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ON CERTAIN PERSONAGES

WHO APPEAR IN A

TUSAYAN CEREMONY

By J. WALTER FEWKES

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<i>FEWKES</i>

ON CERTAIN PERSONAGES WHO APPEAR IN A
TUSAYAN CEREMONY.*

BY J. WALTER FEWKES.

In a January celebration known as the Po-wa'-mûh, men disguised as monsters, to which the name Na-tac'-ka(s) is given, appear in the Tusayan pueblos. I have not been able to identify these or to determine what animals they represent, although I am quite confident that they are animistic.

Evidence is accumulating that traces of the same cult are to be found in Old Mexico and in the Tusayan villages. Finding other resemblances between personifications in Tusayan and Nahuatl ceremonials, I seek in this article to use the figures of certain Mexican beings in a comparative way to decipher the significance of the Na-tac'-ka(s).

While in charge of the Hemenway exhibit at Madrid, in 1892-'93, I had occasion to study the colored figures of the paraphernalia of the Coyutl(s) in a rare MS. of Padre Sahagun.† The resemblance between the heads of these figures and the helmets worn by the Na-tac'-ka(s) led me to make tracings of them for future use, and a later study of these tracings seemed to throw light on the determination of whom the Na-tac'-ka(s) represent. As these figures have not been published it has seemed well to reproduce them, and it is thought that they may afford evidence of relationships between Nahua and Tusayan mythologies. My drawings (Pl. I, Figs. 1, 2, 3) of the masks of the Na-tac'-ka(s) are accompanied by a short description of the same. The ceremony of the Po-wa'-mûh in which they are used will be described

*The material used in the preparation of this article was obtained while the author was attached to the Hemenway Expedition, in the summers of 1891-'92.

† Historia Mexicana por Fr. Bernando de Sahagun (libros viii, ix, x, xi) en lengua indigena, con figuras é ilustraciones Manuscrito en fol. perg. de 342 fojas numerados. This MS. was exhibited at the Madrid Exposition (1892-'93) by the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia.



later.* It is the occasion of the renovation of all the Hopi ki-vas, resembling the Nahuatl Ochpaniztli or ceremonial in honor of *Teteoinnan-Tlaçolteotl* or *Toci*, the goddess of the earth.

In order to give an adequate account of the characteristic rites which occur when the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* are personated in the Hopi villages it would be necessary to describe the *Po-wa'-mûh* † or bean-planting ceremony, which occupies several days and in which the personifications of several deities appear. A complete description is reserved for another article, but it may be useful to mention some of the doings of the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* in this observance as a basis for future comparisons.

Before sunrise of the same day *So-yok'-ma-na* had visited the kivas and conversed with the priests. At about noon on the final day of the *Po-wa'-mûh* men personifying *So-yok'-ma-na*, *Ha-hai'-i-wûq-ti*, and five *Na-tac'-ka(s)*, three black and two white, accompanied by two *He-he'-a Ka-tei'-na(s)*, went from house to house in the village of Walpi demanding food. The monsters begged like gluttons, as described in the "Summer Ceremonials," and the two attendant *Ka-tei'-na(s)* carried bags and pouches as receptacles for these gifts. Whenever poor food was offered them *So-yok'-ma-na* whistled and the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* hooted like owls.

Children who had not yet received a flogging, which is ceremonially performed at a certain age by a personage called

*The masks described and figured in this article are kept in darkened secret chambers in Hano, the Tewan Tusayan pueblo, but I have likewise drawings of the *Na-tac'-ka* masks of Walpi, made under more favorable circumstances by Mr. Stephen during the celebration of the *Po-wa'-mûh*. A more detailed description of these and of the dress, accoutrements, and paraphernalia would more appropriately appear in a description of the ceremony mentioned. The Tewans of Hano are more closely akin to Rio Grande villagers than to the Hopi, by whom they are surrounded, so that some care is necessary in building any generalizations upon the character and origin of the ceremonies in which they figure. There is, however, no doubt that the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* are not characteristic of the Tewans, but probably once appeared among all the Pueblos.

†The *Po-wa'-mûh* is a ceremony that occurs in January, in which the renovation or new plastering of all the kivas takes place. It has several points in common with the Ochpaniztli of the Nahuas, the Oena of the Mayas. Possibly it is in part a lustral ceremony—a New Year's observance almost coincident with the return of the *Ka-tei'-na(s)*.

Tuñ-wup-ka-tci-na, during the *Po-wa'-mûh*, were not allowed to look upon the *Na-tac'-ka(s)*, and to prevent this their eyes were shaded by the hands of their mothers.

After the houses had been visited the squad made a tour of the kivas, in each of which the ceremony to the six World Quarter deities * was being celebrated. On their arrival at the hatch or entrance of the kiva a comic dialogue ensued, in which *Ha-hai'-i-wûq-ti* demanded food and the elders in the chamber below refused to give him anything. The hoots of the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* and the whistle of *So-yok'-ma-na* were then heard, and a lariat was lowered into the kiva by the *He-he'-a-ka-tci-na*, to which they found attached upon drawing it up later a sheep-skin and goat-horns.

A description of the masks used in personifications in primitive ceremonials is important, for on them is depicted most of the characteristic symbolism of the deities represented. Masks and accompanying head-dresses are as a rule the distinguishing disguise of the deity, and we can compare those used by different peoples to discover true homologies and to draw conclusions from their similarities. Wrong homologies or fancied likenesses leading to errors naturally occur here as in kindred sciences, nor do intimate resemblances in all instances mean a connection, but true homologies are of greatest value in the discussion of the relationship between ceremonials among people with a similar or identical cult.

By permission of one of the Tewa I was shown into the chamber in which the *Na-tac'-ka* masks are kept, and was secretly permitted to make sketches and a cursory examination of them. The following notes and figures are the results of these studies.

The first set of masks which will be considered are worn by men who personify *Na-tac'-ka(s)*, of which I have examined five—one yellow, two black, and two white. While they resemble each other in general symbolism, there are certain differences in detail and mode of construction which are worthy of mention.†

* The character of this ceremony is outlined in the account *Ni-man'-ka-tci-na*. See *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. II, no. 1.

† The masks are more accurately described as leather helmets, and their projecting mouths vary from two to three feet in length.

The black *Na-tac'-ka* helmet (Pl. I, Fig. 1) reminded me of an alligator's head, but neither of the jaws is movable. The leather of which it is composed is painted black with a mixture of shale and water, the jaws being stiffened by a framework composed of strips of dried gourds or wood. Upon the back of the head are tied the stumps of corn-husks and radiating feathers which project fan-shaped when the mask was in use. On each side of the head is a curved horn* made of a gourd or an ox-horn, extending upward and backward. At its base of attachment is a strip of skin covered with fur and painted yellow. The tip of each horn is painted black and the main portion colored green and girt by a single black band. A small feather is tied near the free end of each horn.

All the five helmets of *Na-tac'-ka* bear horns of similar shape tied in the same position, and in the figurines of the same these appendages are always present. The two eyes of the helmet are each about the size of a large marble, and are made of buckskin, attached to the helmet on top of the head just above the horns. In all the *Na-tac'-ka* helmets these eyeballs are painted black, and have a white zone painted upon them which represents the iris. They are free from the head except at their basal attachment, to which is bound a small tuft of feathers. Midway between the point of junction of the eyes and the helmet there is an arrow-shaped figure painted green which is common to all the helmets. The long, projecting upper and lower jaws are separated by a broad slit forming the mouth, which thus appears partly open. Girding the rim of this slit above and below there is a bright-red band representing the lips. Outside of this band there is a second broader band, painted white, which is common to all the helmets. Downy feathers of the eagle are fastened to this by means of a sticky substance, forming a scanty covering.

On both edges of this band short, stiff, black horse hairs, arranged in rows, are affixed in such a way as to contrast with the white downy zone enclosing them, standing at right angles to the helmet. The teeth of the mask are conical, arranged in single rows in both upper and lower jaws, and project slightly below the lips. These teeth are made of dried corn husks bent into shape by folding. In the interior of the mouth, filling the

*This is not represented on the *Coyull* helmets.

cavity between the right and left lower jaw, is a huge tongue made of leather, painted red. This tongue is not protrusible.

The yellow and white helmets (Pl. I, Figs. 2, 4) are in general form like the black, but somewhat differently made. The white helmet especially differs from the black in the construction of the jaws. The whole helmet is painted white, the eyes and horns being, however, of the same color as the black, and the lips are adorned in the same way. The upper jaw is formed of half of a large gourd, and is fastened to the covering of the head with convex side uppermost. By an ingenious apparatus this gourd is so joined to the leather which forms the head of the helmet as to admit of free movement upon it, and by means of a string is made to open and close. This mask (Fig. 2) is painted with white kaolin and is one of the most striking of the five.

The jaws of the yellow mask, which are also made of split gourds, are more rounded than those of the white and less pointed than the black. It is also smaller than the others.*

In the same chamber with the masks of *Na-tac'-ka* I found also the helmet mask of *Ha'-hai'-i-wüq-ti*.† This personage has some resemblance to *Teteoinnan-Tlaçolteotl* (*Toci*), the goddess of the earth of the Aztecs, and some to *Huehæcoyotl*, the "Old Coyote" of the same. Possibly she may be the same as *Coyotlinahuatl*, the "Coyote Spirit," which, according to Sahagun, was adored by the Amantecans. Her helmet is a simple one of hemispherical shape, painted black. The front portion, however, is white, and the position of the eyes are indicated by two crescent-shaped black marks. On each cheek there is a round red dot. The crescent marks under the eyes are constant features in representations of this personage.

There was also another mask or helmet hanging on the wall which is very different from those which we have described.

*The white, yellow, black, etc., colors may correspond to the cardinal points. We may thus have the *Na-tac'-ka* of the east, etc. I would suggest that the same idea, although possibly not the same correspondence, existed in the Mexican Indians' conception of the different-colored *Coyotl(s)*. This suggestion by no means implies that I am right in my interpretation that the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* are the same as the *Coyotl(s)*. The principle is a far-reaching one throughout the whole mythological system.

† *Na-tac'-ka yü-a-mü*. The *So-yok'-ma-na* or *Na-tac'-ka* maid is also personified in the *Po-wa'-mäh*.

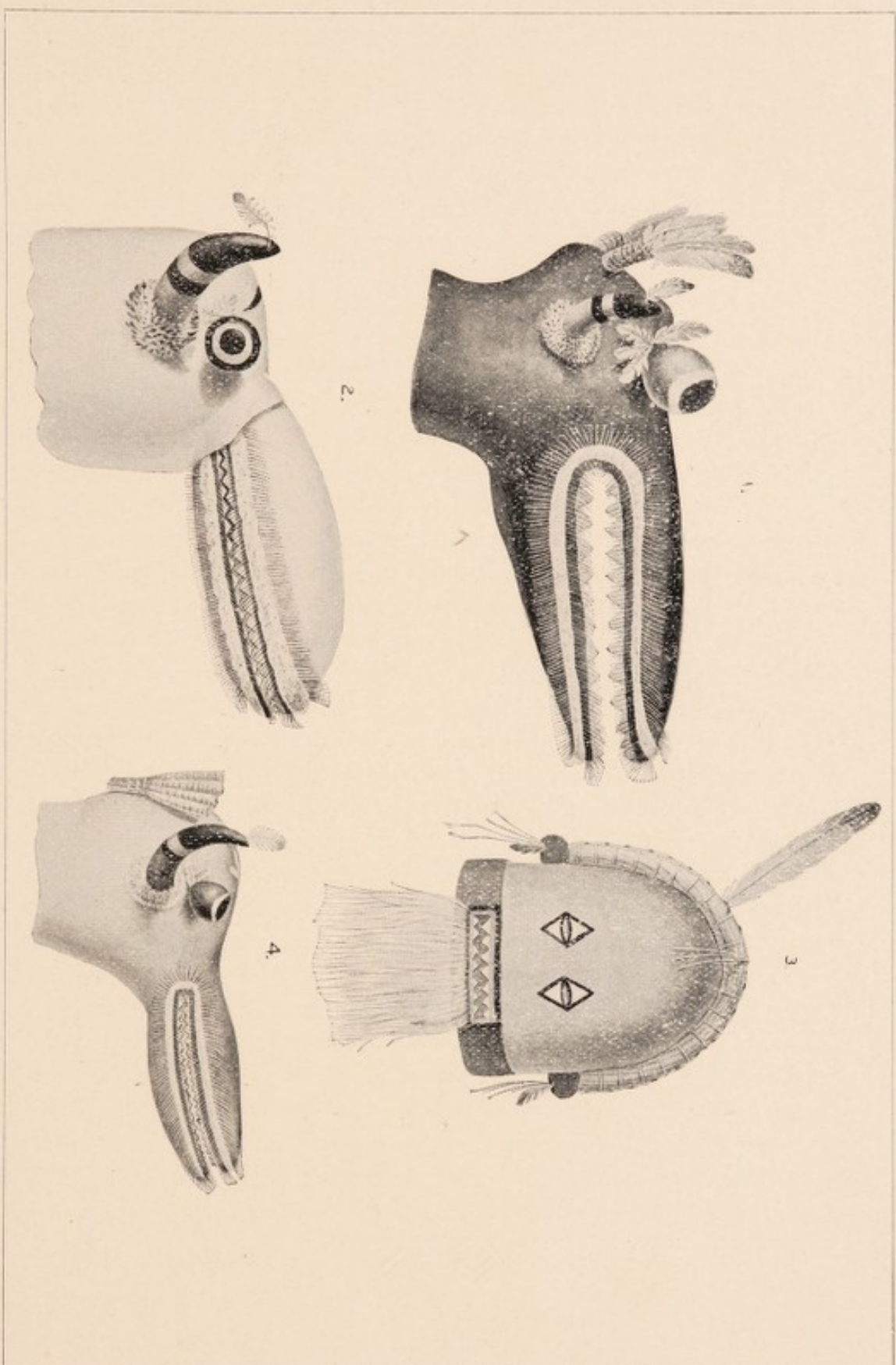



PLATE I.—Masks of Na-tac'-ka(s).



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This helmet (Pl. I, Fig. 3) is worn by a personage, *So-yok'-mā-na* (*Na-tac'-ka-ma-na*), who accompanies the monsters. This helmet is marked by characteristic symbolism. Around the lower rim it has a black band made of leather, in which a broad open region indicates the mouth. The teeth are zigzag notches cut in the leather, and the lips are indicated by a red rectangular band surrounding the teeth. The helmet has a long black beard made of stiff horse-hair. The main portion of the helmet is colored green, without symbolic markings. The eyes are lozenge-shaped figures with black outlines enclosing white interiors in which longitudinal slits indicate the eye openings. Over the top of the helmet is arched a bundle of corn leaves extending from ear to ear. At intervals in this archway are inserted feathers taken from the tail of the eagle, arranged in the shape of a fan. The ears are semicircular blocks of wood, and from them a few pine needles and feathers hang as ear-rings. A pine needle is also appended to the crest of the head.

One of the most important means to study the characters of Hopi mythology is the symbolism of the same which appears in pictographs, on pottery, in figurines, or graven images. The symbolism of the figurines is possibly the most important, since it is the custom of these Indians to introduce in their celebrations ancient wooden and stone images of certain personages who figure in their mythology. These figurines invariably bear the symbolism which characterizes the mythological personages and are invaluable aids to a study of the meaning of such divinities. In addition to these figurines introduced in ceremonies, there are others which have a less sacred character, but are almost identical. These latter, called *tī'-hu(s)* (dolls), present valuable data in a consideration of the subject with which we are dealing.

These wooden images are given to little girls at a ceremony which precedes the Snake dance or the Flute celebration in the month of August.* They are treated by the girls as playthings, being carried about on their backs as the mothers carry their children, and to all intents and purposes are simple objects to play with. These dolls invariably bear the symbolism of different mythological personages called *ka-tci'-nas*, which figure in

* They are also traded among the Hopi at the winter festivals.

the sacred dances. They are in no respect idols, and, as far as I could observe, were not worshipped by children or adults. If, therefore, my theory is a correct one, the dolls among civilized nations are simple survivals of figurines used as idols, and we have among these people a transition stage in which the doll still preserves the symbolic marks characteristic of the idol. Whatever the signification of the figurines may be, they undoubtedly serve as most valuable objects for a study of the symbolism of different personages which figure in the dances, for they are fashioned with more or less skill in imitation of the same, and symbolic markings are rigidly adhered to.

Using these figurines as a means of studying the character and meaning of the masks which we have already described, let us consider first a doll of *Na-tac'-ka*. During my studies at Walpi I purchased a very good doll of this personage, very cleverly carved, with the head bearing all the features described in the masks. The doll is a large one, the body having a slightly stooping posture, and is exceptional in that the arms and head admit of independent movement from the body. The head is painted black and the mouth is prolonged into an elongated snout, armed with rows of teeth indicated by dentations. The lips are painted red and the teeth brown. On either side of the head there arises a horn, black on its tip and girt with green bands. The eyes are raised wooden black balls, each with a white iris. In the middle of the forehead there is painted the green arrow-head, pointing forward. A fan-shaped crest of feathers projects from the back of the head. The body is clad in a miniature buckskin blanket, under which is a kilt of the same material. The lower part of the body is painted white, with vertical red stripes. The right lower leg is yellow and the left green, but the feet are painted red. It will be seen in comparing the description of the mask with that which we have given of the doll of *Na-tac'-ka* that both have all the features of symbolism in common.

Using now a doll of *Ha-hai'-i-wüq-ti* in the same comparative way in which we have considered the doll of *Na-tac'-ka*, we find a similar parallelism between the mask worn by this person and the graven image of the same.

I have studied several dolls referred to this person, *Ha-hai'-i-wüq-ti*, and all agree in symbolism with that of the mask. One of the best specimens in my collection is about three inches

through the body and seven inches in height. The top and back of the head are painted black, and the face is white. On either side of the face there is an ear-like lappet colored red, and a cluster of feathers is tied to the crown of the head. The face is crossed by vertical red lines, representing the hair which is found on the mask of certain dancers. In the middle of each cheek there is a round, red spot, and the eyes and mouth are indicated by a crescent painted black and curving upward, inclosing a round, black spot. In front of the ears on either side of the face a coil of black wool is fastened in imitation of the hair as worn by married women of the villages. The blanket is carved in wood, painted white, with a blue border and alternating broad and narrow parallel red lines on each side. Beneath this carved blanket there is a black undergarment, and the representation of a belt painted yellow and red. The legs are white and the lower part of the foot is black.

In another doll of the same name the general symbolism is identical, but there are several differences in the ornamentation of the blanket. The arms are not represented in any of the dolls of this personage which I have seen, but a number of parallel red lines arranged side by side sometimes make the border of the white blanket. In this case similar parallel lines are also depicted upon the back. The face is always white, but sometimes outlined in red. The crescents forming the eyes and mouth and the red spots on the cheeks are generally present.

Let us now turn to the figures of the Coyutl disguises as drawn by Sahagun.

This writer's figures (Pl. II) represent different-colored skins with attached heads and a human figure (Pl. II, Fig. 1)* clothed in a similar covering. He indicates the name of each by a legend at its side. We know that it was customary in Mexican ceremonials for participants in religious festivals in which animistic gods were represented to disguise themselves in the skins of animals, but very few of these have been preserved. I found what may be an example of this paraphernalia in the Spanish exhibit in the *Exposición Historico-Americana*, preserved in the *Museo Arqueologico** of Madrid. In Plate III a figure of this

* I am indebted to the *Museo Arqueologico* for permission to figure this skin, and to Dr. Nordenskiöld for the photograph of which a drawing is here reproduced.

interesting object is reproduced. Waiving the question as to whether this specimen is ancient or modern,* we can say that in either case it is valuable as showing the disguise of one of these animistic personifications.

There are appended to Sahagun's figures of the Coyutl(s) the following names, to which are added the different colors :

tlapalcoyutl, red, pink.

tlecoyutl, black with red flame-shaped bodies.

tlilticoyutl, brown.

ciltalcoyutl, brown with white spots.

chamolcoyutl, almost black, very dark brown.

xiuhcoyutl, blue with black marks.

iztaccoyutl, white.

In a comparison of these with *Na-tac'-ka* masks the reader is invited to note the following resemblances :

The etymology of the names used by Sahagun to designate them is formed by a union of the Nahuatl word for color as a prefix in many cases, *iztaccoyutl*, white-coyutl, etc. The different *Na-tac'-ka* are designated in the same way. (See nomenclature of *Na-tac'-ka*.) The head of the "*Coyutl(s)*" bears, back of the ears, in Sahagun's figures, an appendage comparable with that borne by *Na-tac'-ka*. The *Coyutl* best figured by Sahagun carries a shield in the left and a war club (?) in the right hand. The *Na-tac'-ka(s)* carry bows and arrows and other weapons.

The structure of the mouth and the form of the snout are similar in the figures of the *Coyutl(s)* which are found in Sahagun, and the same parts in *Na-tac'-ka(s)* in the masks, dolls, or elsewhere. It seems not impossible that the deities or mythological personages represented in both instances are the same. If not derived from each other, it looks as if their resemblances were more than coincidences.

The paraphernalia of the *Na-tac'-ka* differs from that of the *Coyutl(s)* in this respect. The latter, as shown by Sahagun's figures, have a pelt of the animal for a covering for the body as well as a helmet. These are absent in the *Na-tac'-ka(s)*, but it is a remarkable coincidence that the men who personify them

* If modern it is a survival of ancient practices. Some of the figures upon it are ancient in their character.

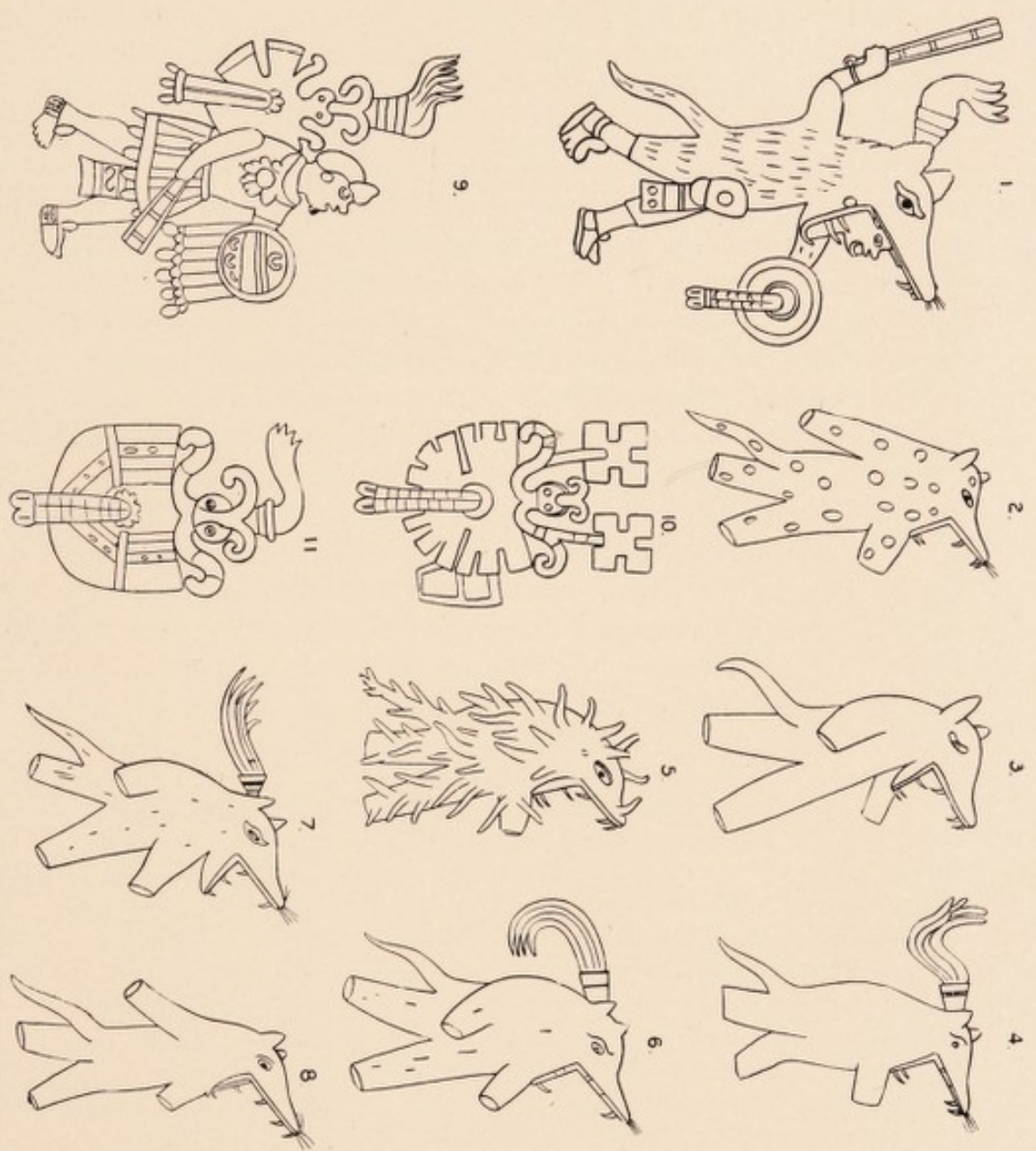


PLATE II.—The Coyutl(s) and Papalotl(s).—After Sahagun.



sometimes fasten, by means of a sticky substance, feathers or cotton to the trunk, legs, and arms. The appendages to the dance costume figured by Sahagun are interesting in this connection.

I interpret the close similarity of the Coyutl(s) of Sahagun and the Na-tac'-ka masks as one of many resemblances between Nahuatl and Hopi ceremonialogy, indicating either that both are derived from a common cult or from each other.*

In this connection Sahagun's figure of a man with a papalotl tablet (Pl. II, Fig. 9) has already been mentioned in the article quoted above. These, like the Coyutl paraphernalia, are likewise of different colors—izpapalotl, çaqua-papalotl, tli-papalotl, and xola-papalotl. The custom of wearing symbolic tablets on the back still survives in Tusayan, but I have never seen a tablet with the butterfly depicted upon it. The Sun tablet of the Hopi † is remotely similar to Sahagun's çaqua-tonatiuh.

The resemblance of this *papalotl*, ‡ butterfly, tablet in its symbolism to that of the *ho-ko'-na* or butterfly of the Tusayan people is close, and the resemblance to the symbolic butterfly found on pottery§ from old Cibola and Tusayan ruins is even greater. The different-colored *papalotl(s)* figured by Sahagun are believed to refer, as also do the *Coyutl(s)*, to the cardinal points.

I would suggest that the different colors used in Sahagun's figures refer to the different world-quarters, of which the Nahuas and the Maya, like the Hopi, probably recognized six. I have made no critical examination of the arguments on the different colors corresponding to the cardinal points, but will refer to

* For other evidence see American Anthropologist, July, 1893.

† See various Tusayan ceremonials, as Mam-zrau'-ti, Na-ac'-nai-ya, etc.

‡ It is quite comprehensible that a symbolic figure of the same animal may have originated independently, and we should expect likenesses in such independently drawn figures, but there are anatomical characteristics seen in the Nahuatl and Hopi symbolic butterfly which do not exist in the genera in the two countries. But the main point in my comparison of the Nahuatl and Hopi ceremonial butterfly is not in the symbolism, but in the fact that a ceremonial or mythological conception of this animal exists in both people. Other nations have the same, and the deification of the butterfly is not peculiar to either Nahuas or Hopi.

§ I have a small food-vessel from Tusayan, upon the outside of which is depicted the butterfly and the snake. The butterfly is sometimes represented on the back of masks and ceremonial helmets.

Schellhas's identifications* based on the Codex Vaticanus and Landa's *Xma kaba kin* ceremony.

Aztec—South, blue; west, green; north, yellow; east, red.

Maya—South, yellow; west, black; north, white; east, red.

The eight Coyutl(s) figured by Sahagun correspond with the Nahuas in two instances, blue and red (?) only. There is, however, a more exact comparison of the colors given by Sahagun with those of the Mayas given by Schellhas.† With the present confusion in relation to colors applied to cardinal points by writers on the Nahuas, it is impossible to definitely refer the different-colored Coyutl(s) of Sahagun to their respective cardinal points. Possibly these people were not as strict in their ceremonial use of colors, as applied to the cardinal points, as the Hopi are, although that fact is no argument against the principle of the use of colors applied to different figures as indicative of direction. A similar uncertainty attaches itself to the use of certain gods and special animals to denote cardinal points‡ among the Mayas, but Rosny finds in the Codex Tr. that the fish is emblematic of the north, the dog (?) of the east, and a species of armadillo of the west.

As we obtain more and more exact notions of the ceremoniology of the Pueblos and related Indians, we bring to light a body of facts which can be used in a comparative way in connection with that described and figured by Sahagun and other Spanish writers on Mexico. We find peoples in New Mexico and Arizona still practicing rites which can at least be compared with those of the Nahuas. Evidences drawn from symbolism alone must be treated with caution, since isolated likenesses go for little; but when these multiply, as they do on all sides, we can use them, or rather we are justified in using them, in tracking the spread of a cult from land to land.

In the preceding pages I have not said that the *Coyutl(s)* are

* See Seler (*Zeit. f. Ethnologie*, 1891, Heft iii, pp. 108, 109) for a different assignment of colors to cardinal points by the Mayas.

† Die Maya-Handschrift der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden, p. 33.

‡ The war-priests at Walpi have the following animals depicted on the four walls of their chamber: North, mountain lion; west, bear; south, wolf; east, wild cat; but these only preside for warriors. This important question must be considered at length elsewhere.

the same as the *Na-tac'-ka(s)*, but have simply compared the symbolism of the two. From the limited knowledge derived from drawings in a MS. it would be too hasty a judgment to superficially compare them and jump at the conclusion that they are identical. Taken in connection with other resemblances between Nahuatl and Hopi culture, it looks as if the likenesses in symbolism may have a deeper meaning than simple coincidences.

Undoubtedly there is a vein of similarity running through the ritual and symbolism of all tribes of the American race; indeed, we might likewise say, between those of all primitive people in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America. I am thoroughly in sympathy with that school of folk-lorists who believe that similar environment, exerting its influence on man in similar stages of culture, produces similar intellectual results; but a reactionary influence may lead upholders of this school too far. It is one thing to form a theory of relationship on individual resemblances in symbolism and quite another to build on a firm foundation of many homologies. Caution would counsel to avoid all comparisons; but the highest science is comparative, and facts are only stepping-stones to deductions. Notwithstanding similarities in mythologies, which, like physical features, belong to all members of the American race, nomadic or sedentary, I believe, like linguistic peculiarities, that they fall into a number of categories, and that the culture of the Pueblos is more closely related to that of the Nahuas than to some others.

Wide variations in the ceremonial observances of aboriginal peoples of related culture are to be expected, and I have already elsewhere shown how the *Ni-man'-ka-tei-na*, for example, varies in three of the Hopi towns. Local variations naturally arise, due to special environment, and I do not feel that it is necessary to find an exact parallelism in all the Nahua and Hopi ceremonials to show that there is a similarity in the cult of those who practice them.*

It will be necessary to reserve an account of the character of the *Na-tac'-ka* until I describe the *Po-wa'-mûh* ceremonial, which occurred in January, 1893. As far as can be learned, the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* were monsters killed by the God of War, *Pû-û-koñ-hoya*,

* Journal of Amer. Eth. and Arch., vol. ii, No. 1.

with the lightning.* They appear in the Pueblos to maintain discipline among children, and no one has yet mentioned to me the coyote as in any way connected with them.

There are several significant differences in symbolism between the *Coyull(s)* and *Na-tac'-ka(s)*. In none of the former are there any representations of horns on the side of the head. The existence of these horns is a strong objection to considering the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* as Coyotes and almost fatal to a theory that the *Coyull(s)* and *Na-tac'-ka(s)* represent the same animals. The other differences are less significant and can readily be explained. If the resemblances of these two sets of personages were the only facts to be quoted in support of a likeness in Nahuatl and Hopi ceremonial systems, we might hesitate to give them more than a passing notice, but when we find that the evidence is cumulative, that they are only one of many, we are justified in giving more careful attention to the resemblances between them.

I have elsewhere† presented evidence, mostly drawn from symbolism, that the cult of the plumed serpent still exists in the Hopi villages, and that there is a resemblance between Quetzalcoatl,‡ Kukulkan, and *Ba'-lü-lü-koñ*. The same cult is likewise found at the present day at Zuñi, where we have the exact equivalent of *Ba'-lü-lü-koñ* in the mythological being called *Ko'-lo-wissi*. That the same likewise once existed or even still survives in the beliefs of other pueblos is very probable.

There is a similarity between certain other mythological personages of the Hopi Pantheon and those of Central America,

*According to one priest, the *Na-tac'-ka(s)*, like the gods of war, are the offspring of the Sun and *Ko'-kyan-wüq-ti*, the Spider woman. They are also called children of *Ha-hai'-i-wüq-ti*. They are said to be monsters and are associated with *Kwa'-to-ko*, the giant eagle; *Wu-ko-teai'-zri-zrü*, the great elk, and *Tca'-re-yo*. The pictograph of the "giant eagle" is given in my article on "Tusayan Pictographs," *Amer. Anthropol.*, Jan., 1892.

† In the same article (*Anthropologist*, July, 1893) attention was called to the identity of ornamentation on a Nahuatl brazier for holding burning copal, and ladles from Cibola and Tusayan ruins. The rasping stick used by the *Ka-tei'-na-ma-na(s)* in their accompaniment to the songs of the dancers is very similar to a femur with notches from Mexico. One of the latter was exhibited in the Madrid Exposition. (See Walter Hough's article, "The Columbian Historical Exposition in Madrid," *Am. Anthropologist*, July, 1893, p. 273.)

‡ As a name of the plume-headed snake, not as a mythical hero-god.

but it is simpler to confine the attention to the explanation of the existence of the Plumed Serpent cult in the Hopi villages. If the existence of this in the pueblos can be demonstrated and its connection with Mexico proven we have taken one step forward in connecting the two systems.

The facts elsewhere presented conclusively prove that the cult exists in Arizona at the present day.

How did this cult come to Tusayan? Was it by barter* or exchange passing from tribe to tribe, or was it brought by migratory clans, refugees to the arid deserts of northeastern Arizona? Among the several peoples that by amalgamation make up the present Hopi stock, are there any who came from peoples of Mexico who were once in contact with or a part of the Nahuatl culture?

It is difficult to satisfactorily answer these questions for several reasons. Mythological conceptions and religious ceremonies may have been facilitated, in their distribution, by prisoners taken in war. One tribe may purchase a ceremony from another, and it may thus be transmitted from one people to another. A simpler answer is more probable. The cult may have been brought by clans in their migrations. Among the different peoples which constitute the Hopi stock,† the water people, insist that their ancestors came from the far away "Red Land of the South." This is, then, possibly the one from which these striking resemblances may have come. The water people, whose descendants still exist and have a high social standing in Walpi, declare that their ancestors came from *Pa-la'-kwa-bi*, the Red Land (*pa'-la*, red; *kwa*, land; *o'-bi*, place of) of the South. This semi-mythical place is far away and in derivations reminds one of Huéhuetlapallan, or the Old Red Land of the Toltecs, to the

* It is related by the Hopi that a delegation of Zuñis once came to Walpi to purchase the Snake-Antelope rites. They brought many presents to barter for it, but the Hopi priests refused to sell it. Mr. Cushing informs me by letter that the Zuñis have a Snake Society, but the Hopi say that this is not the same as their Snake-Antelope Assemblies, although it is of course possible that it may have been the same in times long past.

† I believe it can be demonstrated that the Hopi stock is composite and that the arid plains and lofty mesas of Tusayan have been the asylum of peoples of several stocks. The last addition from the Rio Grande has in fact not yet been amalgamated, although their kindred, the Asa people, long ago lost their identity.

north of the City of Mexico. These water people may then have brought up some element of the *Ba'-lü-lu-koñ* cult from northern Mexico.

The legendary history of the Water People, as given by Mindeleff* from Stephen's notes, is very tantalizing and full of inconsistencies, but there are a few statements about their migrations which are highly suggestive. The cause of their departure from *Pa-la-kwa'-bi* was due to an old man, but *Ba'-lü-lu-koñ* was their friend. He flooded the land, and at one time clothed the Water People in turkey skins that they might escape. It is stated that the Pima and Maricopa Indians are descendants from some women of their people whom they left in their migration toward the north. The cranes assisted the warriors by carrying them on their backs. The glimpses of Mexican legends which crop out in these stories are interesting. Quetzalcoatl is by some held to be a mythic hero-god of the Toltecs, to whom Tezcatlipoca appeared in the guise of an "old man,"† and by whom he was sent on his wanderings to find Tlapallan.

The Aztec war god, Uitzilopochtli, immediately after birth engaged in combat with his brothers, the Centzon-Uitznaua, sons of Coatlicue, and slew them. There is a legend among the Hopi that *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya*, their war god, slew the giants, and that the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* are survivors. The similarity of these myths would seem to associate the god Uitzilopochtli and one of the twin war gods of the Hopi, *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya*; and the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* with the Uitznauas. Seler says (Uitzilopochtli dieu de la guerre des Aztèques, *Séparé*, Paris, 1892, p. 12): "Les Centzon-Uitznaua qui se disposent à attenter aux jours de la déesse, doivent donc être des génies ennemis de la vie de la nature. Cela s'indique dans leur nom Uitznauatl, qui veut dire chose pointue, piquante, tranchante, comme une épine." If the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* are the same as the Uitznauas new light may be thrown on their nature by this interpretation.

*A Study of Pueblo Architecture, Eighth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnology.

† For stories of Titlacahua (Tezcatlipoca) and Quetzalcoatl, see Bancroft's *Native Races*, vol. iii; also Müller's *Amerikanische Urreligionen*. Tezcatlipoca was a war god or hero-god of the Nahuas. His cult was preëminently that of the Aztecs, although that of Quetzalcoatl coexisted with it, the temple of the latter being built near by the greater one of the terrible god of war.



PLATE III.—Disguise used in Mexican ceremonials.



There are several similarities between *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya* and his brother (twin) and the Mexican Uitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca. The symbolism of the Mexican war gods is somewhat different (see Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 8), but "les dieux Tezcatlipoca et Uitzilopochtli se conformant l'un à l'autre très directement." Another name of the former was Telpochtli, which, says Seler, signifies "young." Père Duran designates the ceremony Teotleco, which signifies "the god has come," as the fête of the birth of Uitzilopochtli, which recalls the youth of this personage. The termination *ho'-ya* in *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya* is translated "little" or "young;" (*chi'-ho-ya*, "little boy;" *man'-ho-ya*, "little girl"). The two Aztec gods of war* may correspond with the twins, the little (young) gods of war of the Hopi.

In the Hopi calendar the December ceremonial, *So-ya'-uñ-a*, the return of the *Ka-tei'-na(s)*, like the Mexican Teotleco, the return of the gods led by the war god,† there are most interesting rites performed by the chief of the *Ka-lek'-to-ka*,‡ who is the living representative of *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya*. This fact is significant, but it must be confessed that in the character of *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya* there is only a part of the terrible conception of Uitzilopochtli. He is now like Tetzcaltipoca, while *Ma'-sau-wáh* has some of the attributes of Uitzilopochtli and some of Ixcoāuhqui, the god of fire. In hostilities, as I have elsewhere shown, a priest personifying *Ma'-sau-wáh* is the first to appear; then follows *Kó'-ky-an-wuq-ti*, the spider woman, and then probably *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya*, the little war god.

Cinteotl Itzlacoliuhqui appears in the feast of Ochpaniztli. Cinteotl (corn goddess) was the son of Teteoinnan and Itzlacoliuhqui, the God of Cold, possibly the same as the *Nu-vak'* or snow *Ka-tei'-na* of the Hopi. The terrestrial goddess makes the germs among the Nahuas Tonacacihuatl, who has in that respect an analogy with the Hopi *Mu-i-yiñ-wáh*. The Hopi deity

* I have followed the generally received opinion that Paynalton, the small god of war of the Mexicans, was simply a small, convenient statue, to be carried from place to place in time of war. Several Hopi legends tell of a similar custom in their wanderings of carrying their *poñ'-ya* with them in their migrations, not unlike the manner in which the Ark of the Covenant was carried by the Israelites.

† Tezcatlipoca is repeatedly mentioned as leading the Nahuas in their migrations, just as *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya* has led the Hopi.

‡ The *Ka-lek'-to-ka* are warriors. See Jour. Eth. and Arch., vol. II, no. 1.

Co-tok-i-nuñ-wa, or "heart of the sky," recalls in its meaning the *Quxcalh* which Brasseur translates "Cœur du ciel" (Popul Vuh, pp. 8, 9). There are some likenesses between this Kiche divinity and Itzamna, which in turn recalls Tonacatecutli of the Aztecs (cf. Seler *Caractère des Inscriptions Aztèques et Mayas*, p. 89).

The Limax shell among the Nahuatl is a symbol of sex, and it was believed that as the animal emerges from the shell so the infant is born from the body of the mother. A univalve shell is esteemed by Hopi women to assist in parturition, and fragments of the haliotis are always hung in the middle of the forehead of dolls of *Ca'-li-ko*, the corn goddess, a personage having certain characteristics of Cinteotl of the Mexicans.

In a study of the mythological characters of the Hopi Olympus, care must be exercised not to mistake different names characteristic of attributes which may be applied to the same person. For instance, *Ko'-kyan-wuq'-ti*, the Spider Woman, it is said, can change her form at will, and possibly, if an earth goddess, does so, as shown by names given her. From a study of the few reliable stories which we have, it is not impossible that she and the two earth goddesses, *Mu-i-yiñ'-wáh* and *Ha-hai'-i-wuq'-ti*, are identical just as in Mexican mythology Toci figures under several names. It is quite natural to regard the Germ Goddess and the mother of the *Ka tci'-na(s)* as identical. *Ko'-kyan-wuq'-ti*, in the form of a virgin, was impregnated by the sun through a drop of water, according to a Hopi myth. Have we not here the widely spread legend of the impregnation of the Earth Mother, and is not *Ko'-kyan'-wuq'-ti* but another form of the Earth Goddess? I believe it will be found that such is the case, however stoutly the Hopi priests declare that their three personages are different.*

* In the *Pa'-lü-lü-koñ-ti*, *Ha-hai'-i-wuq'-ti* and *Ca'-li-ko* are both represented (see *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1893): one gives food to the great plumed snake; the other knocks down the corn. Compare in this article the association of the plumed snake effigies and the sun symbols, and the connection of Quetzalcoatl with the sun. If *Ca'-li-ko*, the corn goddess, corresponds with Cinteotl, we would naturally find her associated with earth goddesses, for Cinteotl is by some identified as such. It is suggestive that in initiations an ear of corn is given to the novice as a symbolic representation of mother. The corn is the mother of all initiated persons of the tribe. What more natural than to suppose that the corn divinity is but another name of the all mother, the earth goddess? The identity of *Ca'-li-ko* and the other three earth goddesses is supposititious.

Mr. A. M. Stephen, in his work for the Hemenway Expedition during the last year, has gathered much lore in regard to the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* which is not yet in a condition to be published, but one or two points which are suggestive may be mentioned. Attempts to determine the etymology of the word have thus far failed, and the word is possibly archaic or derived from the language of some other stock. Every new variant of the story of the birth of the little war god reiterates the statement that he and his twin brother were sons of the sun. Comparative folklore teaches the same. Who was their mother? Spider Woman may stand in that relationship, although she is called their grandmother. It is said, however, that Spider Woman can change her form at will, and it is possible that she is simply an earth goddess or the beautiful maid who was impregnated by a drop of water. The mother of the *Na-tac'-ka(s)*, who is also said to be the mother of all *Ka-tci'-na(s)*, is *Ha-hai'-i-wuq-ti*, and the priests likewise recognize *Mu-i-yin'-wuh* as the maker of all germs, the universal mother. I believe that these three personages are in reality the same, and that the reason that stories of them intergrade in such a perplexing way is that they are simply different attributes of a common parent, the earth goddess. If this theory is correct the many variants of the tale of the Mexican war god slaying his brothers corresponds in a remarkable way with the Hopi legend of *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya* and the monsters, the giant elk and *Na-tac'-ka(s)*. The mother of the Mexican war god was an earth goddess who gave birth pathogenetically to Uitzilopochli, who destroyed her rebellious children, the Uitznaues. In the same way *Pü'-ü-koñ-ho-ya*, also miraculously conceived by a maiden, killed the monsters, sons of *Ha-hai'-i-wuq-ti*.

With legendary history exactness in details is impossible, and it is absurd to expect the same people, after they had separated into groups and lived a long time apart, to keep lore which was once the same, unchanged. The many variants of the story of the *Na-tac'-ka(s)* and Uitznaues are no greater than would be expected.

When, as sometimes happens, two chiefs of equal honesty tell the same legend with variations, we are led to conclude that it is impossible to harmonize them without resorting to other means besides human testimony. Legendary history from its

nature is not accurate enough for a basis of scientific knowledge, yet comparative folk-lore may lead to important results. I am convinced, the further I study the Hopi folk-lore, that all theories built on such a shifting sand are too speculative to be accepted as science, for there is no way to prove that a legend has remained the same generation after generation. There is, on the other hand, evidence from the existence of variants that it has changed; but when this is said it does not deny the possibility of arriving at a conclusion by the light of comparative folk-lore.

While, however, it is possible to identify from legendary evidence or from the lore one of the components of the Hopi stock which may have brought the cult of the Plumed Snake from the far South, it must not be supposed that opiolotry did not exist also among the nomadic Northern peoples of Shoshonean and Athapascan stocks. It is of course important to learn whether the cult of the Plumed Serpent was present among these tribes. However this may be, undoubtedly it reached its highest development in Mexico and Central America, and it still survives among the Tusayan villages.*

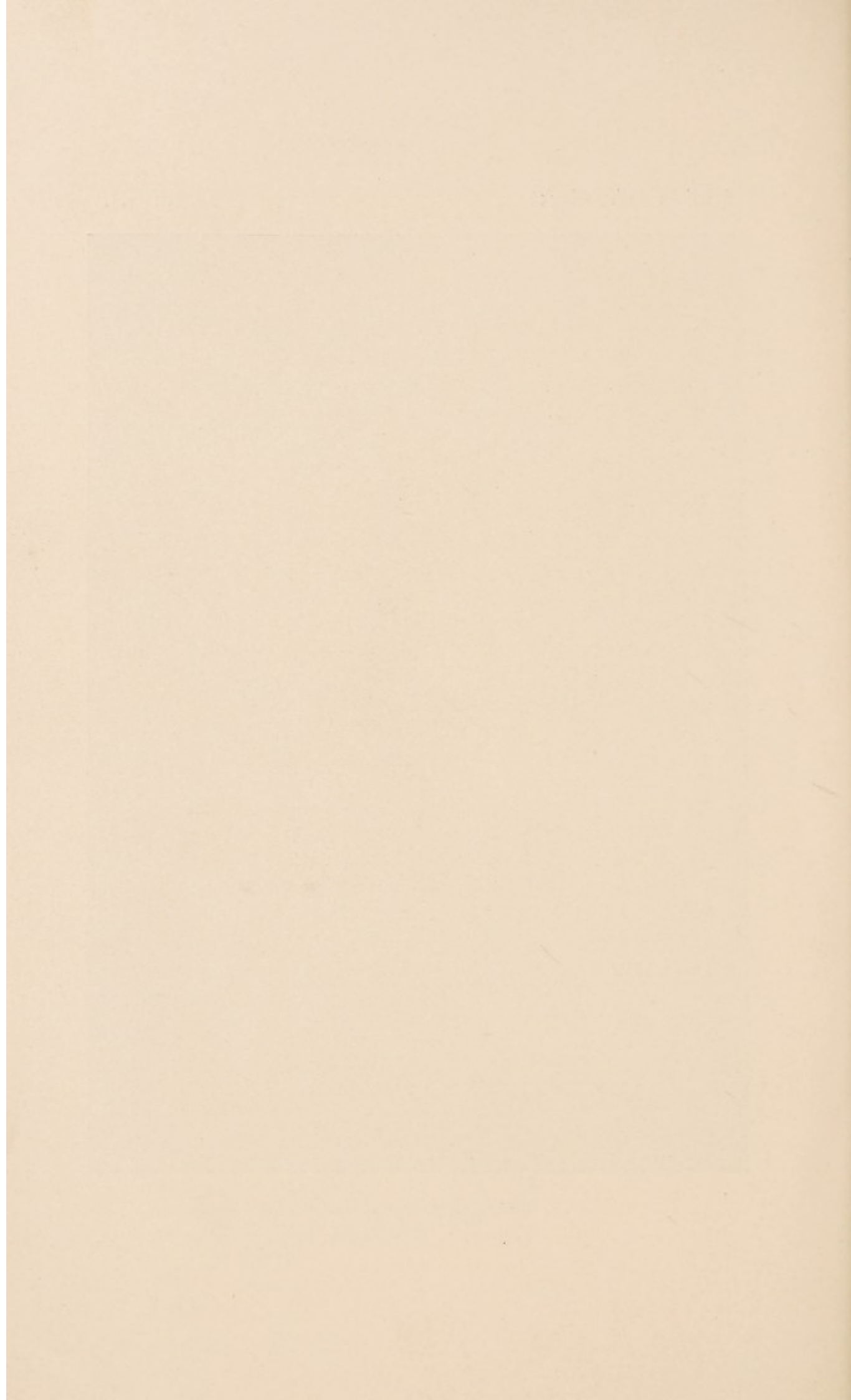
The theory of a kinship between the Pueblos and the Mexican aborigines is as old as their discovery, and in many of the early accounts of the sedentary tribes of New Mexico and Arizona they have been called Aztecs. In the last year, however, it is positively stated † that the village Indians are not Aztec. The truth may lie between these extreme statements. The Hopi are not Aztec any more than some other peoples of Central America which spoke Nahuatl, or than others whose mythologies were closely akin to that of the "Aztecs." They never attain that

*To discuss the distribution of "Snake worship" among the aborigines of North America is a subject large enough to fill an entire volume. It is far from my intention to say that it is limited to Mexico or to our Southwest. Striking similarities in snake worship, whether found in the New or Old World, can be readily indicated. When these similarities are as close as that between *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ* and Quetzalcoatl, and when other resemblances in ceremonials and symbolism are so numerous, we are justified in supposing, even if snake rites existed in Arizona derived from other sources than Mexico, that these likenesses are important. Those of Arizona betray the influences of Central America; and however the resemblance came about, whether by exchange or not, the traces of the same snake cult exist in these two places.

† Without, it must be confessed, any new data.



PLATE IV.—Ha-hai'-i-wūq-ti, Na-tac'-ka and So-yok'-ma-na.



height of culture which is so evident in many Mexican peoples. Their buildings are almost wholly devoid of ornamentation, and, judging from the ruins, never were decorated with figures at all comparable with those of Yucatan. There is no evidence of the existence of glyphs or of an aboriginal literature, but the answer to the question of whether there are not traces of Central American culture in Tusayan is unaffected by these facts. From the ceremonial side there is accumulative evidence that the Hopi system at the present day has stronger affinities with those of Central America than with that of any of the nomadic tribes of North America.

The pueblos are frontier towns* of house-builders, not of nomads, and are peopled by the descendants of colonists from Mexico, mingled with other stocks, by which they have been more or less modified and changed; hence, while comparatively low in the stage of culture, there is still enough to indicate that there are relationships to Central America. It is not improbable that both Mexican and Pueblo cultures originated from a region in northern Mexico, developing, as environment permitted, in its northern and southern homes. The refugees to the province of Tusayan lived under adverse conditions to reach any high degree of culture. They have, no doubt, much in their religious ceremonials, their arts, and their language in common with the nomads; they have intermarried to a limited degree with those of a hostile stock, and symbolism similar to theirs, and stories of like import may be repeated in tribes of widely different modes of life. These were not the only agriculturists; the Indians of the northwest coast were likewise house-builders, but in a very different way; yet with all the similarities which may be pointed out, the Pueblos are still a distinct people among the aborigines of the United States, and

*I take it for granted that the many resemblances between the so-called Cliff-dwellers and the present Pueblos indicate that they are one and the same people and not distinct races, although at different points of contact with nomads the latter have been modified in different ways, leading to linguistic and some other differences. Racially, then, the Cliff-dwellers are the ancestors of those of the Pueblo culture to-day, but whether the Zuñis, Hopi, or Havasupai (Kohoninos) stand nearest in that development to the Cliff-dwellers, future research only can decide.

their closest affinities are with the peoples of the Salado, those of Casas Grandes, and those of Central America, including Mexico. There is need of further observation to demonstrate the truth of this theory, for such only can it be considered at present; but it can hardly be doubted that new researches must lead to important discoveries in this direction.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.—Masks of *Na-tac'-ka(s)*.

- Fig. 1.—Black *Na-tac'-ka*.
- Fig. 2.—White *Na-tac'-ka*.
- Fig. 3.—Yellow *Na-tac'-ka*.
- Fig. 4.—*Wu-yak'-kwa-ti*.

PLATE II.—Disguise of the *Coyull(s)* and *Papalotl(s)* (after Sahagun).

- Fig. 1.—Complete figure of *Coyull*.
- Fig. 2.—*Çiltalcoyull*.
- Fig. 3.—*Tlapalcoyull*.
- Fig. 4.—*Chamolcoyull*.
- Fig. 5.—*Tlecoyull*.
- Fig. 6.—*Iztaccoyull*.
- Fig. 7.—*Xiuhcoyull*.
- Fig. 8.—*Tilticoyull*.
- Fig. 9.—Human figure with *Papalotl* tablet.
- Fig. 10.—*Izpapalotl*.
- Fig. 11.—*Tilpapalotl*.

PLATE III.—Mexican ceremonial dress preserved in the Museo Arqueologico at Madrid.

PLATE IV.—*Ha-hai'-i-wüq-ti*, *Na-tac'-ka* and *So-yok'-ma-na*. (From a photograph kindly loaned by Mr. James Mooney, of the Bureau of Ethnology.)

