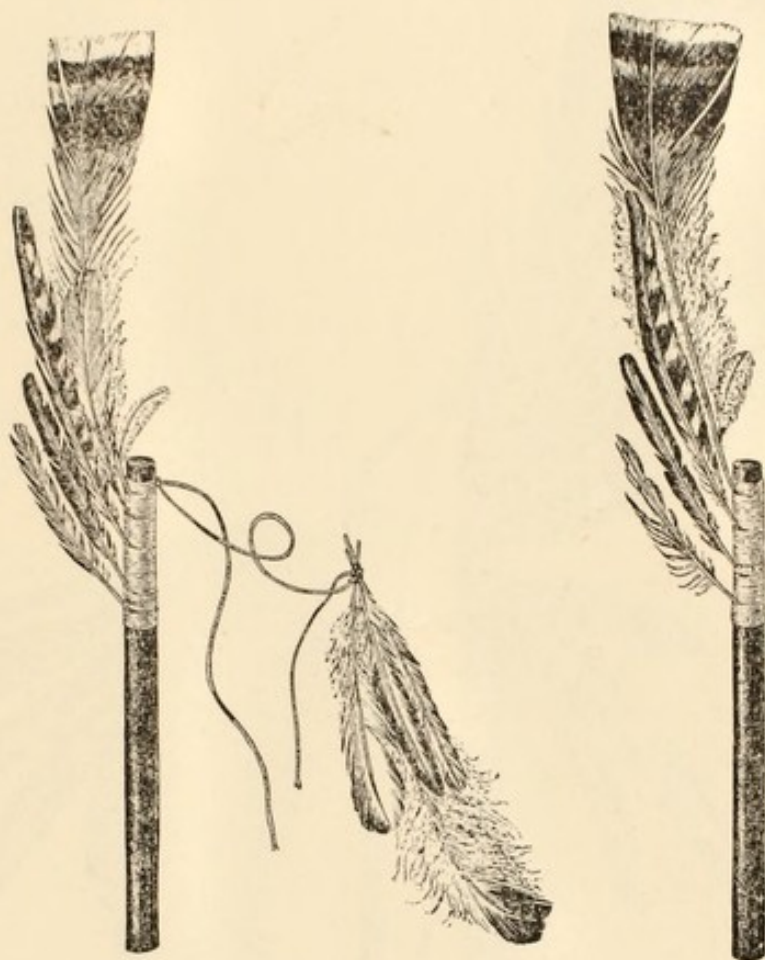


FIG. 1. Prayer-sticks for the dead.

(4) The *pekwin* [for the afternoon gathering] had made two sand hills covered with corn meal, and running to them a corn-meal road with four lines across to step on. The scalper and his "older brother" stepped along the line, the "aunt" holding them behind.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Presumably by a piece of their apparel (see p. 26), and presumably at this time, too, "to save them from the scalp."



They sang as they went, and they were followed by the men and boys.



FIG. 2. Prayer-stick for the war gods.

(5) [At this point, I think, but I am not sure, my informant skipped, the scalper, his "older brother" and the "aunt" deposited prayer-sticks, the woman planting sticks for the "old

ones," i.e. deceased ancestors, the men, sticks for the war gods and the ants. These sticks (see Figs. 1-6, also footnote 43) are put in the apex of ant-hills. Sticks are given to the ants, I



FIG. 3. Prayer-stick, presumably of the Snake-Medicine Society.

was told, because "ants fight all the time, they are not kind to anybody." But again I was told that ants help you by removing your tracks. And still again, that the sticks were put into the ant-

hills, so that lots of people, as many as ants, would come to the ceremonial. See, too, pp. 28, 37.]

(6) Now the "aunt" stands out in a good place, "older brother" sets the scalp on her left toe, and four times she throws it forward with her toe, everybody singing the while. [In her moccasin, at the little toe, has been placed a chaparral-cock feather]. Then she

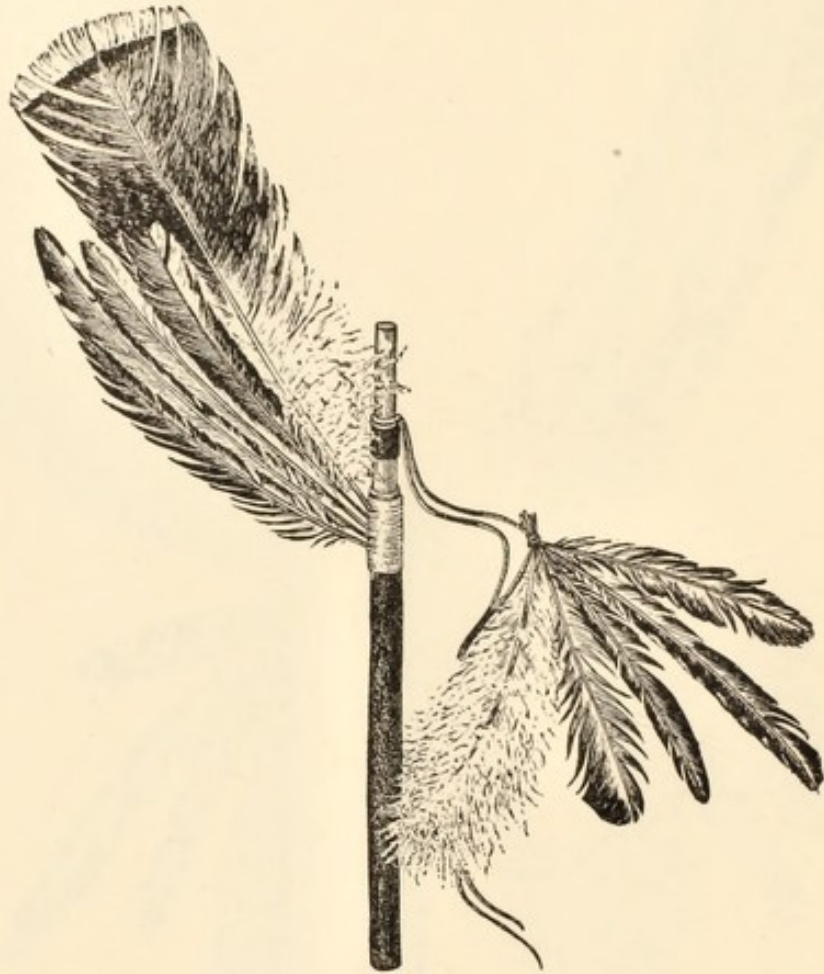


FIG. 4. Prayer-stick, presumably of the Snake-Medicine Society.

picks up the scalp with her left hand, runs and goes around the town, by the south road, the third time around the cemetery, the fourth time around Big plaza. Everybody acts as if they were at war, they rush about, knock down the dogs, just as if fighting. . . .

(7) Meanwhile the Scalp chief has put a pole up in Big plaza; and now he takes the scalp from the "aunt" and puts it up on the pole. The "aunt" takes the scalper and his "older brother" to

her house, where on the roof or *outside*, (inside it would be too dangerous), she and her relatives wash the two men, afterwards throwing the bowl into the air to break it so that none can use it. The lookers-on shout.

(8) The two men go to their homes, eat, collect their bedding and go to the house of the bow-priests. (House 357, *Etone* 35, Map 8, "Zuñi Kin and Clan").<sup>8</sup> The "aunt" goes there too. Here the "aunt" and the two men stayed four nights. The scalp-washers sleep at home.

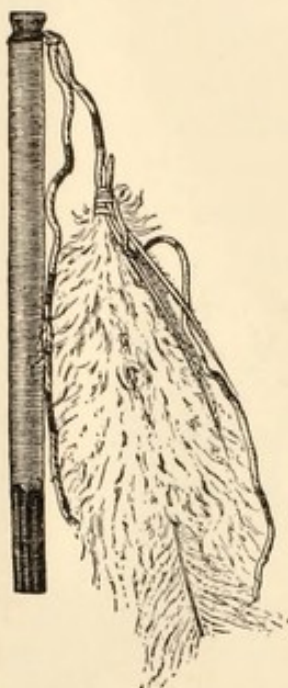


FIG. 5. Prayer-stick for the Ants

(9) On the fifth day, in the afternoon, the two scalp-washers went to Big plaza and got the scalp from the Scalp chief. They go singing along the south road. The scalp-washers are supposed to fast from meat and salt, but if they do not wish to fast, as they carry the scalp they may pretend to be dangerous [prey] animals, a lion or wolf, and bite at the scalp. . . .

With them the scalp-washers carry bread, an arrow, two bowls, soapweed, and a hairbrush-broom, all in a Hopi blanket, the white with blue and red border. They go to *kushilowa* (Red sand bank,

<sup>8</sup> Kroeber, A. L. Zuñi Kin and Clan. Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, xviii, Pt. II. 1917.

on river just east of town) to wash the scalp. They must be careful not to have the water they use flow back into the river from which the people use water. After making suds with the soap-weed and washing the scalp, they throw up the bowls to break them. They brush the hair of the scalp. The bread they wave around their heads and throw down. Any one who comes there to look on may pick it up. . . .

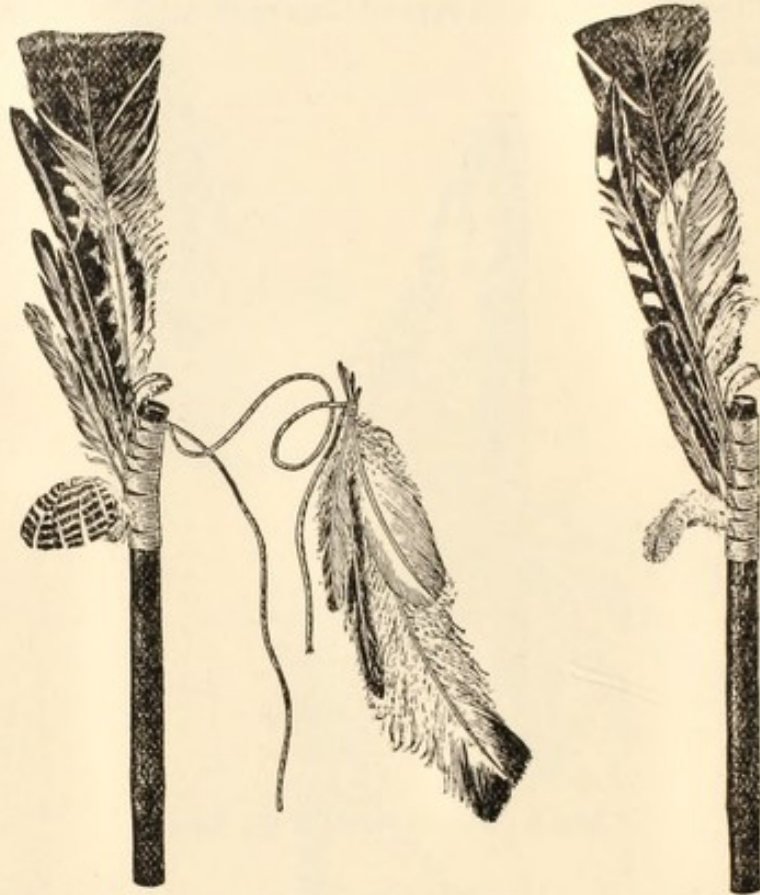


FIG. 6. Prayer-sticks for the *koko* (kachina).

(10) They take the scalp to the house of the bow-priests. There they danced, the two scalp-washers, the bow-priests, the "aunt," and any men who wanted to join. This time there were also two women who wanted to join. They stand in two rows to dance, and then they make a dance circuit of the town.

The Scalp chief took the scalp and put it up on the pole for all to dance around it. The two scalp-washers and the women who had danced were taken home by their "aunt" to be washed. . . .

From this day [of washing the scalp] they counted again, in eight days they would have the big dance (*olinlanna*). . . . .

(11) On the fifth day (scalp-washing day) they began to work on the prayer-sticks [of appointment to office] (*tehtnawe*). Bow-priest older brother and bow-priest younger brother<sup>9</sup> went respectively to the houses of the Deer clansman (Sisiwa or Earnest) and the Bear clansman (Aku or Surni) who make *ahayuta* [the wooden war god images]<sup>10</sup> to give these image-makers the prayer-sticks for getting the wood. In giving the sticks they pray for rain. The next day the image-makers went to the house of the *pa' etone* (see House 95, Etone 64, Map 8, "Zuñi Kin and Clan") to get some "from the beginning" paint to put on one of their prayer sticks. This [black] paint is kept in the *pa' etone* house. Now the image-makers put down their prayer-sticks in the fields, it is their pay to the war gods in order to get easily the wood for their images. This wood must be from a lightning-struck tree, and it may be hard to find. Lightning has killed the tree, just as there is killing in war. That is why they take the wood of a riven tree. The next day the image-makers start out to look for this wood. They pray to find it. . . . After finding it, they leave it in a field outside of town for four days, "They don't like to bring it into town at once, something might happen". . . . . After they do bring the wood in, they pray in working on it, they say to it, "You will be *ahayuta*. You must help me to do just as we have always done." ("Ahayuta are wise men.") The night they bring in the wood they make the head [of the image], the day following they work on the face and body, in one day they finish. They paint them and then, after all the household has sprinkled meal on them, they take them to the house of the *pa' etone* for "from the beginning" paint which has to be put on them. From the *pa' etone* house they take them to the house of the *komosona*<sup>11</sup>. . . . .

(12) This was the tenth day. On the eleventh day, in the morning, they work on the feathers [prayer-sticks] for *ahayuta* in the

<sup>9</sup> The two chiefs of the society who represent the older brother *ahayuta* or war god and the younger brother.

<sup>10</sup> It is to be understood in what follows that the informant always used the term *ahayuta*, not image or war god, which terms are substituted, merely for the convenience of the reader.

<sup>11</sup> Chief of the *koko* or *kachina* society.

houses of the image-makers. The women work on the *hakwin* (cotton fringes representing clothes). . . . They go to the house of the image-maker of the Deer clan [House 81], the Deer people and their "children" [i.e. persons whose fathers are Deer clansmen], the Bear people and their children. They dress the images. The wives of the men bring in the supper bowls. The images are stood to face the east, and whoever brings food in takes a bit from the bowl and places it before the images. All sprinkle meal on the images. They eat, they go home awhile to rest. . . . All this is just as at the winter solstice when the war god images are made and dressed, except that then lightning-struck wood is not used. (13) To the house of the *komosona* come the *pekwin*, the bow-priests, the scalper and his "older brother." Thence the bow-priests go to fetch the *pa' etone* and *t'su'lanna* (shell, big).<sup>12</sup> Now all in the house go to the house of the bow-priests, the image-makers carrying their images. There they go round the altar (*teshkwi*) four times. [The altar has been made by the *pekwin*, a meal picture of cloud representing terraces at the front, with a line of meal leading out.] The *pekwin* puts down the things on the altar, the *ashiwanni teshkwin* he first puts down, then *pa' etone* which belongs to younger brother *ahayuta*, then *t'su'lanna* which belongs to older brother, then the images. All sit down. The bow-priests sing. Around the scalper they put the bandoleer (*kyepyetonawa*) which has been made in the house of the bow-priests, "it has to be made there," on the sixth and seventh days. In the bandoleer there is some Navaho hair. [According to another informant, better informed in certain ways, scrapings from inside the moccasin of the Navaho are put into the bandoleer as well as some of the medulla oblongata of the Navaho]. The scalper and his "older brother" dance. At sunrise the singing finishes, all go home. . . .

Here the narrative broke off for a discussion over the proprietorship of the fetiches, *pa' etone* and "big shell" by the war gods. From the talk it appeared that *pa' etone* is regarded as the stronger or more formidable fetich, appropriate therefore for older brother *ahayuta*, but such was the greediness of younger brother *ahayuta* that he had appropriated it. . . .

<sup>12</sup> Kroeber, Etone 11, Map 8. House 68.







FIG. 7. *Pekwin.*



FIG. 8. Scalp chief.



FIG. 9. Two dance sets; one to right engaged in sprinkling meal on altar; the one on the left waiting their turn.

(Figs. 7-12 are from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. D. A. Cadzow of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.)

(14) Such was the account of the eleventh night, the supper in the house of the Deer clan image-maker and the moving of the images, etc. to the altar in the house of the bow-priests. I was allowed to catch a glimpse through the window of the house of the Deer clan image-maker, but permission to enter was withheld. Nor did I see the altar ceremony in the house of the bow-priests, which must have occurred after one in the morning. . . . This was the last night of the dancing around the pole. In the dance circle there were women as well as men, all stood very close, shuffling sidewise, in anti-sunwise circuit, the ring widening or narrowing according to the number participating. Men sang the unbroken refrain, and now and again a man would smoke. There was much joking and a general spirit of hilarity, no solemnity whatsoever. . . . About midnight small groups of youths, from three or four to seven or eight, began to go about from house to house, singing to a drum, to ask for food.<sup>13</sup> This is the only night all houses may be visited; other nights they may solicit only at the houses of the bow-priests and the image-makers.

(15) At sunrise, this twelfth and last day, the *pekwin* (Fig. 7) is in Big plaza to prepare the ground for the altar to be laid out on the north side. First with his crowbar he digs a hole, to the northwest where *ahayuta* younger brother is to stand, then a hole to the northeast for *ahayuta* older brother. In a line in front of each where prayer-sticks are to stand he softens the earth. Out in front quite a large hole is dug, for the three fetiches combined—*pa' etone*, *ts'u'etone*, the bow-priest *etone*. Now white corn-meal is sprinkled thickly to form a terrace pattern from which leads a line of meal to the foremost excavation. Quite in the northeast corner of the plaza stands a short pole, about four feet and a half high, the scalp on top. . . .

At one moment the Scalp chief (Fig. 8) interrupts the work to hold a whispered conversation with the *pekwin*. In his hand I notice

<sup>13</sup> These singing food beggars are called *dukuyada* from the first word in their song which is as follows: *dukuyada yowe aha ohena*. Like the *anselemo* (so-called also from the first word in their song) who go about similarly on All Souls' Night, the *dukuyada* will keep up their singing at the door until they are given presents of meat and bread, bits of which they throw up to the scalp. (See, too, Dumarest, N., Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico, 172. Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, vol. VI, no. 3, 1919.)

that the Scalp chief carries a plant wand. It is his *pep'oanne*, consisting of a hook growing plant called *petskoa* (whence the name *pep'oanne*), a piece of greasewood, and four pieces of yucca to which prayer-feathers are attached.

(16) A short time before midday people begin to gather in the plaza, at dawn chairs had been set out on the housetops to preempt good places, and about midday from the northern entrance advancing into the plaza by dance step appeared a major part of the Zuñi hierarchy. They came in three lines, the *pekwin* leading the middle line advance, and the chief of the Coyote society well in the rear. The Coyote society man might have been recognized, I was told, by his hair feather (*la'showane*). It was an eagle wing-feather tied curving up, "like a spoon," i.e. concavely (*la'shokone*, *la'*, feather, *shokone*, concave). A hair feather of this kind is always worn by Coyote society members. Their chief had been invited into the ceremonial by the *pekwin*, with the cigarette of invitation. Whenever in the singing a prey animal was mentioned it was the part of the Coyote society chief to growl, acting like wolf or mountain lion. . . . .

Next to the *pekwin* came the other high priests, first the three *kyakweamosi*, house chiefs, the cacique group, Chico, T'sa'tsana,<sup>14</sup> and Tsi'autiwa, then Waihusiwa of the *palokwe* or priests of the West,<sup>15</sup> Okash, priest of the South, Lemi, priest of the East; followed Ha' ts' i, priest of the *ts' u' etone* and Na'kyawan, of the same priesthood,<sup>16</sup> Mome, guardian of the *pa' etone*,<sup>17</sup> a boy of the Corn

<sup>14</sup> He is chief (*mosona*). My informant thought Chico was chief, but her father corrected. The confusion has occurred before. Is it because the chief walks between his two assistants, not ahead?

<sup>15</sup> The confusion as to whether these priests are of the East or West was illustrated here by my informant and her father, she thinking the *palokwe* represented the east, her father asserting that they represented the west.

<sup>16</sup> These men and two others go into retreat on the fifth day of the eight day retreat of the priesthood of the South, joining that priesthood. (Cp. Kroeber, 175 n. 6). "Now it will be cold and windy," people say. On this fifth day the priests of the South resume the eating of meat. The priests of the *ts' u' etone* are the children (*charwe*) of the priests of the South. (Cp. Stevenson, M. C. The Zuñi Indians. Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. XXIII, 598n. b.)

<sup>17</sup> With him should have been his nephew, but the school would not excuse him.

clan, water carrier<sup>18</sup> for younger brother war god, the scalper carrying the image of the younger brother war god, a man of the Dogwood clan,<sup>19</sup> water carrier for older brother war god, Hompikya carrying the image of the older brother war god.

In the line to the north are: at the head, Ts'aweles, older brother bow-priest, Sisiwah, the Deer clansman image-maker, and seven Ant society members, among them Shakuniwa, Lania, Lusio.

In the line to the south are: at the head, Wayeku, younger brother bow-priest, Aku, the Bear clansman image-maker, and four Ant society members, Halo, chief of the society, U'tsanna, chief of the medicine order of the society, Wailusita, and Kashtula.

The Ant society members and the bow-priests carry bow and arrows or guns. They and the rain-priests are wearing white cotton shirt and white cotton trousers. The Ant society members wear a bunch of hawk-feathers in their cap or hat. The priests wear prayer-feathers in their hair, as do also the water-carriers. The water-carriers are kilted, with a white buckskin over their shoulders. The scalper and his "older brother" are wearing the bow-priest hood of buckskin, and their faces are painted, below the mouth black, the black of "from the beginning" paint, and above, yellow, from pollen. (In this way are painted the priests after death.) The priests each carry wrapped up the fetiches or prayer-sticks that are to be laid out on the altar.

After repeating several times an advancing dance step and with a turn about face a withdrawing step, singing to their dancing, the three lines form into a single line and make an anti-sunwise circuit four times around the altar, each person sprinkling meal four times in his circuit from each of the four directions. Then the line stands along the north wall, and the *pekwin* takes from each

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<sup>18</sup> He fetches water from the spring *heshoktakwi* in the north. According to one informant the Corn people have always to fetch this water. They choose a boy to fetch it because whoever fetches the water has to remain *teshkwi* (sacred i.e. continent and without meat) from time of fetching, the eleventh day of the ceremonial, for four days. My other informant said the boy was chosen as a child of the Dogwood clan.

<sup>19</sup> He has been appointed by the paramount priests, and the *pekwin* announces to him the appointment, giving him his hair-feather. But the appointee is always taken from the Dogwood clan. The plant grows near water, and the clan is or was, I think, associated with water, equivalent of the Water clan of other pueblos.

man whatever object he may be carrying to furnish the altar. The first object to be laid down is the *etone* of the *kyakweamosi*,<sup>20</sup> then the *pa' etone*, the *l'su' etone*, and the *etone* of the bow-priests are made into one large bundle and placed in the excavation at the end of the meal line appearing here merely like a big bunch of eagle wing feathers. Eight corn-ear fetiches (*mi'we*) are set in line at the back of the altar. In front of them at the west side the image of younger brother war god is set in the excavation made for him, and then, at the east side, the image of older brother war god. A line of prayer-sticks is set out in front of each image. Two very long celts have been laid out, somewhere at the back of the altar.

This dressing of the altar has been done very deliberately and reverently by the *pekwin*, the only hitch being in making the prayer-sticks stand up, the ground is hard. Ts'awele takes a hand, sending for some earth, and planting the sticks himself. Clay holders such as are used by the Hopi<sup>21</sup> would have been a convenience.

The *pekwin* proceeds to seat the priests where they have been standing behind the altar. With his hands on their shoulders he

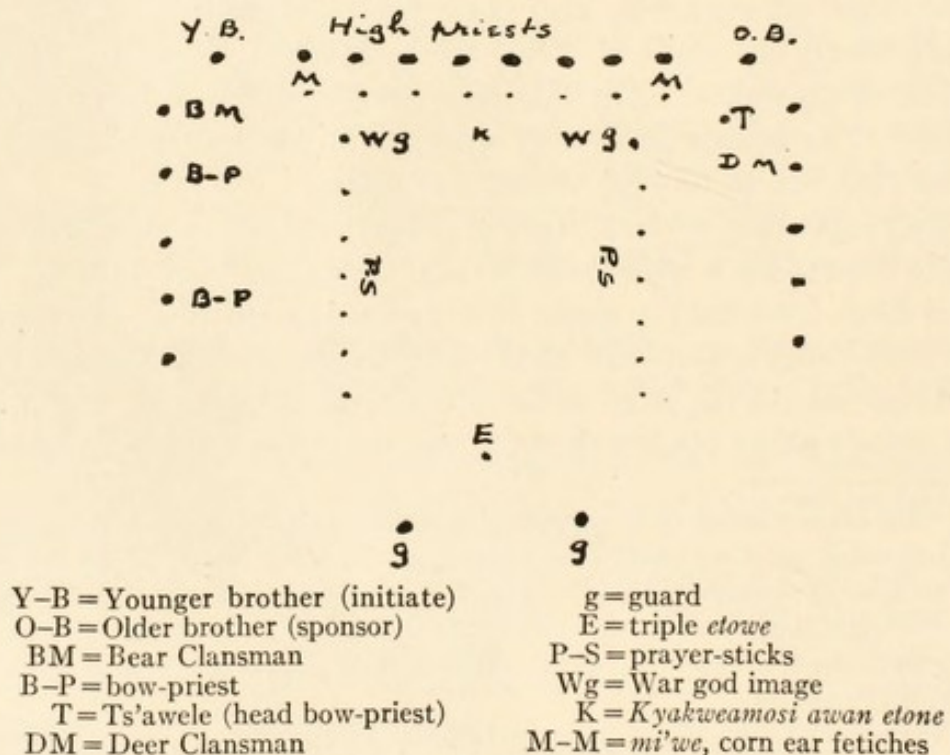


DIAGRAM A. Positions at altar in plaza

<sup>20</sup> All the rain-priests' fetiches are double, *kya*, water, and *chu*, seeds.

<sup>21</sup> In the indoor setting up of the altar they are used. (Stevenson, 597).

gently presses them down into their wall seat in the order indicated in Diagram A. Chairs are brought out for the bow-priests, the image-makers, and the Ant society members; two men carrying spears take in a standing position out in front of the altar and facing it. At significant times in the ceremonial, at the time of exorcism, for example (see p. 25) this position of guard is taken by the bow-priest chiefs, Ts'awele and Wayeku, who at other times are relieved by bow-priest Meli, or by one or another of the Ant society men. At times the bow-priests swing a rhombus.

(17) The entrance dance by the sacerdotalists and the dressing of the altar has taken about three-quarters of an hour. Now the dancing groups appear, first the two *hashiya* (shake) girls, in the northwest corner of the plaza. The two *hashiya* dancing girls with the Scalp chief and a choir of three men (*pupanakwe*), including the drummer,<sup>22</sup> come out of the house in front of which is their station, the place where two planks have been set into the ground and covered over for the girls to dance on. Meal and shell have been sprinkled in the excavations for the planks. The planks are laid down "so people will come, it draws them in their hearts." [Another informant amplified. The planks are the door for the people inside the earth, the dead Apache, Navaho, Sioux, Hopi, Acomans and Mexicans (not for people of Laguna or Americans). It makes their hearts shake and tremble. Possibly we may have here the explanation of the name of the dance, *hashiya*, shake].

The two girls first face the choir, but after a little turn and face the plaza. The girls' knees are flexed and they start dancing by a gentle movement up and down. Their left arms are extended sideways, their right arms bent and the forearms raised. After a few moments this position of the arms is reversed. The feet are both raised from the ground at the same time, so that the step is a jumping movement.

The girls wear an embroidered Hopi blanket draped as a dress, leaving the arms bare. A bunch of bells is fastened to one side of the woven belt. A fan of eagle wing-feathers fastened to a black wig tops the head. At the base of the fan is a bunch of parrot feathers from which stream red and yellow ribbons. The girls' own hair

<sup>22</sup> Hina of the Dogwood clan, and one of the priests of the West. A few years ago for six months Hina was *pekwin*. The drum is kept in his house, and there the *hashiya* girls have practised their dance.

is flowing and their bang falls over the face to the tip of the nose. Legs and feet are bare, and there is nothing in their hands.

This dance is referred to as *awek shuwaha*, ground cleansing (or exorcising). It continues throughout the day, danced by a series of girls, couple succeeding couple at brief intervals. But of the *hashiya* proper there are but two, the two who have been appointed by the priests, and who have black stripes on lower cheeks and chin, painted on by the *pekwin*. At the conclusion of the day's ceremonial the wives of the priests wash off this paint, keeping the water to sprinkle on their own corn store. For four successive ceremonials the two *hashiya* will hold their positions.

The girl dancers have been practising their dance in Hina's house, where the drum is kept; it is only this twelfth day that they come outside to dance. Of them there should have been another set, to dance in the southeast corner of the plaza, with the Scalp chief woman (*pamosonaokya*) to stand alongside. But the office of Scalp chief woman is vacant. Lawa of the Dogwood clan, having served four times, had "finished it," and her place was unfilled. Besides girls had proved backward about dancing. The Scalp chief had had difficulty in getting enough girls for his dance set.

This was due to remissness, too, in the Scalp chief, a critic alleged. The man had been chosen just for this dance by the bow-priests' chiefs. He was ignorant of much, for example instead of putting down the planks at early dawn with none about to see, he put them down at midday.

(18) Besides these girls, there are other dancers. About thirty men with three or four women compose each of two alternating dance sets (*otulahshonakwe*, dance within, called by Stevenson the *pumok-iakianawa*). (Fig. 10.) One set dances in singing from the northeast entrance, dances forward and backwards several times, and as it withdraws the other set dances in from the southwest entrance to perform the same manoeuvres. The set is bunched together in a more or less irregular oval formation, the women dancing mostly in the middle, whence presumably the name of the dance set. There is much shouting and flourishing of bows or guns. The women who neither shout nor sing carry each in her right hand an arrow painted black and red, the point up. The women wear moccasins and their ordinary black blanket dress, with a man's dance kilt draped as bodice. To their head on top is fastened a bunch of parrot feathers

with pendent ribbons. Their bang falls over their face. Their hands and forearms are painted yellow, with hanks of yarn tied around their wrists. The men are togged out in bits of finery, with no attempt at uniformity, wearing *bandas*, or beribboned caps, or befeathered hats, silver Navaho belts or woven dance belts, some in moccasins, some in shoes, two wore English russet leather riding boots, as bizarre footgear to dance in as could well be found.

The women are "gathered up" by two men in each set, the men serving for this function for four ceremonials. The men in the sets are said to be grouped by kiva membership, *muhekwe*, *up-tsannakwe* and *ohekwe* men in the eastern group, *he'ikwe* men in the western group.

As soon as one of these groups came into the plaza all those around the altar arose to remain standing to the conclusion of the dance. In conclusion each of the dancers approached the altar and on it sprinkled meal. (Figs. 9, 10.)

(19) Between those around the altar and the choir of the dancing girls there was also some degree of recognition. The choir in its song would mention by name various persons of whom several were sitting about the altar who would then with their left hands point an arrow towards the sky, "showing it to the Sun," wave it around their head and throw it on the ground in front of the foremost fetich. A member of the choir would leave his seat and pick up the arrow. The man first to hear the returning war party, is, we recall, the first to be mentioned. That it is proper to mention the name of the impersonator of *sayatasha*, the foremost figure in the *koko awia* ceremonial, I learned from being told that on this occasion he was forgotten. The names of the war god image-makers are mentioned. I happened to have been earlier in the morning in the house of one of them when a kinsman who had "helped on the feathers" came in to ask if his name would be called out. "No, only mine," said his senior kinsman, the image-maker, "only the chief of us, and I am the chief." The young man was almost as plainly dissatisfied over this as the older man was proud of his distinction.

(20) At one time in the ceremonial the *pekwin* left his seat to puff smoke on the altar, placing the rest of the cane cigarette back of the image of the older brother war god. . . . At another



time, at a certain part of the song, the water-carriers in turn carry prayer-sticks to the choir.

Now the choir sing or call out for the first time the new name of the scalp-taker, the initiate, Te'yasiwa it is to be. *Siwa* is a suffix of male names, *te'ya* means "anything of value." The dancers hear and acclaim by shooting off their guns.

(21) On the fourth appearance of the dancers the scalper appears with one set, his "older brother" with the other, scalper and "older brother" carrying each on his head a basket of red paper-bread, which he throws into the air. The Scalp chief takes the empty baskets and refills them with the bread he picks up from the ground, setting the baskets under the scalp pole. This paper-bread has been made by the "aunts" of the two men. In the bread-making they have used only their left hand, just as in weaving the baskets of willow which scalper or "older brother" has gathered they have used this hand.

(22) It is dinner-time for all. Two lines of women come in, carrying on their heads bowls or bundles of food. (Fig. 12.) One line is led by the scalper (Fig. 11), the other by his "older brother." They stand in single file, each file facing a member of the girls' choir who says a longish prayer and then clasps in prayer the hand of each woman, her bowl or bundle having been set down on the ground. The women face about and each is sprinkled on her shoulder with corn meal by the Scalp chief. Meanwhile the women of the priests' households come in and each places food in front of her respective husband or father. Before leaving each woman sprinkles meal towards the altar.

(23) It is four in the afternoon before the dancing resumes. Dancing with the *otulahshonakwe* are now many women, they are the paternal aunts of the men dancers. A young man who is child of the Coyote clan stands with his hands clasping the scalp pole which he gently rocks. In his hair he wears a downy eagle feather, over his shoulders, a large buckskin of which a tail piece is held by a girl of the Coyote clan. This girl or woman is known as *tsielimikya*, scalp fall down. Like the *hashiya* women and others she holds her position for four successive ceremonies.

On the second and last appearance of the *otulahshonakwe* the two groups come into the plaza at the same time and mingle to-



FIG. 10. Dance Set.



FIG. 11. Bringing in the dinner, line led by scalper.



FIG. 12. Bringing in dinner, line led by scalper. Line led by "older brother" of scalper has already come in and stands to the right of picture, about where the *hashiya* dance. The two standing figures at the extreme right are the altar guards, facing the altar, just out of sight.



gether. The dancers throw arrows into the air to be picked up by the onlookers and kept by them. The Coyote chief emits his wild animal growls. The shouting and shrieking grow more and more boisterous. Again the new name of the scalp-taker is mentioned by the girls' choir and the noise reaches a climax. . . All sprinkle the altar, and withdraw.

(24) During the final dance of the girls the onlookers pick up from the ground bits of cedar bark, then at a point in the song all stand and with the left hand wave the bark around their head, once, twice or more times spitting on the bark in waving it and at the close before throwing it to the ground. At the same time Ts'awele is rocking the foremost group of fetiches and the image-makers, the war-god images, throwing them over together with the prayer-sticks at the close. And the man at the scalp pole rocks it, also throwing it down at the close.

The exorcising was done with the left hand just as in several other particulars connected with the ceremony the left hand is used. The explanation given is that the left hand being the weaker hand, it is used "to make the Navaho weak."

The *pekwin* proceeds to dismantle the altar, each object being wrapped up and returned to its guardian. I notice that one of the celts is given to the *kyakwemosi lashi*.

(25) Now the *shohmatowe* (*shohwe*, arrow, *maton*, button)<sup>23</sup> ceremony is in order. The drum is carried out into the centre of the plaza, and placed on a chair. Standing with his arms encircling the drum, the drummer (?) says a longish prayer and sprinkles meal on the drum. It is here, I think, that he asks it to sound as loudly as the water star (*kyalawa*)<sup>24</sup> when it falls into the river.<sup>25</sup> Five men take seats around the drum. They are Ts'awele, two sons of his older sister (the Pinto boys), all Coyote clansmen, a very old man on crutches, Sepo, Turkey clansman and child of Coyote, he is the son of Ts'awele's mother's brother, and a Badger clansman who is also child of Coyote. Back of the drummer who is one of the Pintos is placed the pole with its child of Coyote holding

<sup>23</sup> Referring to an arrow which buttons in, can not be taken out.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 33.

<sup>25</sup> At Taos the Stars (*pailana*) are prayed to, as war beings, particularly meteors or falling stars, for their swiftness.

it, and the Coyote girl holding him by the end of his buckskin mantle. (See Diagram B.) Several songs are sung about a war incident at *hanlipinkyä*.<sup>26</sup>

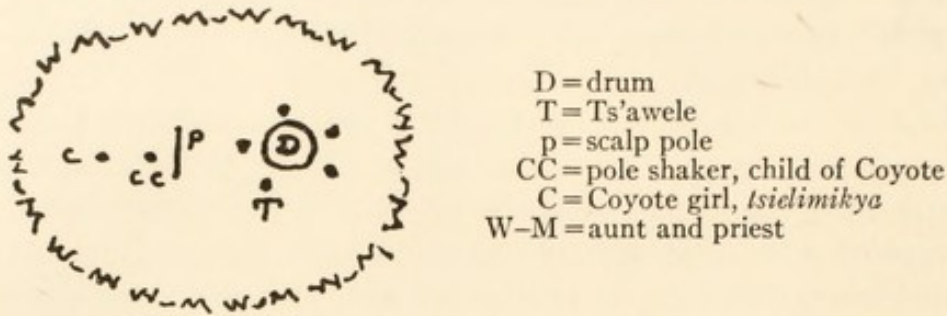


DIAGRAM B. Positions in Coyote Clan Ceremony

Formerly, it is said, the singers were all bow-priests, only the drummer was a Coyote man.—After the people came up, at *hanlipinkyä*, *ahayuta* gave the drum and the drumstick to the Coyote people.<sup>27</sup>—But with the diminution of the bow-priests, the Coyote men took their place as choir.

Now the priests advance and form a circle around pole and choir. This circle is joined by their “aunts” of whom each, like the Coyote girl, holds her relative by a piece of his garment, “to save him from the scalp.” In anti-sunwise circuit the circle side-steps slowly around. . . . In conclusion a shout is raised by the on-lookers, there is by all another performance of the cedar waving and spitting rite and again the scalp pole is thrown down. (26) The Scalp chief unfastens the scalp from the pole, and places it on top of the two baskets of wafer bread. Holding all in extended arms he begins to walk out, slowly, very slowly from the plaza, by the southwest passage. This slow pace the Scalp chief maintains until he reaches the crest of the hill on the west side of town. Thence he must have run, and very quickly I infer, so completely was he lost to sight, to the stone foundation walls of a house in construction quite close to the scalp house, on the northwest edge of town. Here in cover the Scalp chief will remain until late at night when he will place the scalp in a jar in the scalp

<sup>26</sup> See p. 33.

<sup>27</sup> That is, it seems clear, to a maternal family within the Coyote clan.

house, an irregular conical mound of soil and stone slabs. The baskets of wafer-bread will be set under a slab on top of the mound. Then, entering town, the Scalp chief will dodge in and out of four houses "to fool the scalp." Finally the Scalp chief will go to the house of his "aunt" to be "washed" and fed.

(27) The heads of all the participants in the ceremonial have to be washed, I presume. When the final dance circle was broken up, several women came into the plaza to take the men in the circle to their houses; these were their "aunts," and at home they were to wash the heads of the participants. That evening I happened to be in a house where a youth had his head washed. For some reason I do not know the "aunt," accompanied by a girl, a junior "aunt," came to the youth's house. A bowl of water was set out for them. Bending over it stood the boy while first the older woman and then the younger dipped one handful of water to the boy's head, after this dip, washing in like cursory way his hands. It was a highly formalized and curtailed ablution. Neither before nor after the rite was there any conversation between the visitors and members of the household.

Upon the dismantling of the altar the water gourds are taken to the shrine *hepatina* where the water is poured out, for the benefit, not of *ahayuta*, "he doesn't need water," but of all the people, "we need water".

(28) The scalp ceremony is concluded; but there are sequences. Images and prayer-sticks have still to be deposited, the day following. The image of the older brother war god is taken to *noponikwi*, that of younger brother, to *kwilli yallana*. Prayer-sticks are put down by the man who calls into the ant-hill, by the *hashiya* girls proper, and by the Scalp chief, black sticks to the "old ones" by ant-summoner and girls, black and purple sticks, like those of the bow-priests, by the Scalp chief.

The new bow-priest and his "older brother" have each to have intercourse with a woman other than his wife before he may have intercourse again with his wife. "Even if he is an old man he *has* to get a woman outside." The new bow-priest has still to receive his *lashowan lanna*, big hair prayer-feathers, i.e. the two eagle wing feathers he is to wear in his queue. The Ant society is to be the maker of this property, and it is to be bestowed at the ceremony

of *owinahaiye* which the new bow-priest will announce, some time<sup>28</sup> before the November ceremonial of *koko awia*. Obviously the *owinahaiye* is held to be a return ceremonial, just as at Acoma its counterpart is the ceremony given by the war captains after their election.<sup>29</sup>

The Scalp chief's functions are not over. At every full moon and at the moon in last quarter he is to offer wafer-bread to the scalp.

In conclusion I may record versions of two myths bearing upon the scalp ceremony two of which I heard at the time of the ceremony, the one as answer to the question why the Ant society figures so prominently in the ceremonial, the other in reference to the final song-dance of the arrow-buttoned. The other two versions are extracted from the general origin or emergence myth of Zuñi, which I heard before he died from (Lippelanna, Big-weaver).

1.<sup>30</sup>

Long ago when the two little boys [the war gods, *ahayuta achi*] were going around fighting, they found a Navaho girl. They had intercourse with her, then they killed her or said they had killed her, laying her on her face. She came to life, the two boys ran away. They sought to hide with the societies (*tikyawe*), but nobody would take them in until they came to the Ant people. They went in and said, "Where can we hide?" "We are not going to hide you," said the Ant people, "sit down there." The Navaho girl came to the top of the house and called, "Where are my husbands?" "Come in, they are in here!" She advanced one step and ran back, she advanced two steps and ran back, she advanced three steps and ran back, she advanced four steps and there was but a half step to enter when they said, "Go and kill your wife." They got up and ran after her and killed her outside. They laid her face up, her eyes open to the stars. They knew she would not come to life again. They said to her, "Count the stars." She did not speak, so they knew she was dead. They went in, and the

<sup>28</sup> In 1921 it was performed on October 26.

<sup>29</sup> See Parsons, E. C. "Notes on Acoma and Laguna." *American Anthropologist*. N. S. xx, 162-171. In this Acoma two day ceremony there are features strongly suggestive of the *hashiya* dancing and of the *otulashonakwe*.

<sup>30</sup> Informant, Bear clansman image maker.

Ant people asked what they had done. "We did what you told us to do, we killed her, we laid her with her face to the sky, as you said." The Ant people said, "Now, look at the altar (*teshkwi*). What do you see?" They saw the tracks of Chaparral Cock. Older Brother said, "It looks as if it came in." "No," said Younger Brother, "it is going out." They said these things four times. "Look around at the back of the altar," said the Ant people. There they found Chaparral Cock. "How many feathers are on it?" "There are twelve feathers." "That will be your count when you kill Navaho, that will be your *teshkwi*" [taboo time]. . . .

That is why the Ant people<sup>31</sup> call the two boys their children (*chawe*), that is why those Ant people came in with them this morning [i.e. with the priests to sit by the altar on the last day], and that is why the two little boys call the Ant people their *alashinawe* (old ones).

2.<sup>32</sup>

The two *aihayuta* left this place and went to the west and looked over everything on the earth. They went to different towns. In some places they would find a girl and they would stay with her over night. The next day they would kill her and move on to another place. They kept doing that as they went about. They went to *yutsi*.<sup>33</sup> When they got there, they saw a girl. They went up to her. They asked her, "Where are you going?" "I am going home." "Your home is far." "No, I shall be there soon." "No, you will not get there. Let's stay here. You may go tomorrow." She said, "All right." They stayed with her that night. In the morning, before she woke, they killed her. As they went on they saw the same girl coming after them. "There is another one coming," they said to each other. "Let's

<sup>31</sup> There are four divisions or orders in the Ant society, the medicine order, the Ant or Broom order (broom straws are used in brushing from the invalid the pebbles "shot" into him by the ants, causing skin disease or sore throat), the jugglery order, and the Stone-knife order, the society as a whole may be referred to as the Stone-knife society. To the Knife order only men belong, and in 1896 to the society as a whole only four women belonged. (Stevenson, 528). Presumably the Knife order is the war order. And presumably the society may be equated with the Knife or Flint Society of the Keresans and Tanoans.

<sup>32</sup> Informant, Lippefanna.

<sup>33</sup> A Navaho place in the north.



make her, too, stop." So they went up to her. "Let's stay here. Where are you going?" "I am going home." "Your home is far." "No, I shall be there soon." "No, you will not get there. Let's stay here. You may go tomorrow." She said, "All right." They stayed the night with her. Then next day, when they woke up, the girl was already dead and dirt was on her. They said to each other, "This is the one we killed yesterday. She followed us. Let's take out her heart." So they took out her heart and smashed it to pieces. "Now let's go, she won't bother us this time." But after they had gone a little way, they looked back and saw her coming. "There she is coming again. Let's run. She won't catch us." So they ran. When they had gone far, they looked back. She was behind close by them. "There she is coming. We didn't leave her behind. What can we do? I wonder if there is anyone who could save us? She has died twice, but if she catches us, she will kill us." When they came to Ship Rock, they said, "Our people have passed through here, maybe some of them living here could save us." At last they came to *shipapolima*. The *aihayuta* never stopped to eat or drink, but the girl kept on chasing them. In *shipapolima* there was a Stone-knife society (*achia tikyane*) [or Ant society]. When they got there, they said, "That's the place our people live. They will save us." They said, "Our fathers, *konato teane?*" "*Kyetsanishi.*" When they sat down they gave them to eat. They took the bread and dipped it in the stew and put it in their mouth only four times. Then they quit eating. When they finished eating, the two said, "Do you know any way to save us? Some one is chasing us." "Yes," said they, "you may sit down here." They made them sit down. To each they gave a bow, the bow-string to be held away from them like *ahenia* as in the *lewekwe* dance. Thus they held the bow. They made them blacken their face. They sang the songs to save them. At the second song they turned the bows in back to themselves. When they finished that, they sang the song for them to get angry. As they began the chorus, she got there, and they heard her step on the roof. She said, "My fathers, my two sons, have they come?" "Yes, they are here." "Send them out for me." "They are here. Come in and take them out yourself," said they to her. She stepped down one step and then she ran back. "Send them

out for me." The people said, "Come in yourself and get them out." She stepped down two steps and ran back again. She said again, "Send them out for me." "You come in and get them yourself." She stepped down three steps, and went up again. "I can't go in. Send them out for me." "We can send them out if you want them, but come in and get them yourself." She stepped down four steps and then she fell down inside. She made a noise in her throat as when you cut a sheep's throat. When she got up and walked over, the two went at her with their club and knocked her down three times and killed her. "Now you go and throw her far off. Don't leave her near by. Here is my knife," said Bear, "with this you take off her scalp." "And here is my knife," said Mountain-lion, "with this you take off her scalp." Then *achiyalato-pa* said, "Here is my knife, with this you take off her scalp." Then at last White Bear said, "And here is my knife. With this you take off her scalp. When you take her far off, lay her on her face, with the knife we gave you last make marks around her back; and with the knife we first gave you take off her scalp. Then when you take off her scalp, throw it up and shout. Pick it up a second time and shout. Pick it up a third time and shout. A fourth time pick it up, throw it up and shout. Then come with the scalp." So they picked her up and carried her out. When they went far off, they laid her down and marked her around with the knife. With the first knife they took off the scalp. They threw it up and shouted. A second time they threw it up and shouted. A third time they threw it up and shouted. A fourth time they threw it up and shouted. They picked it up and went to a cedar tree and cut down the tree. On the top of the tree they put the scalp. They started back with the scalp, singing. When they came with the scalp, they walked in and the people inside told them to put meal to the altars. So they took the meal and went to the altars and gave them meal. When they got through, they turned back. The people inside said to them, "Now look around carefully. Someone may be coming in. See which of you will guess." So they looked around and they saw tracks and one of them said, "Someone is going out." And younger Brother said, "No, someone is coming in." "No, he is going out." "No, he is coming in." And the people inside said, "Don't worry so much. Look at the altars.

Perhaps someone is there." So the two looked and they saw a chaparral cock sitting behind the altars. His tail was white at the end. They said, "Catch him and bring him around." They caught him and they sat down and smoothed him. They said to them, "Count his tail, see how many feathers he has in his tail." So the two *aihayuta* counted the tail feathers, and they said, "There are twelve." "All right. That many days your *teshkwí* will last. You have been killing a lot of people, and you have never made any *teshkwí* for the persons you killed, that's the reason she followed you clear on your way. Now after this when you kill anyone, make that many days—i.e. twelve—*teshkwí*, and you will have no trouble."

They stayed there all night. At midnight they initiated into the society the two *aihayuta*. They began the first song for *ishuwanakya* (cleansing, take bad habits away). Through with that, the animals (*wemawe*) stood and looked at their children, the two *aihayuta*. All night they did that. In the morning they repeated the *ishuwanakya*. Then they were initiated into the Flint society. At sunrise, while they were eating, the two *aihayuta* said to each other; "These people who began last (came last out of the ground), they brought away everything—all the different kinds of stones, *alashi* (old, i.e. stones) and *timushi* (stone knife), so we have none, although we began first. How would it be if we assembled all the societies?" And someone heard them saying that and he said, "What are you talking about?" "We are talking about you people and the others, of how you came out with everything, although you began last. We began first, but we did not come out with everything like you people. So we are talking about assembling all the societies." They went all around to see where the people were with the societies. They came back to the west where they had begun. There they found some people whom they took with them to *shipapolima*. All the different kinds of societies were there. They did not sleep for two nights, getting all the songs and all the things they did. And all the societies listened to the singing. They began to sing all the songs of *wemawe* and *ishuwanakya* and all the other songs they used in the societies. When they all stopped singing, in the morning when they began to eat, the *tikya mosi* (society head) said, "Now you will leave this place. On

your way don't drink water while you wear your cap, while you wear your *yatonane* (bandoleer). You have been doing that. Before you drank, you used to blow the water, don't do it any more. Whenever you want to drink, take off everything you have on. If you don't, all of us will take your scalps and you will die." "No, we won't do those things any more. You are our fathers and these women are our mothers, these boys are our brothers, these girls are our sisters. We belong to your people." The *tikya mosi* said, "We may not believe you, because you boys are naughty. But if on your way you keep to these rules, you will live forever and take care of your people. In the high hills, in the forest, that is where you are to belong."

3.<sup>34</sup>

When the people first came up they had for leaders two war gods, *watsutih* and *yanaluha*. The other war gods were *kupishtaia*,<sup>35</sup> *haltunga*, *oloma*, *uhepololo*, *kyatawani* (Meteor. See p. 25), *tsykyahaia*,<sup>36</sup> *teatailapona*. After the experience which led to the origination of the *koyemshi* the people chose as leaders two *ne'wekwe* or *kushaile*. These two killed two women washing at the river, and took their scalps. The war gods (cited above) taught them what to do, at *hanlipinkya*, and then went down into the earth. *Shomatowe* is a dramatic recital of what was done and learned at *hanlipinkya*.<sup>37</sup>

This song recital<sup>38</sup> is performed not only in the scalp ceremony but every March, at the corn-planting season, before the first foot-race by kivas. In the house of the bow-priests the four night ceremony is held, by the bow-priests, the rain-priests, the *pa'etone* guardian, the Scalp chief, and the Coyote clanspeople. On the altar is set out the *pa'etone*. The ceremony is for rain-fall and the crops.

<sup>34</sup> Informant, son of former Scalp chief.

<sup>35</sup> According to Stevenson, he travels in fog. (The Zuñi Indians, 580 n. c.) *Kupishtaia* is a Keresan word, a generic term referring to the cosmic supernaturals in general.

<sup>36</sup> He travels in rain by day. (Stevenson, 580 n. c.)

<sup>37</sup> Cp. Stevenson, 35, 36. A.

<sup>38</sup> In another connection I have been told that the songs are sung by the bow-priests at the meetings of the various societies they belong to and in connection with the hidden ball game (*iyankolowe*).

4.<sup>39</sup>

The two *aihayuta* went a little way to the top of their high rock. When they went there they put up stones to sit on, they fixed their pottery drum, they put meal on top of it, and they called into the bottom of the earth for *haltunkya*, *oloma*, *saulusankya*, *shutuisha*, *uhopololo*. So they came out. For them (the *aihayuta*) went back to the village and called all the people with *elleteliwa*.<sup>40</sup> They took them to the top of their high rock. The two went in front, the people followed them. When they all got there, Older Brother [*aihayuta*] said, "Is there any Yellow Corn clan of (among the) Coyote?" So they looked. At last they found him (a Yellow Corn clansman). "Here he is." They took him and made him sit by the drum. He was the one to beat the drum. Older Brother said, "Is there any Deer clan of (among) men?" "We don't know," they all said. They looked. At last they found him. They said, "Here he is." "All right. He will be my father. I will belong to this clan," said Older Brother. Younger Brother said, "Is there any Bear clan of (among) men?" "We don't know." They looked. They found him. Younger Brother said, "He will be my father. I will belong to this clan." When everything was ready, the Coyote Yellow Corn clansman beat the drum. Then the creatures from the bottom of the earth started the songs of *shoimato'we* (*sho'matuwe*). And they kept on singing. When the quick songs were over, they began the strong songs. The *ts'u'tikyanillapona* (big shell having society) blew the big shell (*ts'u'le*). At that time they blew all the people that lived around back to the east. Where the people were singing and dancing around, their feet made marks in the ring.

## THE CEREMONIAL IN 1891

The scalp ceremonial which was held in October, 1891, was observed, in part, by M. C. Stevenson. In several particulars her record<sup>41</sup> differs from the foregoing, in some cases it is fuller and more complete, in other the differences are due to changes in the

<sup>39</sup> Informant, Lippelanna.

<sup>40</sup> Referring to "what we live by," the sacred seed-filled cane bundles, the fetichistic corn ears, etc.

<sup>41</sup> Stevenson, 576-607.

presentation of the ceremonial. Along both lines comparison is of interest. Along the line of supplementary information all that is required is a statement of data. Along the line of ceremonial changes, discussion of the changes involved from the point of view of the dynamics of social change may be rewarding.

*Supplementary Information*<sup>42</sup>

Representing the returning war party are two Coyote clansmen, and the calling into the ant-hill proceeds from one of them. As he addresses not only the ants but three of the same war-supernaturals who are associated with the Coyote clan war ritual at the close of the whole ceremony, presumably this initial rite of announcement is also Coyote clan ritual . . . . These Coyote clansmen together with the two bow-priests in their company deposit an offering at the apex of the anthill,— the Coyote men, white beads; the bow-priests, olivella shells. The prayer is as follows:

Our great Sun Father rises and comes forth from his night house.  
 My fathers, the beast gods of the six regions, arise, come forth.  
 To you of the six regions whose homes cover the earth I give shells.  
 Yellow ant, blue ant, red ant, white ant, all color ant, black ant.  
 To you whose homes are covered with the mountain tops I give shells.  
 Ahayuta yellow, ahayuta blue, ahayuta red, ahayuta white, ahayuta all color,  
 ahayuta black.  
 Rain-makers bow-priests, Tsikeahaya, Tkätlawanni, Kupishtaya.  
 When we meet the enemy a little arrow storm wind will arise.  
 When we meet him on the road near by he will never more inhale the sacred breath  
 of day.  
 I inhale the sacred breath of day.  
 All come quickly, the enemy comes from ambush.  
 A Navaho is killed, we inhale the sacred breath of day.

After this prayer all discharge their guns, the Coyote clansman who has prayed rides a few steps forward, calls out, "uh. . . !" all fire. The Coyote man advances, calls, "uh. . . *hawanawe!*" They fire. Coyote man advances, calls, "uh. . . *iwolokia!*" All fire. Coyote man advances, calls, "uh. . . *pawiashkia!*" All fire. Then they proceed to the north side of town. . . .

On assembling for the afternoon ritual each bow-priest deposits

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<sup>42</sup> Numbers refer to the order of the ceremonial episodes in the preceding account.

in an ant-hill two prayersticks for the war-gods. . . .<sup>43</sup> Ant society members are associated on this occasion with the bow-priests. The excavation at the altar represents the home of the Ant society at *shipapolima*.

(3) The bow-priests' chief presents to the scalper and his older brother, to each, a red stained cane cigarette set in feathers of eagle, turkey and of the birds of the six directions. These cigarettes are subsequently placed in the girdles of the war-god images. . . . The priest of the West functions with the *pekwin* in the smoking ritual. . . .

(4) At the transverse lines of the meal road to the altar, are placed crossed pieces of yucca to represent the tracks to the altar

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<sup>43</sup> Prayer-sticks were observed in five ant-hills in the field to the north where the preliminary ritual took place. The prayer-sticks were grouped as follows:

1. Eight sticks to the dead. See Fig. 1. Stick all black; the feather nearest the tip together with its attached downy feather must be a banded turkey feather, and the next feather, eagle. The other feathers may be from bluejay, flicker, oriole, McGillivray's warbler, bluebird. The only type of prayer-stick deposited by women, unless they belong to a society. Two sticks to the war gods. See Fig. 2. Stick all carmine; feathers, erect, eagle, duck, bluejay, pigeon-hawk, night-jar, bluebird; pendent, eagle, duck, bluejay, sparrow-hawk, bluebird. Compare War God Shrines of Laguna and Zuñi, Pl. IV. *American Anthropologist*, N. S., XX.

2. Two sticks to the war gods which were left bound together. Presumably deposited by a bow-priest. The five erect feathers were: eagle, duck, night-jar, flicker, bluejay, all wing feathers; the pendent feathers, eagle, duck, bluejay.

3. Two sticks to the war gods. The five erect feathers were: eagle, duck, sparrow-hawk, flicker, bluebird. On one stick there are no pendent feathers, on the other the pendent feathers are the same as the erect. A white shell bead is strung on the pendent.

4. Two sticks as represented in Figs. 3, 4. Presumably these sticks were deposited by Hompikya who is a member of the Snake-Medicine Society. These sticks (unbarked below erect feathers, yellow above) are of the type deposited on Little Grease Hill, where there is a shrine of the Snake-Medicine Society.

5. Two sticks as represented in Figs. 3, 4. Two sticks to the Ants as represented in Fig. 5, blue, with black butt; the four pendent feathers to one stick were downy eagle, duck, bluebird and one unidentified feather, to the other stick, downy eagle, yellow bird and two unidentified song bird feathers. Feathers and strings stained carmine. Four sticks to the dead as represented in Fig. 1. Four sticks to the *koko* as represented in Fig. 6. These sticks are just like the sticks to the dead except that the feather nearest the butt is always a duck tail feather, bound in reversed.

of the chaparral cock. . . .<sup>44</sup> The scalp-kickers wear in their hair, for four days, prayer-feathers of the chaparral cock. Knowledge and courage come from this bird. . . . At the altar the song is:

ha'ma hama shiwaiyu shiwaiyu waiyu waiyu  
waiyuma haina yuliwa yuliwa hi — — —

They who pass up the meal road, pass under the upraised arms of a Deer clansman and a Bear clansman. [To these clans belong the war-gods]. This passing up the meal road is to secure safety from the enemy.

(5) The scalper and his aunt, and "older brother" and his aunt, deposit their prayer-sticks together, each couple in an ant-hill. The women carry the meal to sprinkle. The men pray. The women, unless past child-bearing, may not speak. . . . The Scalp chief deposits paper-bread in the excavation at the altar, for the ants, and then fills up the excavation with dirt from the mounds on either side.

(6) After the scalp-kickers, on their way into town, follow the scalper and "older brother," the bow-priests' chief, the members of the Ant society, the bow-priests, the Scalp chief group, and then all others present. . . . After the circuits around town, concentric circles are formed in Big plaza, the Scalp chief picks off a bit of scalp and attaches it to the arrow of the bow-priests' chief who proceeds to pass around the innermost circle, running the arrow over the ankles of the men and women he passes, then on a second round above their knees, on a third round at their waist, the fourth round, over their heads. At the completion of each round all wave with cedar bark and spit. In conclusion the bow-priests' chief shoots the arrow to the north, in the direction of the Navaho.

(8) During the first four days in the house of the bow-priests the scalper, his "older brother" and their aunts may not eat meat, salt, or hot food, on the scalper this taboo remains for ten days in all. Scalper and scalp-kickers remain as far from the fireplace as possible. They remove no article of clothing. The men may not

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. p. 29. I suggest that this whole ritual at the Ant altar may be a dramatization of the tale given on pp. 28-29.



smoke. All personal contact is taboo and objects may not be received directly from the hands of another. . . . The men may not speak to the women. During these nights the bow-priests assemble to sing. . . . On the second day, as well as on the fifth and eleventh, four pairs of prayer-sticks are made by each bow-priest, as well as by the scalper, and the day following deposited in ant-hills.

(9) On the fifth day the two choirs called *pupanakwe* and the *hashiya* dance girls begin to practice in the house of the bow-priests. The eight *pupanakwe* are appointed by the bow-priests' chief, to serve for life. . . . Inside each pottery drum are two chaparral cock feathers crossed, and two diagonally crossed pieces of yucca. The drumsticks which date from *hanlipinkia* are in the keeping of the Scalp chief.

(10) The order of the dance parade is: Scalp washers, with bow and arrow and the cedar twig that has been attached to the scalp (see p. 41) in left hand, and arrow in right, bow-priests' chief, scalper and "older brother," bow-priests, the assistant Scalp chief, the *hashiya* dance girls, and two *otailashonakwe* dance girls. . . . This party dances in concentric circles facing each other around the pole on which the scalp has been raised, and prayed at by the Scalp chief. The *otailashonakwe* dance girls dance in and out of the circles. The drummer stands by the pole. . . . The *hashiya* dance on the seventh, eighth and ninth days, the *pumokiakianawe* (hatchet-bearers) on the seventh and ninth days, the *otailashonakwe*, on the eighth and tenth days. On the eleventh day the *hashiya* dance, for the first time wearing their eagle tail headdress, but dancing likewise are the *otailashonakwe* and the *pumokiakianawe*.

(12) On the eleventh day in the room of the Houses chiefs the paramount priests make prayer-sticks. . . . The Houses chief attaches prayer-feathers to the two gourd-water bottles for the water-carriers. . . . Each bow-priest places two prayer-sticks in the girdle of each war-god image. . . .

(13) On the altar, the row of prayer-sticks before Uyuyewi consists of two red sticks for the war-gods and four black sticks for deceased bow-priests: the row of sticks before Matsailema, consists of sticks colored to represent the six directions. . . . The gourd

water-bottles are placed on either side of the fetich of the Houses chiefs. . . . The fetiches (*ponepoyanne*) of the Warrior society are two, each consisting of an ear of corn encircled with seed-filled canes. Of these the trustee is called the keeper of the *pa' ettowe*. . . . .

(15) In the bow-priests' room the bow-priests' chief gives a handful of meal to the scalper and his "older brother" to carry to the war-god image-makers. . . . . On their return from this mission the bow-priests' chief anoints the face of each with a paste made of grease from the prey animals and rattlesnake, and over this the *pekwin* applies the black, "from the beginning," paint, and the corn pollen. The water-carriers have applied a red pigment to the face of each bow-priest, with a line of micaceous hematite across nose and under eyes. The water-carriers themselves have this line of paint on their face. . . . The bow-priest of the Ant society covers the chin, upper lip, end of nose, and forehead of scalper and of his "older brother" with eagle down, with a wreath of eagle down on the crown of the head. Into the mouth of each man the *pekwin* puts an arrowhead not to be removed until the close this day of the ceremony. The quivers carried by the scalper and by his "older brother" contain each six arrows, one for each of the directions. . . . .

(21) When the scalper and his "older brother" carry in the red wafer-bread each is followed by two women. . . . . After the Scalp chief gathers up the wafer bread, the dancers catch at the bread with their mouths. . . . The slabs on which the "aunts," the scalp-kickers, have made this bread, have been at once destroyed.

(22) On clasping each woman by the hand and praying, the drummer raises the hands to her mouth that she may breathe from his hand. . . . The drummer puffs smoke on the drumstick and prays. . . . Bits of food from the supplies given to the choir and to those at the altar are deposited in the baskets by the scalp pole. . . . The arrowheads in the mouths of the scalper and his "older brother" are now removed by the *pekwin* that the men may eat. . . . . What is left of the food is given to any one who wishes to partake.

(28) Four mesas to the north and six to the south are specified as the places in rotation where the war-god images are deposited.

*North*

Tewan kohan onan pänina

Day white road descending

†Hläkĭa†hlona onan pänina

name of a tree road descending

†Hlawol†hlia yällane

Eagle's nest mountain

Kwilli yällane

Twin mountain

*South*

Towa yällane

Corn mountain

Shiäkĭa yällane

Stone sharpener mountain

Opompia yällane

Sack of meal hanging mountain

Keya yällane

Whitewash mountain

Noponia yällane

Face mountain

Uhana yällane

Wool mountain

CHANGES IN THE CEREMONIAL

In the ceremonial of 1891, as in that of 1910, and no doubt in other performances of the ceremony, there was actually no scalp taking. Some ritual fiction to account for the scalp or justify the ceremony seems therefore to have been called for. It was, according to Stevenson, as follows:

(3) Early in the afternoon of the first day, which has been appointed by the bow-priests' chief, the Scalp chief takes a piece of scalp which he divides in two from the Scalp house and carries the pieces to the hillocks about two miles to the north. Here he de-

posits the scalp pieces, placing by each a miniature pottery canteen filled with rain water, and a dipper, given him by the appointed scalper and his "older brother," from the Houses chief. Between both sets of objects the Scalp chief builds a small fire, and around all he sprinkles a circle of meal. Now the scalper and his "older brother" go out to discover the fire, supposed to be the camp fire of the enemy. Each man cuts himself a short juniper twig. One man passes to the right around the meal circle, one to the left, and on opposite sides they draw their bows, each holding the juniper twig in the left hand. Each shoots an arrow into one of the scalp pieces. All the objects are collected, and the men start back. Follows the ceremony at the Ant altar.

(2, 6) etc. The refusal of the aunt of the scalper to serve in the 1921 ceremonial introduced obviously changes which impaired the dual aspect of several rites. The principle of duality was further limited in 1921 by the break-down of the Scalp chief group, there being but one representative instead of four, the Scalp chief assistant and the Scalp chief woman and her assistant lacking, and the failure to assemble two sets of *hashiya* dance girls.

(17,22) In 1891 a set of *hashiya* girls and their choir stood in the southeast corner of Big plaza to alternate with the set in the northwest corner. And one file of dinner-bearing women was directed to the southeast group, and one file to the northwest group. Other gifts besides food, cloth, shawls etc. were thrown down as the arrows were thrown down, in front of the altar, to be given to the *hashiya* girls. These gifts came from the bow-priests. In 1921 these gifts were not made, perhaps because there were so few society members to make them or so few *hashiya* girls to receive them. Possibly, had the gifts been in prospect, more girls would have danced.

(20) Some time in the morning, in the 1891 ceremony the twelve impersonators of the *shalako*, each carrying a spruce bow, appear to dance, and then to pray at the altar and sprinkle meal. Why this dance was omitted in 1921, I do not know. This *shalako* representation in the Scalp dance is of particular interest as bearing upon the warrior character of these kachina.

(23) The priesthood of the Big Shell persists at Zuñi, but the Big Shell itself, the major fetich of the group, has been long since

buried, i.e. put away—to the regret of some of the townspeople at the time of the European War, it would have been so valuable, I was assured, against the Germans. In the 1891 ceremonial, the Big Shell was placed on the altar, midway on the meal line between the foremost fetiches and the upper meal terrace. During the latter part of the afternoon the priest of the Big Shell stooped before it and under the buckskins which were thrown over him as a curtain he blew the shell for rain. As he performed this rite the bow-priests' chiefs stood on either side, whirling the rhombus for the clouds to gather.

(25) Stevenson records that in the final *shohmatowe* ritual the choir were bow-priests. The substitution of Coyote clansmen, maternal kinsmen of the bow-priests' chief, for bow-priests, in 1921, is I think one of the most interesting and instructive of the changes we have considered. It is a conspicuous illustration of the substitution of a group of one type, the clan or rather maternal family within the clan, for a group of another type, the society. Here has been made, under our eyes, the kind of substitution, due to group disintegration, which has been in order no doubt for centuries in the Pueblo ceremonial life and which accounts for the baffling variations from town to town in ceremonial organization, in one place a clan connection performing a function which in another is performed by a society, and vice versa.

This factor of mobilization must contribute greatly to the durability of the ceremonial complex, making it independent of the decay of any particular group. Substitution of one group for another is change, not disintegration. On the other hand such general failure of interest as results in a lack of volunteer performers points to disintegration. To Zuñi conservatives the refusal to serve of the woman slated as scalp-kicker, the non-acceptance of office of such women as were asked to become Scalp chief women and the paucity of the *hashiya* dance girls should be matter of concern.

To the substitution of one group for another and to the failure of popular interest should be added a third factor in ceremonial change, the destruction or disappearance of sacerdotal paraphernalia, particularly if fetichistic, upon which a particular rite depends. When the Big Shell was buried, its ritual, of which blowing the shell was part, passed away.

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