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ZUÑI ANCESTRAL GODS AND MASKS

MATILDA COXE STEVENSON

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I have never discovered that either the Sun God or the Moon Goddess is personified by the Zuñi, although sun and moon symbols occur on many sacred objects. The Twin War-gods are not personified, although crude images of them are carved in wood, and they have their earthly representatives in the Priest of the Bow and his associate. Zoomorphic gods play their part in the medicine societies.

In this brief paper I will confine myself to the creation and classification of the ancestral gods. The genesis of the Zuñi is known to but few outside the priesthood, and it is carefully guarded by them.

In the beginning Awonawilona (Sun Father) and Yäonan (Moon Mother) existed above and Shíwanni (Priest-man) and Shíwano'ka (Priest-woman) existed below. All was *shipololo*—fog or mist. With the breath from his heart Áwonawilona created clouds and the great waters of the world. Then said Shíwanni, "I, too, will create something beautiful and which will give us light at night when our Moon Mother sleeps;" and, spitting into the palm of his left hand, he patted the spittle with the fingers of his right hand and the spittle foamed like yucca suds and then formed into bubbles of many colors, which he blew upward, and created the heavens, and Shíwanni was greatly satisfied.

Then Shíwano^{*}ka (Priest-woman) said, "See what I can do;" and she spit into the palm of her left hand and patted the spittle

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with the fingers of her right hand, and the saliva foamed like yucca suds, and, running over her hand, it spread everywhere, and thus she created Áwitelin^tsita (Earth Mother).

Shíwanni and Shíwano'ka also created the Zuñi, many being born one after the other in rapid succession. Sun Father and Moon Mother always existed; so also Shíwanni and Shíwano'ka.

The Zuñi believe they were created in an innermost world, which they call Áwitäntehula, "Fourth World;" also Ännosientehula, "Blackness-of-soot World." The Sun Father, being aware of their existence, wished to bring them to his presence, so he created two sons—Köwwituma and Wáts+,usi—by impregnating two bits of foam with his beams. After their creation the two joined their Sun Father by throwing meal upward, which formed a road, over which they ascended. The Sun Father provided them with bows from the rainbow, arrows of lightning, and shields of clouds, and bade them go to the Underworld and bring his children to his presence. The two rent the earth with their lightning arrows and descended into Áwitäntehula (Fourth World).

Space will not permit us to relate the experiences of the Twin Sons in the innermost world. The Zuñi were led by them to a world above, which is called Áwishotehula, "Moss World," from a fine moss supposed to have enveloped this world. Again, they ascended to Pän'anula-tehula, "Mud World," and again to Lät'owu-tehula, "Feather World," reference being to the sun's rays penetrating into this world like so many feathers—in fact, the rays are called the sun's feathers; finally they ascended to the Outer World, which they designate as Y'äm'yäto'ka tä'chu än tekohannane u nati 'kanáp'ka, which signifies, "Our Sun Father, we see the light of day and draw in the sacred breath."

Although these people lived in a world of darkness and could not see one another, they had a priesthood for each of the six regions. The Priest of the Zenith was not associated with the Sun Father, for as yet they knew him not. On their coming to this world Wáts+, usi and Kow'wituma desired that a *pekwin* or deputy to the Sun Father be appointed; so they chose Yánowuluha, a man possessed of much wisdom and foresight, and they had him fill the place of Priest of the Zenith; therefore since that time the Priest of the Zenith and the Sun Priest have been one and the same.

When the world was still new to the Zuñi, Wáts+, usi and Kow'wituma organized four societies. These were the Shíwannakwe

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