

DIFFERENTIAL PUEBLO SPECIALIZATION IN FETISHES AND SHRINES

FLORENCE HAWLEY ELLIS *

The use of fetishes by Pueblo Indians of the Southwestern United States is noted by most field ethnologists and some archaeologists working in the area, but few go very far with discussion. From what incomplete information we have at present there appears to be group specialization in favored types, although all Pueblos use some types of fetishes for which derivation is clearly the prehistoric Southwest or Mexico. The field needs further investigation, especially by persons working in Pueblo III-Pueblo V materials, dating between A. D. 1000 or 1100 and today. This should include combing collections and reports made in the 19th century as well as later, plus whatever may be gleaned from modern tribesmen whose traditional reticence to speak is being at least slightly ameliorated by acculturation. As a matter of fact, some elderly Pueblo Indians are much interested in examining archaeological finds and providing correct explanation of meaning and usage as a contribution to the known history of their people, though such informants are not discovered in a few weeks' tour of the area.

What we are saying of fetishes also may be said of shrines. Disturbing modern Pueblo shrines is considered a sin by their users, and calling in the F.B.I. to track down molesters who have filched interesting offerings is not unknown. But ancient shrines, unfortunately, usually go unrecognized or undescribed by archaeologists. One may guess that some of the objects recorded as of unknown use may have been fetishes and that other fetishes never were accorded even the honor of transportation to a field camp. Some historic shrines too close to where Spanish or Anglo settlers have built now are abandoned, but others still are used, the offerings being laid within or held over the shrine while prayers are said, but then hidden nearby.

How does one know a fetish? Their types are amazingly varied. Cushing's¹ and Bunzel's² papers and the introductory portion of Ruth Kirk's descriptive "Introduction to Zuni Fetishism",³ though concentrated on Zuni, deal with the subject in terms largely applicable to any of the Pueblo tribes. In the Southwest,

* University of New Mexico.

¹ Cushing, F. A., 1883.

² Bunzel, R. L., 1932.

³ Kirk, R. F., 1943.

where religion and magic interlock, the veneration of sacred objects comprises a large part of Pueblo ceremony. Zuni fetish objects range from the Rain Priests' medicine bundles consisting of reeds filled with water, small images of frogs, etc., and considered of primary importance in the welfare of the people, to "little pebbles, of which almost every man possesses several. . . and to which, because of their peculiar form and color, he imputes magical properties".⁴ A list of fetishes must include lightning stones; polished stone balls to be rolled over the floor during ceremonies in imitation of the sound of thunder; masks, either tribally or personally owned, representing supernaturals; the altars of medicine societies; images of the Beast Gods, owned by organized societies or by individuals; and the "mothers", perfect ears of corn enclosed with feathers and other decorations when made for initiates into religious societies but without decoration when given a child for protection against witches. The "little horse" costume worn by Santiago in the one depiction of a Christian saint as a *kacina* is of this group. There also are personal fetishes or amulets of stone.

The medicine pouch carried by a Pueblo male today is likely to contain a carved stone animal and a natural stone formation resembling an animal, an oval egg-shaped river pebble, a water-worn pebble showing strange lines, a larger peculiarly shaped or weathered concretion, an old stone drill, a prehistoric point or two, a simple anthropomorphic stone fetish carved from soft local quartzite to be used in some curing ceremonies, and a rather similarly-shaped tall "mound" stone of the same material (paralleling the Aztec *Tepictoton*? Anderson and Dibble)⁵ intended to represent one of the sacred directional mountains on which reside the prey animals, the War Gods, and certain specific *kacinas*. A mixture of ground shell and cornmeal, sometimes with bits of turquoise, serves as prayer meal and food for these objects. A similar pouch, supposedly Navajo but possibly Zuni, and so old that the buckskin is disintegrating, contains a well-made bird fetish with bead necklace, a long flake obsidian knife, an old point, a rubbed elongated piece of quartzite, and bits of shell and turquoise.

But these still are not all. As Parsons points out,⁶ the Pueblos are animists and believe that everything one might adapt from nature for use contains spirit and hence "power". From this standpoint she tosses into a group such oddly assorted items as "simulacres of a corn ear, . . . scalp or buckskin taken from an enemy, . . . shield or drum, . . . staff or standard, . . . lightning-riven wood or fire stick or fossilized wood, . . . clay nodule for the kick-ball race, . . . bakestone, . . . crystals or weathered stone, perhaps . . . anything that seems fantastic or unusual to its finder." Obviously, some of these items are more than fetishes and a few shift in major category according to circumstances. For instance, the native cane of religious office, antedating the well-known Spanish and Lincoln canes given to Pueblo governors, is believed to be imbued with power (as in Mexico), as well as symbolizing the official position of the holder. During their

⁴ Bunzel, R. L., 1932, p. 490.

⁵ Anderson, A. J. O. and Dibble, C. E., 1950, pp. 21-22.

⁶ Parsons, E. C., 1939, p. 197.

land claim studies, Laguna permitted me to examine the canes of two former officers, positions which lapsed in the late 19th century after a factional dispute won by the Progressives. The cane of Hachamoni kaiok (Bent Prayer Stick), the legendary Town Chief who led the people south from White House to Laguna and whose staff and title were passed on through succeeding generations of caciques, is a polished slender cherry-wood staff with a neatly fashioned expanded knob head across the face of which is cut an equal-armed cross. This cane represents "all the people". The cane of the Hunt Chief is of similar material and type; it represents "all the animals". By having their heads dipped in cornmeal, both canes receive the feeding due fetishes, even today. Hachamoni kaiok's cane now is only about 2½ feet long (that of the Hunt Chief is 2 feet, 9 inches) because its tip has been burned slightly from time to time so that the charred material could be used as medicine. The canes will be kept forever by a specific family of the Water clan, Hunt Chief's clan (the other cane was consigned to this related family when its proper owners died out), and buried with its last man. The function of both canes, which can be classed only as fetishes, is to provide "power" for the household and the village, and in the case of the one cane, for curing.

It can be said that in form the Pueblos recognize two broad categories of image fetishes, those made by man to receive the tutelary spirit and those, even more important, already existent in nature. The latter are explained as having been persons or animals which were turned to stone in very early times, though their spirits remained alive to serve mankind. One comes across a piece of agate or a concretion which resembles the head of a rabbit; there are the eye, the nostrils, and laid-back ears, and the overall shape is that of a rounded head. Such a form would provide luck in rabbit-hunting. A concretion suggesting the shape of a genital organ is thought to have belonged to some ancient being and to serve as an aid to a young man attempting conquests, or to a young woman hoping to bear male children.⁷ A knobby type of concretion is the embodiment of a mudhead, the sacred clown-fertility figure said by Zuni to have been introduced by her western immigrants (probably about A.D. 1300) but now found in most pueblos. This concretion and the mudhead mask, both, are known as "stone ancients".⁸ Prehistoric carved stone fetishes found on ruins are counted among petrified animal forms and so cherished. Natural representations of living things, or portions of such, are supposed to be presented to a religious society for consecration; they may be "dressed" with arrow point, beads, and even feathers, and are more valuable than carved images. All fetish objects function as a means of getting in touch with the supernatural spirit represented or symbolized because, after consecration, a part of its tutelary spirit resides within the object. Fetishes must be fed periodically and cared for according to rules. Some of the "power" permeates the household of a fetish-owner, a generalized or suffused benefit apart from the specific results for which the fetish is intended.

⁷ Cushing, F. A., 1883, p. 45, fig. 1.

⁸ Kirk, R. F., 1943, p. 5.

If a fetish does not receive the prescribed care, accompanied by learned prayers, it may retaliate with automatic punishment of the household.

Fetish objects protect tribes as well as families. Isleta, without a cacique since the late 19th century, kept that last cacique's official fetishes and other paraphernalia, as well as those of all the Corn groups of the pueblo, locked in the old cacique's "office". To the door came the lesser leaders to make the necessary formal request for permission to "put on" ceremonials, even though none but the fetishes heard that request. In these fetishes lay the power and hence the security of the pueblo. When, one morning, the door was found open and everything gone, the people were frantic with fear. Anything could happen! This fear was even greater than the question of who had taken the objects (never recovered), although considerable suspicion fell onto a native Protestant "preacher" whose efforts to win his people from their Indian ways might have been furthered by removing some of the old ritual objects.

Though the real "power" is believed to come from supernaturals,⁹ everything used in Pueblo religio-magical practices is more or less sacred because the part stands for the whole and the symbol holds some of the essence of that which it represents. A man-made katchina mask carries the essence of the katchina and must be treated with propriety, even if it should be a fake such as that made some years ago from the shell of a thermos jug and decorated with dime-store feathers by a misguided tourist costuming himself for the Santa Fe Fiesta. Indian observers, horrified with the liberty taken with what should be secret and sacred, recognized the inaccuracy of the representation but nevertheless insisted that the mask, which they forcefully appropriated, must be "retired" ceremoniously to their mask house and its spirit thus sent to the home of the katchinas.

One "who has the right" benefits his people by the correct use of religio-magical equipment. But Pueblo religion and magic may be used by and for the individual as well as for the group. He who is not a member of the upper order of some religious society and hence is not classified as priest shaman still is able to acquire good fortune through personal acquisition of fetish objects which symbolize his desires. Similarly, he may go out to a tribally-recognized shrine or to some favorite private spot to deposit an offering and pray that his trip will be safe, his trading lucrative, his hunting successful. Even within this century, compelling, if simple, pictures of what he prays for have been pecked into the face of a nearby boulder, contemporary petroglyphs. Thus the priest and the everyday individual wield some control over nature through naming what they desire in prayers, depicting it, or manipulating objects which represent it.

Everyone knows something of the small animal fetishes, simplified and conventionalized in form, made by prehistoric as well as modern Pueblos and now found in every Southwestern curio shop. (Those available commercially may be old and genuine or, unfortunately, recently produced by whites for Indians or by Indians for whites. Aging them is not so difficult as one might hope). In a pueblo the main collection is in charge of the Hunt Chief, whose

⁹ White, L. A., 1942, p. 342.

duty is to carry on ceremonies, using his society altar and the images in rites to insure the increase of wild animals. A related practice is the burying of clay and even bread dough images of domestic animals in the corrals as an insurance of fecundity. Some say that all images originally were of dough, a custom of native Mexico. At Christmastime, dough or unbaked images of food plants as well as of animals are placed on the church altar so that Jesus may assist the increase. Later they are removed to storerooms, fields, or some spot in the open where native supernaturals will become aware of the suggested need.¹⁰ A set of painted unfired clay models of wild foods, including yucca and cactus fruits, recently was brought in from a cave on Jemez land, and Hopi¹¹ and Zuni¹² are reported to place clay peaches on their altars for the solstice ceremony; Zuni even adds clay images of money and jewelry.

The Hunt Chief, who acts as a native game warden, each year tells the village men where they may hunt so that game will not become depleted in certain locations. (Areas for shepherding were similarly controlled by Pueblos in the historic period). He also provides the paraphernalia and supernaturally-given techniques considered necessary to secure success. Without the aid of a hunting fetish and "power" from the prey animals who likewise kill for their food, a hunter could not expect to obtain large game except through witchcraft. Although often individually owned, when not in use the fetishes should be deposited with Hunt Chief. The Hunt Chief permits each member of the Hunt Society to take one of the prey animal fetishes (mountain lion, bob-cat, wolf, eagle, shrew, and coyote, each associated with one of the six directions) from a jar in which they are kept. The image is carried in a small bag until the hunter approaches his quarry, when he removes it and sucks "power" into himself from its nostrils. After he has made a kill he dips the image into the blood of the heart to feed it. As might be expected, the figure of the mountain lion (with long tail held over his back) is the favorite for hunters of large game, but images of the other animals have use in hunting smaller creatures.

Warriors of the past, as well as hunters, customarily resorted to the power of the prey animals for aid. A mountain lion fetish was owned and carried by each member of the Zuni Bow Priesthood.¹³ Bunzel¹⁴ states that in Zuni the Hunters' Society was at the same time a war society, and we have been told this for the Keresan pueblos and Jemez. When the enemy was slain, the fetish which had provided protection and strength was brought out and fed on his blood. Zia's Knife or Arrow society, which originally aided in warfare and still specializes in curing wounds, uses two large mountain lion fetishes on its altar.

Animal fetishes serve in curing as well as in hunting and war activities. The Keresans explain that in the beginning the Beast Gods lived with the people and were their medicine men at White House, but the animals knew they must

¹⁰ Parsons, E. C., 1932, p. 273; White, L. A., 1932, p. 106 and 1942, pp. 267-70.

¹¹ Parsons, E. C., 1939, p. 317.

¹² Bunzel, R. L., 1932, p. 492.

¹³ Cushing, F. A., 1883, pp. 40-43.

¹⁴ Bunzel, R. L., 1932, p. 528.

leave and so taught certain religious society groups their secrets. A line of meal drawn across the altar permitted the spirit of the supernatural animal to enter his man-made image.¹⁵ In the roster of curing animals, bear replaces coyote and badger replaces wild cat. Curing fetishes are fed on corn meal rather than blood. According to Cushing, in the prayer songs of the Zuni Hunt Society, the animal names are given in "the language of the Rio Grande Indians", which may suggest that the concept of prey animal fetishes moved from east to west, but small animal fetishes existed in prehistoric sites dating before Pueblo IV. Zuni legend credits Poshaianyi (Pushani), the "Montezuma" of the Rio Grande pueblos, with supervision of curing societies. His traits, especially as described at Acoma and Laguna and the statement of his final exodus to Mexico, suggest that he may represent a version of the ill-willed Aztec sorcerer supernatural, Uitzilopochtli¹⁶ who brought hunger, plague and war, but elsewhere, though of magical powers, Poshaianyi is a beneficent culture hero. These may represent two sides of one sorcerer, though in the second case he appears to more closely resemble Quetzalcoatl.

Even as a Hunt Chief keeps a collection of animal fetishes, so a cacique may have a basketful of small stone anthropomorphic fetishes to represent the people of whom he is in charge. What befalls the images is symbolic of what will happen to the populace. Larger images, sometimes termed idols, presumably exist in living pueblos, as a number, including some battered into pieces (supposedly by zealous missionaries) have been found in Pueblo IV sites.¹⁷ The simple mound-shaped Corn Mother fertility figures¹⁸ are known for various pueblos, prehistoric and modern, the main representation (we were told) belonging to each Keresan pueblo being of stone but these of individual families only of unbaked clay. This form is common in Pueblo IV Rio Grande Tewa sites.

Isletans (and probably others) believe that the Hunt Chief takes an arrow point from the mouth of a deer he has "drawn in" by ceremony, but stone points found in the open are used primarily for protection, not for hunting magic. The point, which represents lightning, is believed to appear where lightning has struck.¹⁹ Lightning is the weapon and symbol of the War Gods, "lords of the high places",²⁰ where their many shrines are placed. (For Zuni on all the prominent mountains around their area, as well as on Corn Mountain: Parsons;²¹ for Laguna in a small cave on top of Mt. Taylor: Parsons;²² for Taos the shrine of the Stone Men, on Taos Mountain; for Zia, Santa Ana, and Jemez a cave near the crest of the Sandia Mountains where "a great pile of arrow points" was found on a buffalo hide by a man who stumbled into the shrine by accident

¹⁵ Stevenson, M. C., 1894, p. 72.

¹⁶ Anderson, A. J. O. and Dibble, C. E., 1950, p. 1.

¹⁷ For examples, see Kidder, A. V., 1932.

¹⁸ See Parsons, E. C., 1962, p. 288.

¹⁹ Parsons, E. C., 1932, p. 278.

²⁰ Bunzel, R. L., 1932, p. 525.

²¹ Parsons, E. C., 1939, p. 308.

²² *Ib.*, p. 444.

many years ago; etc.). As the War Gods are patrons of all contests, as well as of combat, arrow points are worn or carried in the mouth by participants for strength in racing or when one goes out at night.²³ They also serve in such rituals as symbolically cutting illness out of a patient.

Some of the Zuni fetishes examined by Ruth Kirk are of the stone types already described, but others are of antler and a few, including spoons with which to dip medicine, of bone. All were equipped with offerings of beads and feathers. The shape of antler tines sometimes is modified slightly to increase their resemblance to some living creature, but many might be classed with those stone forms naturally reminiscent of living things. This emphasis on bone and antler fetishes appears to be peculiarly, though not exclusively, Zunian. So is the custom of keeping most fetishes in special jars (ordinary jars or baskets are used elsewhere), usually fashioned with a hole in one side to permit feeding the object with in. Tied to the jar may be lesser fetishes of stone or antler. Kirk noted fetishes used for initiation into the Hunt Society, for curing, installing Shalako impersonators, insuring propagation, promoting success in warfare, creating desired weather, and helping to secure confessions from witches. There also is the stick twirled to produce new fire in the solstice ceremony. Zuni's use of scrapings from an old unshaped antler fetish for medicine is paralleled by the therapeutic use of scrapings from the cut tine of an antler in San Juan, though the antler there is but one of a pair forming a headdress for the animal dance.

Zuni admits no fetish to be of less age than those made by their people under supernatural supervision and directly after their emergence from the underworld; the oldest presumably were created by the supernaturals themselves some time earlier. The actual age of specimens examined may go back to Pueblo IV (A.D. 1300-1700), the period of all the fetish jars yet seen by anthropologists. As nothing comparable to some of these fetishes nor to their jar homes has come from ancestral ruins of earlier date in the Zuni Valley nor from the St. John's area from which migrants joined the original Zuni Valley inhabitants, one surmises that elaboration in Zuni fetishes and their containers was introduced from somewhere (Mexico?) after A. D. 1300. The Zuni data, and especially the intimate details provided by Kirk's photographs and descriptions of the care and use of the esoteric pieces she examined, suggest either that much has been missed in studies of other living pueblos or that Zuni fetishism has reached a complexity beyond that of the others.

Many of the fetishes Kirk saw had belonged to individuals. When some of the old priest-owners died without leaving trained successors, modern families inheriting the fetish pots feared that what attention they could supply might be unacceptable to the spirits as well as onerous to human beings. [In Hopi "all fetishes" are said to be fed daily.²⁴ Laguna feeds at least some fetishes monthly.] A solution was reached in consigning certain items to kivas and in selling others to a white person, immune to Zuni-oriented spirits. The household from which

²³ *Ib.*, p. 332.

²⁴ *Ib.*, p. 304.

fetishes have been removed is not subject to their future whims. On the other hand, the danger of local social disapprobation and even actual punishment for selling sacred articles —if discovered— is very real. Secrecy in transactions is mandatory.

There are far too many types of fetishes to discuss in one paper;²⁵ we must stop at major categories. The subject of shrines derives directly from that of fetishes. Shrines, in fact, sometimes are no more than overgrown fetishes, occasionally worked to shape but more often natural. Our best example of such man-made images carved from outcropping rock is the pair of mountain lions done in volcanic tuff to make the well-known shrine in the Rito de los Frijoles, traditional home of the Cochiti. A second such pair was carved near some slightly later Cochiti sites on a potrero between Frijoles and their present location. Around the lions is laid a horseshoe-shaped outline of stones, with an opening at the east end. These shrines still are visited.

In one plaza of Koasaiya Zia I, the Pueblo IV ancestral site, is a naturally shaped stone resembling the body of a mountain lion. Red ochre has been applied to its surface. Two slender stones represent front legs, between which ceremonial corn husk cigarettes and prayer sticks are placed as offerings. Another long stone serves as tail. In the south plaza of Zia Pueblo itself are two sacred stones of such importance that recent attempts to put a sewer line into the village were balked, largely because the line would have to disturb these stones in crossing the plaza. Though without representative shape, one symbolizes a mountain lion, the other a warrior spirit.

The Santa Ana kiva fireplace, with sides extended toward the front and a raised rear deflector, is addressed as "Mokaich" (Mountain lion), and permission to pass close in front when crossing the kiva is politely requested of it. In Acoma the kiva fireplace is addressed as "Bear". Santa Ana's mountain lion shrine consists of two "petrified paw prints", supposedly made in early times when the earth was soft on Santa Ana Mesa. Pieces of petrified wood lie beside the prints. Hunters come here to pray for success, but anyone may make prayers for strength at this shrine. Mokaich, "who protects all our people", has a lieutenant, another lion, likewise addressed in ceremonial prayers. A small stone mountain lion image was found only a few inches below the surface of a plaza at Pottery Mound in the Puerco, a Pueblo IV Keresan (Acoma-Laguna) site, the position indicating its placement long after the pueblo had become a ruin.

The mountain lion, whose spirit is associated with war and hunting, is represented in the Hopi Snake ceremony as Mountain Lion Man. The Snake clan is said by Hopi originally to have been of Keresan people from the Navajo Mountain area of northern Arizona; its ceremony pertained particularly to warfare.²⁶

Keresan concern with the mountain lion probably is related to their emphasis on use of petrified wood in shrines for male use. (The women have a few shrines of their own). This fossilized wood symbolizes the War Gods, as at Hopi and

²⁵ See Parsons, E. C., 1939 on Ritual.

²⁶ Fewkes, J. W., 1900, p. 590.

Zuni, and provides protection. The most common shrines of the Keresan tribes and their neighbor, Jemez, apt borrower of Keresan features, consists of a ring of stones opening toward the pueblo or toward the supposed location of the spirit addressed. Any ruined site with associated migration legend should contain a shrine. Veneration of ancestral sites is tied to the belief that something of the spirit of the old people remains in the dust of their bodies and possessions, one of the reasons archaeological excavation in the ash heaps of modern pueblos is forbidden. During land claim work for Zia, one of the elderly ceremonialists showed me a hilltop shrine consisting of a horseshoe shaped outline of stones near one ancestral ruin and remains of two similar shrines, one in each plaza, at another.²⁷ Petrified wood was in all three. Chunks of petrified wood are dressed as warriors and as kachina side dancers, to be placed upon the altar at the time of initiation into the Jemez men's Eagle and Arrow societies,²⁸ which imparts to new members not only the secret of kachina impersonation but also the techniques of warfare. Zia and Santa Ana have petrified wood shrines in the four directions around the periphery of their pueblos, and the hue and cry which arose a few years ago when the chunks were innocently removed as mineral specimens by a rock-hound road construction worker was verification of their sanctity. Elongated bits of petrified wood suspended from short buckskin cords make the rattle worn by an impersonator of the warrior spirit, Tshamahiya (Tcamahia), in one of the Santa Ana war dances, and fringes of the buckskin belts used by members of Oraibi's Snake Society are of petrified wood danglers. Hopi associates fossilized wood with hunting as well as with warfare.²⁹

One of Zia's most important shrines, shared with Jemez, consists of the upper portion of a butte about five miles southwest of the village. Now that men no longer may become Opi (Warrior Society) by taking a scalp, they may acquire the status of Animal Opi, a somewhat lesser substitute, through proper ceremony after killing a bear or a mountain lion or, less commonly, an eagle. Skinning and cutting up must be done ritually. When a bear is brought into the pueblo, there is ritual for beast and killer. Finally, the skull, partially painted with ochre and decorated with lightning symbols, together with offerings of turquoise, shell, and prayer sticks, is placed in one of the many little caves in the band of rimrock just below the crest of the butte shrine. On top of the butte is a stone circle, open to the east, containing pieces of petrified wood. Twice this shrine has been robbed (once by uranium prospectors), and twice I have had a part in returning the items to their owners. Their expression of gratitude was interrupted only by the anxious question as to whether any of the pieces had been desecrated by being touched by a woman. (At least not by me). My advice was that the shrine be moved, as it is outside present reservation boundaries and too far from either pueblo for protection. But the old men insisted that

²⁷ Ellis, F. H., 1956.

²⁸ Parsons, E. C., 1925, pp. 105, 108, fn. 2, 4.

²⁹ Parsons, E. C., 1939, pp. 194, 384.

this was impossible; the location was even more sacrosanct than the contents. Zia's mountain lion skulls are placed in a shrine north of that pueblo.

The probable explanation for use of petrified wood as symbol of the Twin War Gods and consequently of warfare and hunting lies in the old concept that this material is bone from giants killed by the War Gods in mythological times when they were destroying the people. Lava flows, such as those near Laguna, sometimes are said to have been the giants' blood, similarly turned to stone. This concept is only an extension of that covering natural objects picked up as fetishes because they resemble living forms.

Santa Ana recognizes a vulva-shaped stone on Santa Ana Mesa, reminiscent of a shrine on the Hopi salt trail, as a shrine where any pregnant woman who appeals to the female spirit represented may obtain aid. (This spirit will befriend petitioning males as well, but they must pay in offerings). Santa Ana also has a stone about three feet high resembling a bent old woman with her hair in a chongo. It is said to be an elderly Hopi who wearied while traveling with a Santa Ana party and here turned to stone. If one makes her an offering of moccasins, represented by small bits of one's own, the pieces grow into whole moccasins for her use and she reciprocates with good crops. Zia has a similar stone, white, said to represent the Virgin Mary, now synonymous with Mother Earth. San Juan tells of a young man who went in search of his wife, lured away by a kachina. But both man and wife were turned to stone on their return to the pueblo because, like Orpheus, he made the forbidden gesture of looking back at her. All of these stone "bodies" are shrines.

Belief in the "Stone People" is basic to the most common type of Tewa shrine, the *kaiye*. This term, besides referring to a shrine, covers a large group of super natural spirits, including animal patrons of hunting and curing, the War Gods (who were represented for the Tewa by a pair of stone projections resembling human figures perched on the crest of a butte in the Chama Valley until later destroyed), and spirits of personages traditionally involved with the early history and migrations of the people.³⁰ They are closely associated with the *oxubwa*, those cloud beings elsewhere known as kachinas, including spirits of the dead. The Kaiye are represented by carved stone images, but they likewise are symbolized by elongated stones picked up here and there. The most common Tewa shrine consists of a group of these stones, which should include at least one which is white (fig. 1). Until recently, Nambe had in the center of its plaza³¹ a shrine known as the "sand navel middle" (the phrase also used for the underground shrine in the Kiva) representing "the spirit roots of the town", which consisted of a number of the long slim stones. These personified Crook or Broken Prayer-stick Old Man, Shriveled Corn Old Woman, and their children, the Blue Corn Girls, all important in Pueblo mythology. Although they once were with the people, they finally turned to stone and now live beneath the earth.

³⁰ Parsons, E. C., 1929, pp. 63-64, 273.

³¹ Ellis, F. H., 1965.

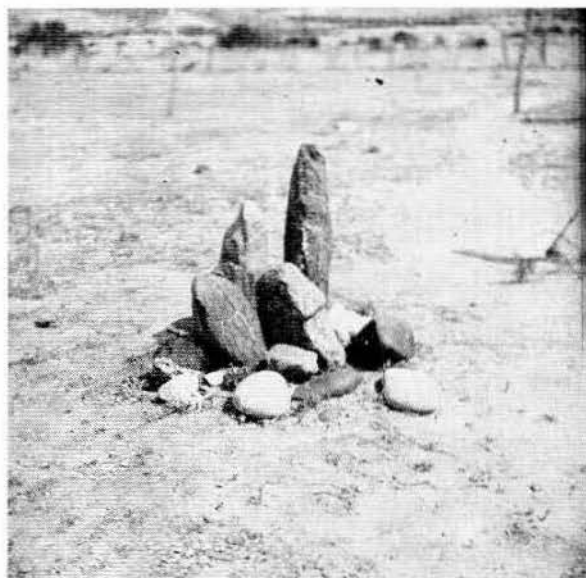


FIG. 1.— Nambe *Kaiye* shrine.

The long *kaiye* stones are classed by Keresans with the celt-shaped prehistoric *tcamahias* as "stone persons", both representing warrior spirits.³²

One of the favorite fetishes used at least from Pueblo III to the present period is the slim rod of banded travertine usually between 1½ and 3 inches long and from ¼ to ½ inches wide, but sometimes appreciably thicker on one end than on the other. Modern Pueblo people sometimes refer to them as "lucky stones". Navajos have elaborated this item to the extent of putting turquoise eyes and mouth in the larger pieces and binding two of these, four small plain rods, and a little horse fetish, onto a bed of colored yarn and feathers. White traders have found the demand sufficient to warrant importing Mexican onyx cut to shape for this use. Laguna, whose old land holdings include a travertine quarry, formerly was a center for its distribution. According to the Navajo statement, the figures with features represent male and female, like the Pueblo prayersticks of wood which they resemble, and the rods represent the four sacred mountains. Here is the *kaiye* in miniature, the elongated stones actually symbolizing spirit "stone people" who inhabit sacred directional mountains in Pueblo concept, and in the borrowed Navajo parallel.

Kaiye shrines exist at short distances outside Nambe and other Tewa pueblos and near their old sites. The stones never should be moved, but increasing traffic through the Nambe plaza finally made it advisable to relocate their major shrine which then was placed on the roof of the nearest house. Prayer sticks rarely are made by the Tewa and not at all by northern Tiwa; the most common offering at *kaiye* shrines is a sprinkling of corn meal, though feathers are placed there at special times.

³² See Ellis, F. H., 1967.



FIG. 2.—San Juan fetish basket.

Tewa men go to pray at the village *kaiyes*, but women have their own *kaiyes*, which they must feed, at home. In the household storeroom is a fetish basket or jar (without special characteristics) containing oddly shaped or colored stones picked up where found. One such basket from San Juan (fig. 2) was filled with two peculiarly shaped concretions, a large flat river pebble showing use for floor polishing and a rectangular pecking stone (the two probably from a ruin and thought to carry something of a spirit of ancestors), a chunk of petrified wood about 4 inches long, and the headless, legless, wooden body of the horse ridden by Santiago in what was a composite New Mexico—made bulto. Santiago is thought by the Pueblos to have been born in New Mexico (Zia, Santa Ana, and Jemez say that he was born in one of the small volcanic craters, a shrine, on the mesa west of Albuquerque) and to have done various things for the people before riding off into the sky. He is, thus, dear to the people and any part of his santo-figure would hold "power".

When Tewas do not feel well or need strength, they go into the storeroom and rub themselves with the fetish stones. Properly oriented visitors, if present, do the same. Large interestingly shaped stones (small boulders) have been moved to the door yards of some San Juan families so that a hunter may rub against them for power before starting his trip.

The Tewa, as well as Keresans, favored the hilltop shrine outlined by a line of stones laid in horseshoe shape, open toward the east or toward the village, a point which recalls Mexican and Middle American use of hilltop shrines. (In Guatemala every mountain is sacred and has its shrine, but those on volcanoes and the highest peaks are reserved for the visits of ceremonialists.³³ The east,

to the Pueblos and the peoples farther south, was identified as the direction of life, the sacred Sun, and "brave and fortunate omens".³⁴

Related to Pueblo hilltop shrines are their more spectacular chimney rock shrines. Until early in the Twentieth century, the Acoma religious hierarchy made annual pilgrimages to deposit prayer offerings at Jackson Butte (just off Highway 666 in the Southwestern corner of Colorado) which guards the old foot trail entrance to Mesa Verde (fig. 3), where, they claim, some part of their ancestors once lived. A similar formation a few miles southeast of Acoma (fig. 4) continues to serve as a major shrine. Taos elders are equally specific in their identification of the chimney rock on the Piedra as a shrine formerly used by a segment of their people who dwelt in the area before moving to the Rio Grande. The volcanic plug against which the Santa Anas built their farm village of Ranchitos is one of their major shrine areas today.

Use of cave shrines, secret to all but the upper order of members, is a pronounced trait of Pueblo religious societies (medicine, weather, fertility). Other people of the tribe are given the approximate location so that they may stay away. All springs are considered sacred, but different pueblos have selected certain caves and small bodies of water to represent Shipap, the opening (a sort of birth canal?) through which their ancestors came out of the underworld where Earth Mother, the Stone People, and the dead still reside. The sipapu,

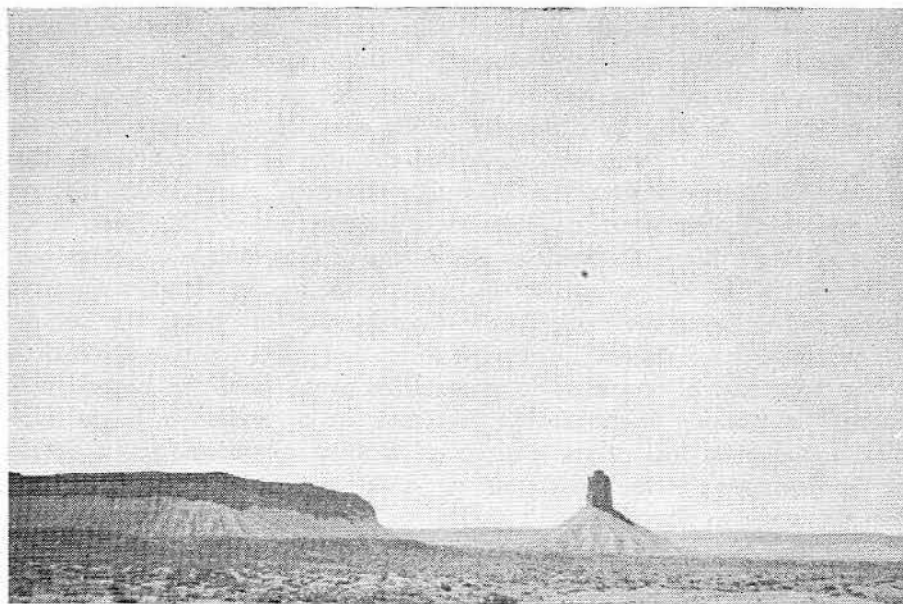


FIG. 3.—Jackson Butte, Colorado shrine.

³³ Bunzel, R. L., 1952, p. 17.

³⁴ Burland, C. A., 1953, p. 22.

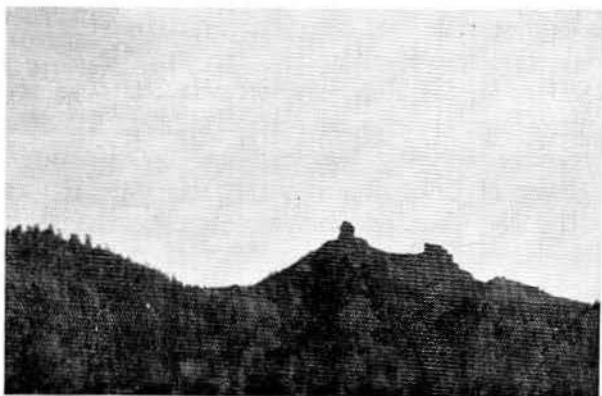


FIG. 4.—Taos shrine: Chimney Rock near Piedra, Colorado.

that hole in the floor of prehistoric kivas and even of Basket Maker III pit houses, is a small-scale representation of the opening to this underworld, a sort of speaking-tube through which man has attempted communication with the supernaturals since about A.D. 700. The small sipapu, like the cave, is a shrine. In the modern Santa Ana kiva, the sipapu lies just in front of the fireplace referred to as Mokaich, the mountain lion. Although usually kept covered with a stone slab for safety, at the Winter Solstice ceremony the sipapu is uncovered for all to see. The matter is explained to Mokaich and his permission requested so that some of the crowd may sit on the bench-rim of the fireplace, much closer to the sipapu than ordinarily permitted. The sipapu, indeed, was so important to the historic Pueblo people that when Christianity was urged upon them, some managed to incorporate the symbolic hole into their newest ceremonial building. Zia has one in the clay floor midway of the nave of her 17th century adobe church, and Santa Ana still has one behind the altar of her early 18th century structure. As Madsen³⁵ found in Mexico, among the Pueblos the supposedly overthrown old native pantheon lives on under new names: the Earth or Corn Mother as Virgin Mary, the spirit of the Above as God, and Santiago as one of the katchinas. While incense rises to the heavens, the sipapu transmits the prayers of priest and native to the Stone People, Corn Mother, and katchinas below.

If we are to trace the development of shrine and fetish concepts through time, the best approach, of course, is to proceed backward from the historic period. Jeançon,³⁶ in working at the Pueblo IV Tewa site of Poshuinge in the Chama Valley, found on a mesa three quarters of a miles southeast from the village what he designated as the middle or world shrine. This forty foot circle with opening passage to the east had eight minor shrines at its periphery, those at the north and the south being small squares and that to the west a triangle. Halfway between each of these point markers was a small circle. (One is vaguely reminded of the Mexican calendar stone). Details of use given by a Santa Clara workman are not entirely convincing. Though the explanation that ceremonies

³⁵ Madsen, W., 1960.

³⁶ Jeançon, J. A., 1923, pp. 70-73.

for rain were done here in times of extreme drought sounds plausible, the circle open to the east and with divisions marked appears more probably to have been involved with the important solstice ceremonies. An altar of this type with raised encircling ridge of clay marked in four divisions is known for a ceremonial room in Santa Clara pueblo and in a similar room in the Pueblo IV Tewa site of Sapawe.

Jeançon found cardinal point shrines in the four directions out from Poshuinge, each entered by a pathway marked by a double row of stones, and such directional shrines are known for other Tewa ruins as well as for the modern Tewa towns.

Jeançon's informant³⁷ (who himself carried a hematite concretion considered "very good magic") was sure that the numerous calcite crystals, pieces of selenite, hematite concretions, and many other mineral specimens excavated at Poshuinge were fetishes, and we have been given similar explanations by the man of San Juan. A person with one in his purse would find his money increased. A warrior who went into battle with such a stone in his mouth would be brave, and a runner strong. A fetish of gypsum carved into a shape which Jeançon did not recognize³⁸ appears to us to represent either an enlarged olivella or possibly a conch shell. Such a shell shape in partially fired pottery was found with a considerable number of other ceremonial objects arranged on a mat along the edge of a first floor storeroom in Sapawe, another Chama site of the same period as Poshuinge and similarly deserted in haste (Ellis, Field Notes). Kidder³⁹ illustrates a shell form of white limestone from Pecos, and a conch shell fashioned from soft white stone was found in Pottery Mound. Jeançon also found a double peaked stone,⁴⁰ a crude pottery female figurine, and some lightning stones of quartzite. The first was explained at Santa Clara as representing the Koshare headdress (which would take this supernatural back to Pueblo IV), the second as a maternity fetish (which one of the women promptly appropriated for her own temporary use), and the third as a piece of equipment important for rain ceremonies. At Santa Clara, he was told, a drum was beaten to represent thunder while the lightning stone, a smooth short cylinder, was rapidly rubbed against a shallow grooved stone of the same material. The resulting incandescent glow represented—and so produced—lightning. This Tewa technique in imitative magic is reported for modern Isleta (Tiwa) solstice ceremonies,⁴¹ and for some Cochiti ceremonies but is not known to have been used by other Keresans either in the modern period or in the days of their earlier sites. They are common at old Tewa ruins (including Sapawe) on the Chama, in the Upper Rio Grande (such as at old Pojoaque), and on the Pajarito Plateau.

A simple type of shrine of such broad distribution that it cannot be considered diagnostic of any group is that consisting of nothing but a pile of small undifferentiated stones except, sometimes, for the addition of a few twigs. One is

³⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 65-68.

³⁸ *Ib.*, Plate 56 K.

³⁹ Kidder, A. V., 1932, fig. 67.

⁴⁰ Such as Kidder obtained at Pecos, 1932, fig. 75.

⁴¹ Parsons, E. C., 1932, p. 279.

found in the oldest plaza of Sapawe and in one of the plazas of Zia's Pueblo IV site, Koasaiya I. The type is known on the mesa south of Acoma and on the mesa near Acomita, on Isleta land, on the edge of Canyon de Chelly, and elsewhere in the Southwest. Acoma⁴² explains that when they are traveling past such a spot they pick up a stone, spit on it, and place it on the pile for good luck. The Hopi place a bit of something from their burdens on a pile of stones beside the trail, rub themselves with a bunch of grass, and say a prayer to Masauu, patron of travelers as well as of death, earth, farmers, and even of warfare. The Jemez, the Hopi, and the Navajo place feathered strings in shrines or on a mountain divide as they cross it. The custom reaches even farther than Pueblo country. Similar piles are found on old Yuman trails in western Arizona and eastern California.⁴³ Parsons⁴⁴ calls attention to shrine piles of sticks and small stones in Peru. Such piles are found where trails cross mountain passes in Guatemala. And along today's highways in old Mexico, the tourist often seen small stones laid on the arms or piled at the base of those small crosses placed to mark death by accident. Whether this custom existed in the Southwest before Pueblo IV we cannot yet say.

Shrines of the *kaiye* type, made up of assorted peculiar rocks, are known for Pueblo IV Chama sites, and Dittert⁴⁵ found an excellent example at old Pecos Pueblo where use may have extended into the 19th century. Beneath an undercut outcrop of stone lay 38 rocks which had been waterworn into fanciful shapes, 12 specimens of fossil coral, a fragment of worked phyllite, and three small fragments of petrified wood. Kidder⁴⁶ found a shrine of waterworn rocks at Forked Lightning Ruin on a hill opposite Pecos Pueblo. They had been deposited after abandonment of the ruin, probably by people of Pecos. He reports a number of carefully assembled caches of similar strangely shaped stones, some associated with anthropomorphic stone figures, in rooms, kivas, and the plaza of Pecos, and B. T. Ellis uncovered a neat collection of slender stones of typical *kaiye* type, like the unworked *tcamahias*, sealed inside a closed kiva wall niche. Some of these may have served as "kiva bells", pairs of thin stones, the one to be tapped by the other as an accompaniment to certain ceremonial songs.

Dittert's surmise that *kaiye* shrines were not used before Pueblo IV probably is contraverted by three noted some years ago on Pueblo III Roosevelt Black-on-White sites in the Salado area of central Arizona (Hawley Notes), though it is possible that these could have been placed on ancestral sites by Pueblo IV people. About three quarters of a mile from the eastern edge of the Salt River, near to where it empties into Roosevelt Lake, lies a fairly large ruin with central mound. Some 75 feet northwest of the mound was a shrine outlined with stones set in horseshoe shape. Many of the stones were long and slender, but there were many others of unusual shape and color: concretions, fossils, pieces of cellular

⁴² White, L. A., 1932, p. 125.

⁴³ Rogers, M. J. *et. al.*, 1966.

⁴⁴ Parsons, E. C., 1929, p. 194.

⁴⁵ Dittert, A. E., 1957, pp. 85-91.

⁴⁶ Kidder, A. V., 1932, pp. 86, 104-106.

lava, two stones pierced with holes, and half of one of the Hohokam stone "doughnuts" presumed to have served as weights on digging sticks. In 1923 a very similar shrine (since destroyed by pothunters) was found fifty feet southwest of the large central mound at Site C (Hawley Notes), which is Schmidt's⁴⁷ Spring Creek Ruin. This location is about a quarter of a mile west of the Salt River, above Pinto Creek. The horseshoe outline measured five and a half feet long and four feet across. Over two thirds of the stones here were long and slender. They had been set upright and close together in the earth. Some of the larger stones were ten inches long, about two and one half inches wide, and one and one half inches thick. They projected only an inch or two above the surface and were heavily patinated. Among these upright stones was a large pestle encircled with a groove near one end, so heavy (14 pounds) that it must have been suspended from a low branch when used.

There were two large smoothing stones made with a hand grip, one three inches and one four and one half inches across, for polishing floors or walls, a stone axe, some strangely shaped concretions, a pear-shaped stone, and several spherical stones ranging from two to four inches in diameter. The latter may have been rolled against each other in imitation of thunder, or served as balls for ceremonial shinny, or they could have been merely fetishes.

A third shrine of the same type was seen at Site D (Hawley Notes), one of the four ruins on two long finger hills or benches near the old Livingston Ferry road on the east side of Roosevelt Lake.

Hough⁴⁸ describes prehistoric shrines near Upper Gila ruins as "circular piles of small stones and twigs, like the Masauu shrine of the Hopi", as well as rings of boulders on the tops of mountains and mesas. These contain concretions, weather-worn stones, crystals, and quantities of potsherds. The Pueblo III sites here are related to those of the same period in the Salado and the Pueblo IV sites, at least near Cliff, New Mexico, seem to be those of Salado people who had left their old homes (probably in the 15th century) to re-settle in this more eastern district, from which some of their ancestors may have come. A third type of shrine described by Hough for the Upper Gila is that in which quantities of stone beads, miniature pottery vessels, and, in one case, even the image of a serpent carved of wood and painted, were placed within a spring. This is known to have been a modern Hopi custom and may have been considerably more widespread, for the general Pueblo concept of springs being living things is indicated in their statements of springs having been "planted" by ceremonialists when a group moved.

In archaeological reports fetishes are described much more frequently than shrines. From his Piedra Developmental Pueblo (Pueblo I-II) sites Roberts⁴⁹ retrieved many "objects of stone . . . natural forms . . . curiously shaped stones, bits of fossils, and crystals . . . not a chance assortment picked up around the

⁴⁷ Schmidt, E. F., 1928, p. 277.

⁴⁸ Hough, W., 1907, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Roberts, F. H. H., 1930, pp. 154-55.

diggings [but] . . . found in bowls accompanying burials, a fact which is sufficient to indicate that they represent more than ordinary stones." He suggests that these were fetishes, charms, "or possessed of magical properties of one kind or another". The several unworked crystals found in mortuary bowls may have been used in divination of disease. Medicine men of Isleta, and probably of all of the Pueblos, still wear a crystal hanging from the bearclaw necklace when dressed for ceremonies, though that crystal now may be the glass stopper from a vinegar cruet. Isleta⁵⁰ utilizes crystal divination even for such mundane purposes as locating the "grasshopper chief" in their fields so that he may be removed and all the other grasshoppers follow. Crystals appear on Zuni altars, and Hopi uses them to reflect sunlight through the kiva hatchway onto the sun symbol drawn on the floor-altar. The most exotic description of such use is that for Isleta, where a spot of sunlight is reflected from an opening in the roof onto the floor of the Town Chief's ceremonial house during the summer solstice ceremonial, "drawing down the sun" so that it appears as a very white object which seems to open and shut (probably as the result of slight movements of the refraction) on the floor.

What may one deduce from the scanty but growing data on prehistoric and historic Pueblo shrines and fetishes, apart from the old generalization that the Pueblo people are conservative and slow to change? Their ancestors were interested in magical mineralogy, as is clear from medicine pouches containing stones and other odds and ends even as far back as Basket Maker II, but such homeopathic items hint sparingly at conceptual schemes of the universe. The Isleta sun rite (and several other known Pueblo rites), so reminiscent of those from Central Mexico, undoubtedly came from the south. Knowledge of southwestern shrines covers the periods of Pueblo III to the present. The use of eastern oriented horseshoe-shaped hilltop shrines, the belief in supernaturals inhabiting mountains or their peaks, the making of dough images, and various other traits within the pattern of Pueblo religion are found in Mexico and Central America. Parsons⁵¹ indicated many such scattered similarities. Our point is that the general picture of parallelism resulting from borrowing is becoming increasingly certain for some general complexes as well as for stray traits. Is the importance of the mountain lion in the Southwest related to the importance of the jaguar in Mexico? Pueblo religious societies (medicine, hunting, and warrior) for which the mountain lion is exceedingly important, appear to be considerably older than the katchina cult and that of the plumed serpent, neither of which are known for the Southwest before the 14th century (beginning of Pueblo IV) and which may represent a second strong thrust of Mexican contact and influence. Keresan emphasis on the mountain lion is a clue of some sort, perhaps to greater concern with hunting at one time, perhaps to closer contacts of some sort with Mexico. The emphasis appears to be at least a specialized trait aiding in delineating Keresan culture profile and possibly ancestral locations.

⁵⁰ Parsons, E. C., 1932, p. 314; 1962, pp. 164-65.

⁵¹ Parsons, E. C., 1939, pp. 1016-25.

Historic Keresan emphasis on petrified wood and Tewa emphasis on long slim stones appear as specialized expressions of a single theme, belief in Stone People. How far back this specialization existed remains to be discovered. The considerable concern of Pueblos with these Stone People, possibly helpful supernaturals of the underworld, indicates that the concept is more important than has been realized. Whence came this idea?

One could say that the Pueblos carried a stone cult which probably arose as explanation after the fact, that is, an attempt to account for those stone formations obviously resembling living forms. But another possible background is seen in comparing Southwestern and Mexican original legends. Zuni, Acoma, Laguna, Zia, Santa Ana, and probably the other Keresans, as well as Navajo borrowers—but not yet recorded for Tanoans—include in their legends brief description of four creations or of three or four underworlds occupied before the world we know. Giants in the shape of men and animals inhabited the first world and preyed upon the people. The Twin War Gods, born of the Sun and an earth virgin, finally demolished these monsters. Another set of people was created, but the supernaturals were not pleased with them and cleared the scene by a rain of fire, eventually to be extinguished by the Chakwena katchinas (especially important to Keresans), though not before the skin of these spirits was blackened and their hair frizzled.

The supernaturals tried creation a third time. Laguna indicates that Earth Mother later feared there were too many people and famine would result, so she destroyed them. Santa Ana, Acoma, and some others say that a flood raged until the water spirit could be appeased. Zuni and certain Keresans speak of human sacrifice: two persons walking or being cast into the water, after which it receded. Those Hopis whose ancestors came from southern Arizona tell of the angered Water Serpent thrusting his head up through the earth and so liberating floods which drowned all but a few of the people and animals.

The human beings of today represent the last creation, or those who were saved from the flood by—in most versions—climbing up a plant (type varies) and emerging through the original sipapu opening onto this earth. At first the earth was soft, and it received those prints said to be seen still in the hardened stone. The Zunis, used to living in dampness, had to dry out and to have their webbed fingers and toes slit and their tails cut off—except for a few who escaped to the south and became monkeys. Pueblo ruins and “petrified people”, said to have been seen in those ruins or as stones in the open, are taken as evidence of an earlier creation. Our world, like the others, in its time will be destroyed.

As among the Pueblos, details vary in the several local versions relating Aztec belief in the world having been created and destroyed four (some give five) times before the present world came into existence. Vaillant⁵² gives the official story recorded in the carved designs of the great Calendar Stone for Tenochtitlan, the capital. During the first era, Texcatlipoca, the great god of all

⁵² Vaillant, G. C., 1944, p. 170.

the days, presided,⁵³ but at the end of that time he became the sun and jaguars consumed both the people and the animals of the earth. Quetzalcoatl, the warrior god of the winds, thunder and lightning, and of all knowledge ("all craft works and wisdom"⁵⁴) reigned over the second epoch. His symbols, the plumed or horned serpent and the Morning Star, into which he was transformed after his disappearance from earth,⁵⁵ his wearing of the conical cap, and even the detail of his having a less important twin brother, clearly identifies him with the Pueblos' Elder War God or Sacred Twin. At the end of his epoch, men turned into monkeys and great winds destroyed the earth. The third era, dominated by Tlaloc, the rain god, was concluded by a rain of fire. The Water Goddess presided over the fourth era, which ended with a flood. Men became fish. The fifth period, the present, is controlled by the Sun God; its eventual destruction is to come from an earthquake.⁵⁶

Burland's version⁵⁶ which differs slightly from Vaillant's gives a few more details of importance for Southwestern consideration. The first people were giants, powerful but neglectful of the gods. After 4,008 years a flood covered the earth and all but two who hid in an ahuehuate tree turned into fish. A new race of somewhat stupid wooden creatures peopled the earth in the second period, but after 4,010 years the men turned into monkeys and were consumed by jaguars. A great wind destroyed all else on earth. The only people who escaped were two who hid in a stone. For the next 4,801 years their descendents, the stone men, inhabited the earth. But they were not a success and fire was sent to consume them. The two who escaped in a boat became ancestors of the present human beings.

The Pueblo origin legend obviously is derived from the Mexican, and what might be called the transmigration of souls into fish, animals, or stone, is a shared trait. But, to the Pueblos, the importance of the "Stone People" or animals far outweighs their importance to the Mexicans because the Pueblo pattern of looking to the past for security in authority, precept, and way of life, led them to idealize and imbue with power whatever appeared to stem from that distant past.

The Pueblos, like the Navajo later, were avid borrowers. There were no prehistoric officials to impose a customs embargo on Mexican inventions, but from our little data we are aware of selective reception of the goods. The Pueblos were conservative but so long experienced in picking up second hand clothing that they were adept in cutting the pieces to size. We are just beginning to glimpse some hitherto unrealized variations in tribal cultural garb.

⁵³ Anderson, A. J. O. and Dibble, C. E., 1950, p. 2.

⁵⁴ Anderson, A. J. O. and Dibble, C. E., 1952, p. 13.

⁵⁵ Burland, C. A., 1953, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 7-8.

SUMMARY

Distinctions between Pueblo groups in emphasis upon fetish or shrine types are discernable among the living peoples. Although archaeologists working in the Southwest have done relatively little with such material, there is some evidence that such traits, long perpetuated through the notably conservative practice of religion, could provide leads concerning prehistoric-historic relationships and movements. Some important parallels to Mexican and Central American concepts are becoming increasingly obvious. In reiteration of the concept of early animals and persons remaining alive in spirit though their bodies have turned to stone, we find a class of supernaturals who might be referred to as earth spirits, different from the katchina cloud spirit, somewhat more approachable, and possibly representing an earlier stratum of religious ideas.

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