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On 24th May, by kind invitation of Mr. Henry S. Wellcome, a meeting and reception of the Royal Anthropological Institute was held at the Museum, the invitation being extended to the members of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, who had attended the London meeting of the Society held at the Royal Anthropological Institute that afternoon. Prof. G. Elliot Smith gave a brief account of the magical and medical aspects of the anthropological material. A cordial greeting cabled by Mr. Wellcome from America was read by Captain Malcolm, the curator, and after a vote of thanks to Mr. Wellcome had been moved by Lord Onslow, the Fellows and other guests then inspected the collections. E. N. FALLAIZE.

## America: Religion.

Parsons.

**Witchcraft among the Pueblos: Indian or Spanish?** By Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons. **70**

*Beliefs and Practices.*

In the Zufi origin myth\* a witch pair, male and female, come up from the under worlds after the other people and bring with them two gifts—death to keep the world from being crowded, and corn. The tradition implies that in Zufi opinion witchcraft is magical power which is not necessarily differentiated into good or evil. In fact the supreme Zufi priesthood (the Town chieftaincy or *kyakweamosi*) is associated with witchcraft and the Sun priest (*pekwín*) himself may choose between their rules (*haitoshnawe*) and the rules of the East side priesthood (*pat̄tok ashiwanni*) for his governance. Pauutiwa, the chief of the kachina or mask Spirits, is called in one of his impersonations the *koko* (kachina) witch (*komhatikwi*). "The best men of the pueblo may be witches," I have been told in Laguna, and there, as in Zufi and in other pueblos, charges of witchcraft have been brought against high officials. The Pueblo curing societies work against witchcraft, but there are said to be society practices in black magic as well as in white, particularly among the clown societies. In short, although black magic is plainly distinguished from white magic and the witch is he or she who is habitually engaged in the practice of black magic, witchcraft may be practised by any person or by any group.

There is individualistic practice of witchcraft, but witchcraft also runs in families, and in several towns there is believed to be a society of witches which is organised like any other society, with the same officials, in Zufi terms, with *mosona*, *pekwín*, *pitashiwanni* (chief, crier, guards). Members, it is said at Laguna have to obey the orders of their officers, orders to go out and make people sick. To be initiated the candidate must sacrifice some one, *i.e.* bewitch some one to death. In the instances cited to me at Zufi the sacrificed one has always been a member of the household of the candidate, and this feature occurs also in the Keresan† and Tewan folk-tales of the witch society or witch kiva.‡ group.

In the initiation, the candidate has to go under an arch or bow (Laguna). With him goes the member of the society whose type of animal transformation the candidate chooses for his own, *i.e.* if he wants to be a witch cat he goes under the bow with a witch cat—a variant of the familiar Pueblo pattern of society sponsor or ceremonial father. In Pueblo folk-tales going under a bow or through a ring or hoop to produce a metamorphosis is a common incident. A still more common means of metamorphosis is by putting on the skin of the creature one

\* Parsons, E. C.: "The Origin Myth of Zufi." *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 36; 37-138. 1923.

† *Cp.*, too, Noël Dumarest: "Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico." *Memoirs American Anthropological Assn.*, Vol. VI, No. 3. 1919.

‡ At Laguna and Cochiti the witches are said to assemble in caves in the mountains.

is to be changed into. Analogously in Pueblo folk-tales all the creatures become like people when they take off their skins, or, in the mask ritual, men become kachina spirits when they put on the kachina masks. The use of the bear's paw, the wolf's paw, etc., by the societies is based on another analogous concept. With bear or wolf strength or cunning the Society doctors fight against the witches. The creatures most commonly mentioned for witch transformation are cats, dogs, burros, bears, owls. In Tewa tales the hunter is decoyed by witch deer and rabbit and attacked by witch mountain-lion and eagle. In a Zuñi folk-tale the rain-priest (*shiwanni*) witch changes himself into a butterfly.

Insects are controlled by witches as their agents. They can send caterpillars or grasshoppers to destroy crops, and they can send insects into the body of a victim similarly to destroy it.\* Witches may also "send in" a piece of flesh from a corpse or a shred of funeral cloth or a splinter of bone; any sharp or pointed thing is serviceable, thorn, cactus point, glass, etc. Sending things into the body is the commonest form of witch attack, but, at Zuñi at least, witches may also attack through the ghosts (*ahoppa*) of members of the family they are persecuting. The witch will put into the ground a prayer-stick† for the ghost he is summoning. Then, calling the ghost by name, the witch will bid him draw to himself (*anayalunave*) his living relative. "Hold him back, I want him to go," says the witch, addressing the ghost.

Epidemic is always imputed to witchcraft; but not every individual ailment. The ailment from which recovery is rapid is much less likely to be attributed to a witch than that which is lingering, on and off. A sickness not originally witch-caused may be prolonged or added to by a witch. Tuberculosis, syphilis, dyspepsia, trachoma, are all diseases which lend themselves to the diagnosis of being witch-caused,—I know of some cases of these diseases so reported,—but there is need here for a special case study before any generalisation can be made.

Besides causing sickness, individual and epidemic, and insect plague, witches can control the weather, keeping the rain off‡ or causing wind. At Laguna it is said that the wind may be raised by pulling up a Jamestown weed by the roots. Until the deep hole is filled the winds will blow. A person with a grievance against a kachina rain dancer might do this, unless he preferred to sprinkle a certain red mineral as an offering to the Wind Spirit.

Bewitching is very commonly the result of a grievance, since a witch who feels injured will retaliate. Now as you never know who is a witch, you are always careful not to give offence—unless you are yourself a witch. A reckless attitude towards others, "not caring what you say," seems to be one indication of witchhood. I cannot help but connect the very striking social timidities of the Pueblos with their witchcraft theories. Father Dumarest had the same impression. "Why are the Pueblo Indians so pacific?" he writes. "Why do they not try even to defend themselves in quarrels? Because from their youth their elders have taught§ them that nobody can know the hearts of men. There are witches everywhere." . . .

Envy is a very common motive in witchcraft. For some years before he died Gawire of Laguna, popularly called the Sun shaman (*osach cheani*), was blind, and his sister believed his blindness was due to the envy of other medicine men—Gawire was always so successful in his cures. When Tsatiselu of Zuñi was dying

\* For such use of a centipede see Parsons, E. C.: "Notes on Zuñi," Pt. II, p. 270, No. 2. *Memoirs American Anthropological Assn.*, Vol. IV, No. 4. 1917.

† The regular prayer or feather stick for the dead.

‡ Feathers of the owl and the crow are associated with witchcraft because, I was told at Zuñi, these birds keep away other birds and hence keep away the rain.

§ "Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico," p. 162.

of senile tuberculosis a member of his own *ne'wekwe*, clown society, would come in to visit him. The next morning Tsatiselu would be worse. The visitor was an envious man. A Badger clanswoman of Zuñi told Mrs. Stevenson she believed she had been made sick by a certain one-eyed old woman who was envious of the visits she had been enjoying in a white man's house.\*

The most abusive and the most dreadful charge you can bring against anyone is that of being a witch. In some towns such charges are quite commonly bandied about; although how much colour an accused has to lend it by his behavior in general it is difficult to determine. Besides reckless speech, dishonesty in regard to property, or, still more, the possession of wealth from sources unknown,† and roaming about at night or looking into windows seem to be characters or habits open to suspicion. Lurking at night about the house where a person is sick is particularly questionable, and the house of an invalid will be watched in order to catch the operating witch.

If a witch is caught, I have been told at Zuñi, he will ask his captor not to expose him. He may offer his captor a bribe, perhaps a necklace worth as much as a hundred dollars. But the captor should refuse a bribe because the witch might feel resentful about losing his property and might proceed against his sometime captor or one of his relatives. No, the proper course for the captor is to insist on the witch "making his days," giving himself warning (*vantilaio*) i.e. stating that in, let us say, eight days or even eight months he will kill one of his own relatives.‡ Were the witch not to carry out this vow something fatal would happen to him.

Persons may labor under the suspicion of witchcraft for years without decisive action being taken against them. They are said to be more or less shunned. One night at a dance in Zuñi a woman and her daughter brought in their chairs and placed them next to a woman in front of me, the newcomer saying, "Will it hurt you if I sit down here?" She got no answer, and presently the woman next to her hitched away her seat. Thereupon the newcomer and her daughter took their chairs to the other end of the room. Mother and daughter§ were reputed to be witches. The *shumakwe* society of Zuñi used to meet in the house of their chief, Memechi. In 1911 Memechi was charged with sending a measles epidemic into the town, so the society moved into another house. After Memechi had confessed that he had used his society medicines, confessed, it was said, in order to put an end to the nagging, a kind of degree the bow-priests were subjecting him to, he was expelled from his society.||

Decisive action is taken against witches in case of a public misfortune like an epidemic or a grasshopper plague or a drought. Then some person, either long under suspicion or but freshly suspected, is likely to be tried. In such cases "war captains" or "bow-priests" (the war chiefs of Zuñi) are charged with the detection and prosecution of the witch. Formerly at Zuñi, the suspect, if caught red-handed, was taken to the house of the head "bow-priest" by his captors. Then he was hung by his arms tied behind his back to a projecting beam of the Catholic Church until he confessed. Nowadays, like Memechi, he is "talked to" by the bow-priests. This nagging is felt to be very trying. "Tell them something to get rid of them," Memechi was advised by his own family. Torture by hanging seems not to have been practised outside of Zuñi. At Laguna

\* "The Zuñi Indians," p. 394, XXIII (1901-2). *Annual Report Bureau American Ethnology.*

† For example, a certain member of the council at Taos is reputed a witch since without working he wears good clothes and, an extra touch, "he looks under his eyes."

‡ Or perhaps himself, cf. Stevenson, 394-395.

§ Here was a case of witchcraft in the family.

|| Cf. Stevenson, p. 395.

the war captains were—perhaps still are—expected to shoot at the suspect when he is in his animal shape. This shape will then fall off and the person of the witch be exposed to view. Thereupon the witch will fall sick and in four days will be dead. In several towns stories are current of shooting at a lurking animal to hear next day of somebody in town lying disabled from a wound. In all the pueblos witches under arrangement are said to have at times disappeared. In some cases they may have escaped and lived in exile. Mere suspects have also gone into exile.

In individual cases of bewitchment the curing societies are called upon. The particular doctor is invited by a relative of the invalid to make the cure, invited with the presentation of a package of meal and with the address of "father." "His father" *i.e.* of the invalid, is assisted by society colleagues, who are protected from witch attack in their turn by the "war captains." At Laguna a war captain would be present during the curing ceremonial and with his gun would accompany the doctor in his search for the "heart" \* of the invalid. When a Zuñi doctor goes out to look for what the witch has concealed under the ground or in a tree he, too, is accompanied by two men who may or may not belong to his society and who go to safeguard him. War captains are on guard also at Jemez and probably elsewhere during a cure. At Zuñi two bow-priests are attached theoretically and as far as the reduced number of bow-priests permits, practically to each society, and one of their functions is to protect against witch attack.

The use of arrow points on altars and attached to fetishes is a charm against witchcraft. At Laguna the war captain carries an arrow point in a buckskin bag around his neck. In Sia and Zuñi scalp ceremonial the scalp-taker holds an arrow point in his mouth, and at Laguna men and women going out at night will carry an arrow point in like manner, admittedly a charm against the witches who are abroad at night.

The animal paws which figure on altars are also charms against witches or agents in fighting them. In this turning of the wild animals against the witches who can themselves become wild animals, may be seen the conceptual closeness between witches and medicine-men, of which we have already spoken. The connection appears again in the sucking cure of the medicine-man, he sucking out of the invalid's body what the witch has sent into it.

Ashes are also a charm or prophylactic against witchcraft. "Witches dislike ashes." When the Laguna doctor goes out to look for the heart of the invalid he rubs ashes on his body and the calves of his legs. Ashes are rubbed on the forehead, chin and legs of a new born child, according to one Laguna informant, in the form of a cross. Ashes are also rubbed on a baby's head at Zuñi, and on First Mesa anyone who goes out at night during the "dangerous moon" (December) should rub ashes on his forehead against the witches abroad at this season. In the general Pueblo waving rite of exorcism ashes are commonly used. In a Tewa witchcraft tale when ashes are dropped into the four jars of medicine the witches are brewing to kill the people with, the jars crack, spilling out the medicine.

In all the eastern towns a certain root is burned with which to smoke a patient or his room as witch prophylaxis.

It is believed in Zuñi and Taos, probably elsewhere, that witches can use hair cuttings in their black magic, so hair cuttings are burned or thrown into the river. Even the hair-brush which might have clinging to it some stray hairs is hidden away in a Zuñi house during the Shalako ceremony when there are so many Navako house guests.

\* Which he finds as grains of corn wrapped in cotton cloth. This practice has a superficial resemblance to the European derived practice of making a figure representative of the victim into which cactus points are stuck (*Keres*). See Dumarest, 165.

The following witchcraft cases will illustrate some of the foregoing general observations as well as bring out the motivation of witchcraft practices and certain minor points :—

1. About 1903 there was a grasshopper invasion at Nutria (a farming colony of Zuñi). Philip was accused of sending it. Philip confessed that he had been asked to send it by Nutia, a man whose crops at Zuñi had been poor and who was envious of the good crops of Nutria. According to one informant, a person inimical to the political faction of the rain priesthood of the South, it was this group that supplied the magic Philip used to send the insect pest.

2. The same informant cited another case against the same priesthood. A few years ago they had "fixed medicine" to spoil the fruit trees of a certain person against whom he who applied for the medicine had a grudge.

3. David of Zuñi told me that, a few years ago, during a period when he herded sheep, he was afflicted for a year with a running sore in his back. His family decided to apply to a doctor. The doctor rubbed out from David's backbone a caterpillar, a worm, and a little bit of candy. The insects had been living on the candy, and the discharge was the exuding candy. The case was treated just in time, for as soon as the insects finished eating up the candy they would have gone through to the lungs and eaten them and then it would have been too late for recovery. . . . David's people gave the doctor in advance some meal for the animal spirits of his society, and, after the treatment, the family paid him substantially. David did not join the society . . . . The insects and candy were sent in to David by one of his best friends, said the doctor, as a result of envy. "I will not tell his name," said the doctor (doctors never tell the name of the witch), "but do you think about whom he might be." And so David took thought and found a friend to suspect.

4. One day, some time in 1906, Naiuri, a man who lived at Powati, came in to Laguna and started to call on Tsatsi, a Badger clan woman, the granddaughter of the Zuñi woman who introduced the Badger clan into Laguna. Naiuri went in to Tsatsi's house, a house on the east side of the Middle or plaza, by the back way, going into the dark rear room. As Naiuri entered, he saw hanging across the beam a wolf skin, the paws arranged as moccasins, with tie strings in front. Naiuri was frightened, so he went out to re-enter the house by the front entrance. After his visit he proceeded to tell the war captains of what he had seen. The war captains shot Tsatsi, and she died. Naiuri did not mention the matter to any one until Tsatsi was dead—"Until a witch is dead you must never talk about him, for he will bewitch you," remarked my informant), and even subsequently Naiuri was discreet; it was his wife who told my informant. Even before that, my informant, an elderly lady, had cautioned her daughter against letting Tsatsi ever hold her baby. People had long been suspicious of Tsatsi. She was quarrelsome and reckless in what she said of others. Besides, Tsatsi and her husband, although of poor families, always seemed to have plenty. They were supposed to steal corn at night. Their two married daughters are also regarded as thieves, one thieving in a White family where she was employed, the other in the family at Zuñi into which she married. They were not definitely charged with witchcraft. One of the women, however, was criticised for infidelity to her husband. Tsatsi was herself an illegitimate child, the daughter of a man who begot her on his wife's sister. At the time of her execution Tsatsi held a position of ceremonial distinction: as the Badger clanswoman, she worked for the kachina dancers, her mother's father being cult director.

5. In 1917 a Laguna girl of seventeen returned home from school in Santa Fé suffering from tubercular glands. She was very nervous and acted as if she had been frightened. Her people called in a Hopi doctor resident in Laguna and highly

considered.\* He said that while the girl was at school she had been whipped by order of the matron, that this woman† had two hearts and that her bad heart had followed the girl to Laguna and still frightened her. The girl admitted, for the first time, to the school whipping, showing that the doctor had been clairvoyant.

6. At Zuñi in 1917 a certain girl had two suitors. One gave her a pair of shoes which her father, disapproving of the suit, put into the fire; the other gave her a blanket dress. The girl died. Both suitors have been suspected of causing her death by witchcraft, particularly the shoes-giver because he is the son of a member of the *newekwe* clown society and his father had taught him the *newekwe* ways of black magic, from which even the *ne'mosi*, their chief, is not safe. The last *ne'mosi* had been killed, according to somebody's dream, by a group of *ne'wekwe* who lived in the same household, and gossip has it that the present *ne'mosi* is to die at their hands.

7. A middle-aged Taos man of my acquaintance has told me of two periods in his life when he has considered himself to be a victim of witch persecution. The first time was after his return to Taos from school at Carlyle. He fell sick, "there was something in his chest." His mother told him he was bewitched and advised him to get a certain Ute doctor. He wrote to the Ute agent to send the man. On arriving the Ute doctor sucked out something from the young man's chest "Did you ever see this before?" asked the doctor. Yes, it was something that had belonged to him, that he had carried for his "personal defence." The Ute doctor said, "I will make the man who sent it into you come here, and you must shoot him. He wanted to kill you, you must kill him." But the young man, being a Pueblo young man, was afraid; all he wanted was to get well. He did get well—and the witch lived on.

8. The second story is contemporaneous. For four years now this Carlyle graduate has been suffering from trachoma, which is not trachoma, he believes, but a witch-sent ailment. Did not his wife test the trachoma supposition by deliberately using his towel and basin and not catching the disease thereby disproving the White doctor's diagnosis in favour of her own witchcraft diagnosis?† Her husband is greatly exposed to witchcraft because, as interpreter in Spanish and English, he has had to go to many mixed gatherings and it is at such places that witches have a chance. Since her husband has become a peyote eater§ he has used peyote water as an eye lotion whenever he goes to inter-town gatherings, and his eye is not troubled on these occasions as much as it used to be since peyote is a counter medicine, *i.e.* magic.

9. A Taos folktale, which is given in terms of a personal experience of half a century ago, is about a young man who, after spending the night with his sweetheart, was returning at daybreak to take his turn guarding the townspeople's herd of horses in the meadows of Taos Junction. On the road, as it grew light, he saw ahead of him a big black dog. He galloped to catch up with the dog, which looked back at him and started to run faster. As he was overtaking the dog it sidled off the

\* Foreign doctors are likely to have considerable prestige.

† It is seldom that a white person is charged with witchcraft. Once during a measles epidemic at Zuñi, when the American doctor pointed out that the children were not dying at the boarding school at Black Rock (four miles distant) where they took his medicine, as they were at the pueblo where they were not taking it, the retort to him was that at Black Rock there were no witches because of the presence of so many white people.

‡ This may suggest to white doctors and nurses in their present health campaign in the South-west that it were well to have some knowledge of the "medicine" they are trying to displace.

§ The peyote cult has come into Taos from Oklahoma tribes during the last decade. Recently it has met with such violent opposition within the pueblo that for a time the political secular organisation was disrupted; nobody was willing to be an officer.

road, with its tongue hanging out. He shot at the dog twice and killed him. He went to skin him and inside the skin he found a person. "That's why they say that the people down at San Domingo and Tesuque [the Keres and Tewa, to the south] are witches and have the practice of turning into dogs."\*

(*To be continued.*)

**Britain: Archæology.**

Burchell.

**A further Note on the Knole Park Settlement.** By J. P. T. Burchell. **71**

In MAN last year (July 1926, 72) I re-introduced to the notice of the Institute a prehistoric settlement in Knole Park, Sevenoaks, Kent, where occurs an interesting, and so far as the text-books are concerned, an unorthodox association. The original finds, consisting of polished celts, together with stemmed and barbed arrowheads, were brought to light by our Fellow, Mr. Lewis Abbott, more than thirty years ago. Similar discoveries have been made there by different people at varying intervals since then. The celts have thin butts and pointed-oval sections. According to Scandinavian chronology these celts belong to the pre-Dolmen period, but since the type has been found associated with those of thin butt and square sides, as in the hoard from Bexley Heath, Kent, proof is supplied to the effect that in England they must be considered as having survived well into the Dolmen period. This is likely enough since the celt with thin butt and pointed-oval section was in universal use over Britain at the time the Dolmen influence first made itself felt. Owing to the lack of any practical superiority of the celt with thin butt and square sides over its predecessor, coupled with the fact that the first phase of the Dolmen period was of short duration, the celt with thin butt and pointed-oval section persisted as the type tool of this country. The grave furniture of the second phase of the Dolmen period in Scandinavia, that of the passage-grave, is typified by the celt with thick butt. This form was not adopted in Britain, where celts with thin butt and pointed-oval section continued to flourish, as exemplified by the finds from Seamer Moor, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. It should be mentioned that in the Seamer Moor burial, which was found under a slab in a limestone cairn within what seems to have been a long barrow, there also occurred celts with expanding edges and incurved sides, together with beautifully-worked kite-shaped arrowheads. In the passage-graves of Scandinavia there occur, in addition to the celt with thick butt, narrow-bladed daggers, shaft-hole axes with expanding cutting edges and incurved sides, together with hollow-based arrowheads. At what time and by what means the use of metal reached western and northern Europe are much debated questions; but I submit that some of the artefacts of the passage-grave period, both in England and Scandinavia, are direct copies in flint of then existing metal types employed in more southern lands. The cist period in Britain, the third and final stage of the Dolmen cult, is definitely of the Bronze Age, though in Scandinavia we find the actual use of that metal still deferred; there the celt with thick butt still survived though the daggers had developed broad blades. The Knole Park settlement, by reason of its stemmed and barbed arrowheads, so typical of the *Æneolithic* period, cannot be much earlier in date than the time of the round barrows, the third and final phase of the Dolmen period. The celts with their thin butts and pointed-oval sections show that the settlement was occupied by the direct descendants of the pre-Dolmen inhabitants of these islands, and that they were under the influence of an alien race, as with the dwellers of Bexley Heath before them. I would

\* Parsons MS.