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**Contributors**

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# A CENTRAL AMERICAN CEREMONY

WHICH SUGGESTS THE SNAKE DANCE OF  
THE TUSAYAN VILLAGERS

BY

J. WALTER FEWKES

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**A CENTRAL AMERICAN CEREMONY WHICH SUGGESTS  
THE SNAKE DANCE OF THE TUSAYAN VILLAGERS.\***

BY J. WALTER FEWKES.

Certain resemblances, fancied or real, between ceremonials which, according to Spanish historians, were observed by Central American aborigines at the time of their conquest and those which are at present performed in the least modified of the so-called pueblos of our Southwest afford a series of interesting facts which, if they do not point to the kinship of these peoples, may throw light on the study of the comparative ceremoniology of the American race.

For the last two years I have been gathering information preparatory to the publication of a memoir containing observations on the Snake Dance of the Indians of the Hopi (Moki) pueblos. In the preparation of my memoir I have naturally sought among other American tribes for evidences of a similar ceremony and have not been disappointed. It is the purpose of the present article to lay before the reader a few notes which are accompanied with speculations more or less preliminary to a final account, and which it is hoped may be of interest in the discussion of the distribution of the Snake Dance or similar ceremonials. I have also published this article with a view of eliciting from others more and better observations which may add additional evidence of a relationship between widely different peoples, or else show these likenesses to be casual or meaningless coincidences.

Many years ago Padre Sahagun † described a ceremony practiced by the ancient Mexicans, which seems to me to show that they observed a festival comparable with the Hopi Snake Dance. This, taken with other facts which indicate similarity in ceremonial practices, suggests a relationship of great significance. While it is not

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\* This article was written last winter (1892), while the author was in charge of the exhibit of the Hemenway Expedition in the "Histórico-Americana Exposición" in Madrid.

† My attention was called to Sahagun's description by the well-known Mexicanist, Dr. Ed. Seler, of Berlin. At my request Dr. Seler copied the Nahuatl text and sent me a German translation of it, which I have translated into English and with his permission is here published for the first time. He has also copied the figures, and I take great pleasure in thanking both him and Mrs. Seler for their kindness.

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my purpose in this article to discuss the widespread distribution of the Serpent cult among the aborigines of America, I believe that a knowledge of these resemblances has a value in a final interpretation of the meaning of that weird and complicated ceremonial, the Hopi Snake Dance, no less than in the determination of the kinship of peoples who practice these rites. Studied in the light of linguistic\* relationships, the resemblances in ceremonials and mythologies of tribes so widely separated have most important significances.

When I found that Sahagun had described a ceremonial with certain events suggestive of the Hopi Snake Dance, I recognized the necessity of a literal translation of his Indian manuscript, for while it was evident from the Spanish text that the Mexicans formerly celebrated a festival in which snakes were carried in the mouth, exact comparisons could not be made until we had an accurate translation of the text of the more complete unpublished manuscript. Dr. Seler has kindly furnished me a German translation of this precious document, which, it will be seen, is more complete than the Spanish description, and therefore more useful for comparison.

I have in the following pages reprinted Sahagun's Spanish† account, the Indian text of an unpublished manuscript, and Dr. Seler's translation of the latter, in German, which is the best documentary evidence at hand of the character and significance of the ceremonial which we are considering.

The following is the Nahuatl text and German translation kindly made for me by Dr. Seler :

#### NAHUATL TEXT.

1. Auh yn atamalqualiztli.
2. Chicuexiuhtica in mochiuhtivia yn quemmanian ipan yn muchiuaya quecholli, auh anoço quemmanian ipan yn tepilhuitl, muchioaya.
3. Auh chicomilhviti yn neçavaloya, çan tlapactli atamalli in qualoya. Amono chilo, amono yztayo, amono chilo, amo tequixquiyo, amono tenexyo : auh tlatatlaqualoya.
4. auh in aquin amo moçaoaya ynipani in tlamachoya : niman tzacuilitloya.

\* See Buschmann *et al.*; Brinton's "American Race," p. 118 et seq. The resemblance of the name of a Sonoran branch of the Uto-Aztecan stock, Opata, to Ho-pi-tù, a desirable designation for the "Moki," is close, but Mr. Gatschet informs me by letter that the etymology of the two is different.

† I have made use of the copy of Sahagun in the Congressional Library for this quotation.





5. auh cenca ymacaxoyay. in atamalqualiztli.
6. auh yn aquin amo quichioaya yntlacamo yttoya anoço machoya quil-mach xixiyotia.
7. Auh iniquac ilhvitl quiçaya, moteneva, ixnextioaya : ioan atecocol-tioaya, ioan iniquac cenca muchintin mitotiaya yn teteuh : ic mitoaya teuitotiloaya.
8. ioan ixquich vncan valneçia in vitzitzilli, papalutl, in xicotli, in çayoli, in tototl, temolli, tecuitla ololo inipan moquixtiaya, tlaca, inipan valmitotiaya.
9. Auh no cequintin ipan moquixtiaya in cochiztli, in ixocotamalcozqui : ioan totolnacatl inicozqui : ioan ixpan icaca in tonacacuezcomatl tenticac xocotamalli.
10. auh no muchi, vncan valneçia inipan moquixtiaya in motolinia in motequiquilmaquilia in motequaquamaquilia : no ioan vncan valneçia in teucucuxqui inipan moquixtiaya :
11. ioan in occequintin totome in tecolutl in chichtli ipan quiçaya ioan occequi inipan moquixtiaya.
12. Auh motlaliaya in tlalloc ixpan manca yn atl, vncan temia in cocoa, ioan cueyame,
13. ioan yn yeoantin motenevaya maçateca, vncan quintololoaya in cocoa çan yoltivia, çeçeyaca, ioan in cueyame
14. çan in camatica yn quimonanaya amo yn matica :
15. çan quimontlanquechiaya inic quimonanaya yn atlan in vncan ixpan tlalloc.
16. auh çan quinquaquativia, in cocoa, inic ipan mitotitivia maçateca.
17. Auh in aquin achto quitlamiaya coatl in quitoloaya : niman ic tzatzi, tlapapavia, quiyaoaloa in teucalli.
18. auh quintlauhtiaya in quintoloaya coatl.
19. auh omilhuitl in netotiloaya.
20. auh inic omilhuitl netotiloaya, ye teutlac in tlayavaloloya
21. nappa in moyaoaloaya teucalli.
22. Auh in xocotamalli iquac qualoya in tonacacuezcomac temia
23. muchi tlatatl concuia iniquac tlamia ilhuitl.
24. auh yiehoantin in çivaillamatque ioan vevetque cenca chocaya quil-namiquia yn acaçocmo açizque chicuexivitl quitoaya : acoc ixpan in mochioaz. y.
25. Auh inic mochivaya. y.
26. quilmach yc mocevitivia in tonacayutl
27. in chicuexiuh-tica ipampa quilmach cenca tictlayhioviltia, inic tiqua ; in ticchilhvia in tiquiztavia in tictequixquivia, in motenexvia, yniuh-quima ticzonmictia



28. inie tienemitia quilmach ic mopilquixtitivia in tonacayutl, iuhqui yn muchioaya.

29. Auh iniquac otzonquiz ilhuitl, ynimoztlayoc motenevaya, molpalolo, yehica caoneçavililoc yn tonacayutl.

GERMAN TRANSLATION.

1. Das Fest der (ungesalzenen, ungewürzten) Wasserkrapfen.
2. Es wurde alle 8 Jahre gefeiert: Bald feierten sie es im Monat Quecholli (Ende October-Anfang November), bald in Monat Tepeilhuitl (Erste Hälfte des October).
3. Sieben Tage fastete man. Nur ein Stück Wasserkrapfen ass man, ohne Capsicumpfeffer, ohne Salz, ohne Capsicumpfeffer, ohne Soda-salzerde, ohne Zusatz von Ätzkalk gekocht. Und nur (einmal) am Tage ass man.
4. Und wenn jemand nicht fastete, wer als solcher erfunden ward, der ward sogleich gezüchtigt.
5. Gar sehr respectirt wurde dieses Fest der Wasserkrapfen.
6. Und wenn es jemand nicht feierte, auch wenn das niemand sah und niemand erfuhr, von dem glaubte man, dass er zur Strafe mit Aussatz geschlagen würde.
7. Das Fest selbst hiess "wo man sein Glück macht," und "wo das Muschelhorn geblasen wird" und "wo alle Götter tanzen."
8. Und alle (Thiere) traten dort auf: Kolibri, Schmetterlinge, Bienen, Mücken, Vögel, Käfer, (essbare) Fliegenlarvenkuchen, in all diese Gestalten verkleideten sich die Männer, als solche kamen sie angetanzt.
9. Und einige ferner verkleideten sich als Schlaf (in die Gestalt eines schlafenden Menschen), als Schnüre von Fruchtpasteten, als Schnüre von Truthahnfleisch (Pasteten), und vor ihnen stand der Speisekorb, in den die Pasteten zu liegen kommen.
10. Und in der Verkleidung von Bettlern und grob- und ärmlich gekleideten Leuten traten sie auf, und als Aussätzige verkleidet.
11. Und andere verkleideten sich als Vögel, als Eule und Käützchen und in zahlreiche andere Gestalten.
12. Nun wurde das Bild *Tlaloc's* (des Regengottes) vor dem Wasser aufgestellt, in dem sich die Schlangen und die Frösche befanden.
13. Und die sogenannten *Maçateca*\* verschlangen die Schlangen lebendig, Stück für Stück, und die Frösche.
14. Mit dem Munde ergriffen sie dieselben und nicht mit der Hand.

\* *Maçateca* bedeutet "die aus dem Hirschland." Den Namen führte unter Anderm ein Volksstamm, der im Gebirgsland östlich der Strasse nach Oaxaca seinen Wohnsitz hatte, und der, wie Brinton (South American Languages, Appendix) nachgewiesen hat, den Mangué-Chiapaneca und den Costa Rica Stämmen verwandt ist.



15. Nur mit den Zähnen packten sie sie, wenn sie sie im Wasser fassten, dort vor dem Bilde *Tlaloc's*.
16. Und während die Maçateca an den Schlangen würgten (die Schlangen zu verschlucken sich bestrebten), führten sie einen Tanz aus.
17. Und wer zuerst mit der Schlange fertig geworden und sie verschluckt hatte, der fieng an zu schreien, papa, papa, und tanzte um den Tempel herum.
18. Und man beschenkte diejenigen, welche die Schlangen verschluckt hatten.
19. Und zwei Tage dauerte der Tanz.
20. Und am zweiten Tanztage, wenn die Sonne untergegangen war, ward ein grosser Umzug gehalten.
21. Vier Mal zog man um den Tempel herum.
22. Und dann wurden die Fruchtkrapfen gegessen, die in dem Speisekorb lagen.
23. Alle Welt bekam davon, wenn das Fest zu Ende war.
24. Und die alten Frauen und alten Männer weinten sehr, in dem Gedanken, dass sie vielleicht acht Jahre nicht mehr erleben würden. Sie sprachen, nicht mehr vor unsern Augen wird das Fest gefeiert werden.
25. Und aus folgendem Grunde ward das Fest gefeiert.
26. Sie sagten, dass man damit die Lebensmittel ausruhen liesse
27. weil, wie sie sagten, wir in den acht Jahren unsere Speise sehr quälen, indem wir sie mit Capsicum-Pfeffer, mit Salz, mit Sodasalzerde behandeln mit Ätzkalk kochen, als ob wir sie ersäufen wollten.
28. Um die Lebensmittel zu beleben, sagten sie, um sie dadurch zu verjüngen, darum wurde das Fest in dieser Weise gefeiert.
29. Der Morgen nach dem Schluss des Festes hiess "es wird mit Pfeffersäure übergossen," weil das Fasten zu Ehren der Lebensmittel nunmehr zu Ende war.

The following is an English translation of Seler's German rendering of the original Nahuatl:

*The Festival of the (unsalted, unspiced) Water Pancakes* —It was celebrated every eight years. Sometimes they celebrated it in the month of Quecholli (end of October, beginning of November), sometimes in the month Tepeilhuitl (first half of October). They fasted seven days; they ate nothing but a piece of water pancake, without salt, without chile, without soda, cooked without the addition of lime; they ate only (once) a day. If any one did not fast and was found out he was immediately chastised. The festival of the Atamalqualiztli was held in very great reverence. When any one did not celebrate it, even if no one saw or learned it, they believed that he would be punished with leprosy.

The festival itself was called "Where one makes luck," or "Where the mussel shell horn is blown," or "Where all the Gods dance."



All animals appeared: humming-birds, butterflies, bees, gnats, birds, beetles, (edible) "cakes of fly larvæ"—in all these forms the men disguised themselves and as such they came dancing up; and some also clothed themselves as Sleep (in the form of a sleeping man), as strings of fruit pastry and pastry made of turkey meat, and before them stood the food basket in which the pastry is placed; and they appeared in the guise of beggars and of coarsely and poorly clothed people, and disguised as lepers. Others clothed themselves as birds, as owls and barn owls, and in numerous other forms.

The statue of Tlaloc (the rain god) was placed before the water in which the snakes and frogs were, and the so-called Maçateca\* swallowed the snakes and frogs alive, one by one. They seized them with the mouth and not with the hand; with the teeth only they grasped them when they seized them in the water before the statue of Tlaloc; and while the Maçateca were trying to swallow the snakes, they performed a dance, and he who had first swallowed a snake began to cry *papa, papa*, and danced around the temple, and they rewarded those who had swallowed the snakes. The dance lasted two days, and on the second day of the dance, after sunset, they formed a great procession and marched four times about the temple. Then they ate the fruit pastry which was in the basket, and everybody received thereof when the festival was at an end. The old men and women wept bitterly, thinking that they might not live perhaps another eight years. They said: No more before our eyes will the feast be celebrated.

The festival was celebrated for the following reasons: They said that in this way the food was given a rest, because, as they said, we torment our food very much in the eight years, in that we treat it with chile, with salt, and with soda earth, and cook it with lime, as though we would drown it. They said that the festival was celebrated in this manner in order that the eatables might be restored to life and rejuvenated. The morning after the festival was called "It is sprinkled with the acid of pepper," because the fast in honor of the eatables was finished.

The Spanish text is as follows:

RELACION DE LA FIESTA QUE SE HACIA DE OCHO EN OCHO AÑOS.

Hacian estos naturales una fiesta de ocho en ocho años á la cual llamaban *Atamalqualiztli*, que quiere decir *ayuno de pan y agua*. Ninguna cosa comian en ocho dias antes de esta fiesta, sino unos tamales hechos sin sal, ni bebian, sino agua clara. Esta fiesta algunos años caía en el mes que se llama *Quecholli*, y otras veces en el mes que se llama *Tepeil-*

\* Maçateca signifies "those from the Deerland." Among others with this name is a race which dwelt east of the road to Oaxaca which, as Brinton (South American Languages, Appendix) has shown, is related to the Mangue-Chiapaneca and Costa Rica stocks.



*huittl*. A los tamales que comian estos días llamaban *alamalli*, porque ninguna cosa les mezclaban cuando los hacian, ni aun sal, sino solo agua; ni comian el maíz con cal, sino con solo agua, y todos comian al medio día, y si alguno no ayunaba castigábanle por ello. Tenían en gran reverencia este ayuno y en gran temor, porque decian que los que no le guardaban, aunque secretamente comiesen y no le supiese nadie, Dios los castigaba hiriéndolos con lepra. A esta fiesta llamaban *Ixneztioa*, que quiere decir, buscar ventura: creían que en esta fiesta, bailaban los dioses todos, y así es, que todos los que bailaban se ataviaban con diversos trajes, unos tomaban personajes de aves, y otros de animales, y así unos se transfiguraban como *tzinizcan*\* otros como mariposas, otros como *abejones*, otros como *moscas*, otros como escarabajos; otros traían acuestas un hombre durmiendo, y decian que era el sueño; otros unos sartales de tamales que llaman *xocotamalli*, otros de otras especies, que llaman *catamalli*; otros traían comida de tamales y otras cosas, y dábanlas á los pobres. Tambien tomaban personajes de estos, como son los que traen acuestas leña para vender, otros que traen verdura; tambien tomaban personajes de enfermos, como son los leprosos y bubosos; otros tomaban personajes de aves. Estaba la imágen de *Tlaloc* enmedio del areyto, á cuya honra bailaban, y delante de ella estaba una balsa de agua, donde habia culebras y ranas, y unos hombres que llamaban *maxatecaz* estaban á la orilla de la balsa, y tragábanse las culebras y las ranas vivas; tomábanlas con las bocas y no con las manos, y cuando las habian tomado en la boca, íbanse á bailar, íbanlas tragando y bailando, y el que primero acababa de tragar la culebra ó rana, luego daba voces diciendo: *papa papa*.† Bailaban al derredor del Cú de este dios, y cuando iban bailando, y pasaban por los cestos que llamaban *tonacacuecomatl*, dábanles de los tamales que estaban en ellos, y las viejas que estaban mirando este areyto lloraban, acordándose que antes que otra vez se hiciese aquella fiesta ya serian muertas. Decian que este ayuno se hacia por dar descanso al mantenimiento, porque ninguna cosa en aquel ayuna se comia con el pan, y tambien decian que todo el otro tiempo fatigaban al mantenimiento ó pan, porque lo mezclaban con sal, cal, y salitre, y así lo vestian y desnudaban de diversas maneras y libreas, de que se afrentaba y se envejecia, y con este ayuna se remozaba. El día siguiente despues del ayuno, se llamaba *molpololo* que quiere decir *que comian otras cosas con el pan*, porque ya se habia hecho penitencia por el mantenimiento.‡

On page 216 Sahagun again mentions the festival of Atamalqualiztli in these words:

“Cuando hacian una fiesta que llamaban *Atamalqualiztli*, que era de ocho en ocho años, unos indios que se llamaban *mazatecac*, tragaban

\* Vease la descripcion de esta ave en Clavijero, pag. 48, tom. i.

† Estos semejabán á los embaidores de Faraon; tanta fraternidad lleva la idolatria de pueblos á pueblos, aunque estos no se conozcan ni traten.

‡ Sahagun, Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España, vol. 1, pp. 195-7, 1829.



unas culebras vivas por valentía, y andaban bailando y tragándolas poco á poco, y despues que las habian tragado, dábaules mantas por su valentía. Tambien estos mismos tragaban unas ranas\* vivas en la misma fiesta."

From the quotations given above we learn that the natives of Mexico observed every eight years (1) a ceremonial with fasting, to which they give the name *Atamalqualiztli*, (2) or feast of unsalted, unspiced bread (water doughnuts) or of bread and water. Several ingredients in this bread were taboo, especially salts of various kinds, and the *tamales* which were eaten were called *atamalli*. Both accounts agree that the festival came on some years in the month *Quecholli* (3) and at other times in *Tepeilhuitl*. The time of fasting was seven or eight days, and the obligation to abstain from certain food (4) was binding, and secret violation was punished by the gods, as it was held in great reverence.

In this festival it is said that all (5) the gods dance, and the animistic deities especially mentioned as personified in it are birds, butterflies, beetles, bees, gnats, etc. The priests or young men arrayed themselves in the characteristic symbolic dress of these animistic deities and performed a sacred dance about a shrine or temple. The rôle of a sleeping man was taken by one participant; others imitated persons who are accustomed to carry wool, others bore green vegetables, while still others assumed the forms of persons sick with leprosy or bubboſus. Strings of *tamales* were given to the poor.

The portion of the account in Spanish which pertains more especially to the priests who carry the snakes is translated in the following passage:

The image of *Tlaloc*,† in whose honor they danced, stood in the midst of the ceremonial, and in front of it was a pool of water where were snakes and frogs, and certain men whom they call *Maxatecaz* (6) stood on the edge of the pool and swallowed the snakes and the live green frogs. They took them with their mouths and not with their hands, and when they had taken them in the mouth began to dance, swallowing as they danced, and he who first swallowed the snake or frog then raised his voice, crying *papa, papa*. They danced around (7) the *Cu* (8) of this

\* See in this connection the statement of Bourke quoted in my paper, "A Suggestion as to the Meaning of the Moki Snake Dance," that in old times the Hopi also carried other animals in their dance.

† A rain god.







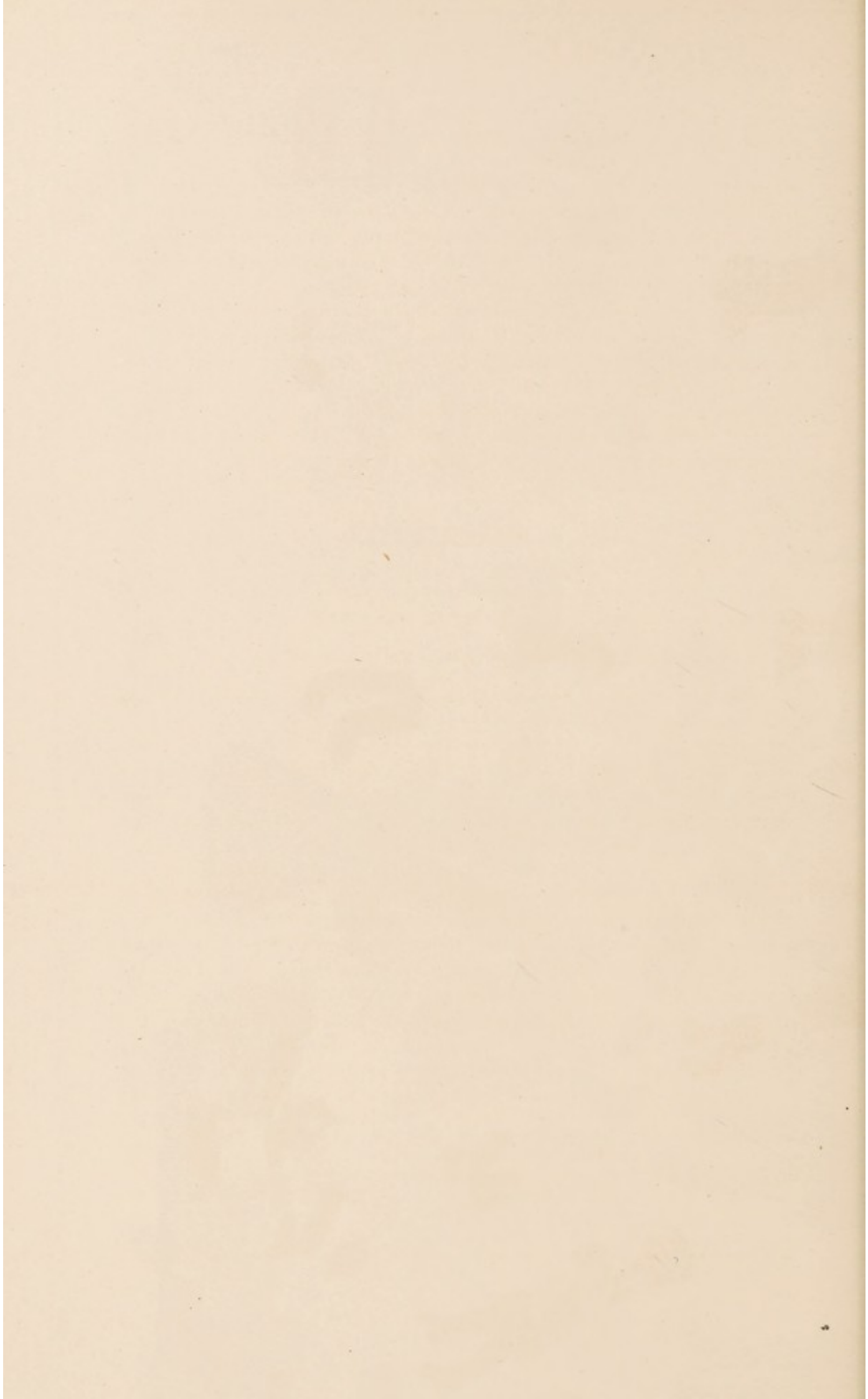






PLATE I.—MEXICAN RAIN CEREMONY (AFTER SAHAGUN).







god, and as they went in the dance and passed the basket of tamales, which they called *tonacacueexamatl*, took some of the tamales which were within and the old women who stood there watching this ceremony cried, declaring that before another observance of the feast they would be dead. They say that this fast is performed in order to give rest to the nutriment, because nothing is eaten during this fast with the bread, and they also say that at all other times the nutriment or bread is fatigued because they mix it with salt, lime and saltpeter, and clothe and unclothe it of diverse kinds of garments, which afflict and weaken it, and with this ceremony it is made younger. The day following the ceremony they called *Molpalulo*, that is to say, "they eat other things with bread," because they have already made penitence for the nutriment.

## NOTES.

1. The interval of eight years between successive recurrences of this ceremony is indicated on Plate I (fig. 3) by the eight circular characters.

2. Atamalqualiztli, unsalted, unspiced water pancakes.

3. The months *Quecholli*\* and *Tepeilhuitl*,† in which this ceremonial was observed, are later than that (August) in which the Snake Dance and its kindred, the Flute Ceremonial, are celebrated in the Hopi towns, although other ceremonials are mentioned by Spanish writers as occurring in these same months of the Mexican calendar. Sahagun‡ gives a very complete account of the festivals and sacrifices in the two months *Quecholli* and *Tepeilhuitl*, but these are only distantly related to that of the eight-year ceremony, although the introduction of the image of a snake, *Milnaoatl*, in *Tepeilhuitl* is suggestive. According to Serna,§ the Mexican month *Quecholli* is the thirteenth of one calendar and the fourteenth of another. The same author states that in the former enumeration it extends from the fifth of November until the twenty-fourth of the same month. He says (*loc. cit.*) that it is also designated *Tepeilhuitl*, or festival of the little idols, which they manufactured and deposited in the hills during the ceremony.

According to Serna (p. 91), the Indians gave the name *Quechulli* to the fourteenth month of another calendar. This month began on the

\*Torquemada (teste Doutrelaine) says *quechol* "Es una ave muy hermosa . . . laquel tienen los naturales en gran estimacion y precis." *Monarchia Indiana*, Part II, p. 280, *Quecholli*, "nombre de vn Paxero de pluma azul y colorada."

†Festival of the Mountains. See, for symbol, p. 121 *Arch. de la Commission Scientifique du Mexique*, tome iii, part i.

‡Op. cit., pp. 159-167.

§Manual de Ministros de Indios, etc., *Documentos Inéditos*, Tomo civ, p. 96: "Desde 5 de Noviembre hasta 24 del mismo." *Quecholli*, says Sahagun in a note (p. 162, *op. cit.*), commenced on the 13th of November.



twenty-third of October, and in it they celebrated a festival to a god, Mixcoatl, or serpent with the head of the puma.\* In the course of this ceremonial they manufactured bows and arrows for five days and sacrificed many slaves. They drew blood from their ears as a sacrifice, bathed their idols with it, and all married persons who were participants must sleep apart from their wives and abstain from wine.

The thirteenth month of the same calendar he says is called *Tepeilhuitl*, and began on the third of October. During this month a festival was celebrated in the highest mountains. They made, says our authority,† serpents from sticks of wood or roots, on which they carved a head. They likewise made wooden idols, which they called *ectolontin*. During *Tepeilhuitl*, says Sahagun (p. 67), at the festival in honor of the mountains they killed four women and one man. The man is *Milnoatl*.‡

4. In Seler's translation of the Nahuatl there is more specific information in regard to the kinds of food which were taboo during the festival. The custom of abstaining from certain varieties of food during religious rites is almost universal.

5. The Hopi likewise celebrate a dance called the "All *Ka-tci'-na*"—i. e., "When all the gods dance."§ There is probably a like conception in the Hopi mind in their word *ka-tci'-na* to that of the word *teoll* in the Mexican, and both are used in compounds in a somewhat similar way. The name of a divinity gives the name to a sacred dance. A Hopi *Ka-tci'-na* dance is often called a *Ka-tci'-na*, in a somewhat similar way that an aboriginal Mexican dance was known as a *Mitote* or *Mitoll*.||

At the celebration of the *So-yo'-him Ka-tci'-na* or "All *Ka-tci'-na*," when representatives of all the divinities dance, the Hopi participants may be said to clothe themselves and to wear masks or head-dresses imitating many animistic gods.¶ The custom of a priest clothing himself like the deity which he personifies, still practiced among the Hopi, is

\*Serna says Mixcoatl is "culebra que tiene cabeza de gato." Brinton says ("American Race," p. 137, note) "Tarex is identified by Sahagun with the Nahuatl divinity Mixcoatl, the god of the storm, especially the thunder-storm." I am not able to explain these apparent discrepancies in the identification of Mixcoatl.

†Serna, p. 91: "Á estos palos y á estas culebras vestian ó cubrian de masa de *Tzoali* y vestianlos á manera de montes y ponianles sus cabezas de la misma masa con rostros de personas en memoria de los que se habian ahogado, ó muerto sin poderlos quemar, y otras muchas ceremonias."

‡P. 161, *op. cit.*: "El primero era nombre llamabanle *Milnoatl*. Este nombre era imagen de las culebras," etc.

§See *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. ii, No. 1. The departure and return of the *Ka-tci'-nas* are celebrated in Tusayan by appropriate festivals. The Mexicans also celebrated a festival of the return of the gods. For a description of the arrival or coming of the gods, which took place in the twelfth month, *Teutleco*, see Sahagun (*op. cit.*, pp. 156, 157).

||See Brinton, *Library of Aborig. Am. Lit.*, No. III. The Güegüence, pp. xix, xx.

¶When the Hopi youths put on the mask of a *Ka-tci'-na* they "lose their identity as men and become *Ka-tci'-nas*."



recorded of the Central American aborigines by many early Spanish writers.\*

In a festival of the Cholutecas, which, according to Acosta, the traders observed in honor of Quetzalcoatl, a well-formed slave, without blemish, was dressed during forty days in the same clothing (disguise) as the god † which was personified.

Several figures in the Maya codices represent human beings evidently personifying deities and wearing the symbolic masks of animal gods. One of the best instances illustrating this statement can be seen in the *Codex Cort.*, in which we have the four ‡ (“Bacab”?) (rain gods? Seler) snake deities, one of which is figured in my plate IV. If we compare the head-dress worn by this figure with the head of the accompanying snake we find them perfectly homologous, and, as we know, as can be shown by quotations from Spanish writers, that it was customary for the priest to clothe himself with the garments of the god, we may readily conclude that this represents a man wearing the mask of the snake. At the same time he may be a Rain God, but I have no doubt that in the Maya mind he stood for both, just as the *Pa-vik-ka-tci-na* or Duck *Ka-tci'-na* is at once an animistic deity and a powerful rain god, because of the natural association of the duck with water. The duck *Ka-tci'-na*, however, is not the god who causes the rain, but he intercedes with *O'-mow-uh*, the rain cloud, whose power is great in this direction. So possibly the snake god is not a creator of rain, but a powerful agent to act upon the Maya deity which causes rain to fall.

One of the strongest similarities between masked figures which appear in Mexican and Hopi ceremonials is seen in the Hopi *Na-tác-ka* of different colors and the Mexican *Coyutl(s) chamolcoyutl* (black), *xiuhcoyutl* (blue), *iztaccoyutl* (white), *tlapalcoyutl* (pink), *tlecoyutl* (black with red flames), *tlilticoyutl* (brown), and *çistalcoyutl* (brown with white spots §), which are figured in the Madrid manuscript of Padre Sahagun. I shall later publish figures of the different colored masks of the different *Na-tác-ka(s)* and copies of the manuscript figures of the *Coyutl(s)* which I made while in Madrid. It suffices here to say that the masks of both the Hopi and Mexican representatives are identical; the teeth, lips, eyes, and even the tuft of feathers (?) on the back of the head are the same in both. The Hopi wears only the head, the Mexican apparently the whole skin

\* Acosta, for instance, says (p. 382): “En la vispera desta fiesta venian los señores al templo y tragan vn vestido nuevo conforme al del ydolo, el qual le ponian los sacerdotes, quitandole los otras ropas, y guardando las con tanta reverencia como nosotros tratamos los ornamentos y aun mas.”

† “A este le vestian con atavios del mismo ydolo . . . y despues de purificado el vestian en que el ydolo estana vestido.”

‡ From the presence of the fish, armadillo, etc., with these I am inclined to refer them to the cardinal points. I am led to do this by analogy with the Hopi conception of certain animals corresponding to cardinal points.

§ I interpret these *Coyutl(s)* to be animistic deities of the different world quarters indicated by corresponding colors. It will later be seen that the Hopi have the same form of nomenclature for their *Na-tác-ka(s)*.



of the animal personified ; but there is such a strong resemblance between the two personifications that it seems to me they are the same. Similar evidence may be drawn from the papalotl or butterfly tablets, also figured in the precious Madrid manuscript of Sahagun. He gives colored drawings of izpapalotl, çaquapapalotl, tlilpapalotl, xolapapalotl, and of a man with a papalotl tablet (?) on his back. The symbolism of these tablets bears a remarkable likeness to that used by the Hopi for the butterfly. In several ceremonials the Tusayan people still wear tablets on the back covered with symbolic figures.

6. One is reminded by the account of the actions of these personages of certain deeds performed by some of the *Tcu'-ku-wymp-ki-ya(s)* or Hopi clown-priests, or of the "stick swallowers" and *Zuñi Ne'-we-kwi*. Priest clowns similar to those of the New Mexican and Arizonian pueblos existed in the Nahuatl ceremonials, and figurines or clay-heads with knobs, which call to mind the "mud-headed" order of *Zuñi* and Hopi priests, are found in various Mexican ruins. Many of these were exhibited by the Mexican government in the Madrid Exposition.

Similar clowns were also recorded by Landa as appearing in Maya ceremonials, but perhaps the best description which we have of the Yucatan priest clowns was by that rare old writer, Aquilar,\* whose work was published in 1639 and, although quoted by Cogolludo, has been neglected by subsequent authors.

One of the most interesting habits of these clown-priests of the Mayas was their custom of singing songs and reciting ancient fables. Among the Hopi, where the priesthood is a very ancient one, their songs are very few, but are reported to be of most archaic character. In the *Ka-tci'-na* dances, as I have described in my article on the *Wa-wác-ka-tci-na*, in the Bulletin of the Essex Institute, a strange performance in which they participate is introduced, during which the clowns one by one are forced to recount some old story for the instruction or amusement of the assembled spectators.† This custom would seem to be a survival

\* Aquilar says: "Tienan, y tienen farsantes que representan fabulas à historias antiguas son graciosissimos en los chistes, y motes que dizen a sus mayores y juezes si son riguosos si son blados, si son ambiciosos, yesto con mucha aqueudeza, y en vna palabra, y para entenderlos, y saber à quien motejan conuiene saber su legua muy biẽ y los frasis y modos de hablarque tienen en sus triscas y conuersaciones que son agudos y de reir Los Religiosos vedaron al principio de su conuersiõn estos farsantes ò porque cantaunen autigualllos, que ne se dexauan entender ò porque ne se hiziessen de noche estas comedias y enitar pecados en tales horas. Y aneriguando algo desto, hallè que eran cantares, y remedios q hazen de los paxeros cantores y paleres, y particularmente de vn paxaro que cata mil cantos, que es el Çachi, que llama el Mexican Cençonlatoli, que quiere dezir de cien lenguas. Llama a estos farsantes Balbam : y por metafora llaman Balbam al q se haze o gracioso desir o y chocarrero."

† The stories told by the *Tcu'-ku-wymp-ki-ya(s)* in the performance referred to are generally tales of old time which they have heard from their fathers or incidents connected with their early life. Many, or rather most of them, are obscene, and if they have taken the place of fables and histories the modifications have not been particularly edifying. Still the practice can be looked upon as a survival. All the remaining description of the Yucatan clowns given by Aquilar applies equally well to the Hopi priest-clowns.



connecting them with the priest-clowns of Central America, as recorded by Aguilar.

7. Around the plate which illustrates the text of Sahagun will be noticed a row of figures of feet which indicate the direction of motion, possibly of the dancers, about the "*Cu*" (shrine, temple). These silhouettes of feet face the same way, or in the direction which I have elsewhere designated a sinistral\* ceremonial circuit. (See Plate I.) In a figure of a Mexican calendar figured by Colonel Doutrelaine (Arch. de la Commission Scientifique, tome III, part 1) from the collection Boban, a similar row of foot-prints indicates motion in an opposite (dextral) circuit.

The ceremonial circuit of the Mayas, like that in most ceremonials of the Nahuas, is (always?) sinistral as among the Hopi and other sedentary peoples of our Southwest, but is generally opposite† that of the nomadic tribes of the United States.

The determination of the direction of the ceremonial circuit of the Mayas and other Central American peoples is important, considering the discussions which have arisen in regard to the sequence in which glyphs or figures on monuments or in the so-called books or codices which are extant should be "read." It is my conviction that the ceremonial circuit of both Nahuas and Mayas is always sinistral, but there is still wanting proof to demonstrate that such is the case. Many facts which point that way can be mentioned, of which I have chosen only a few. One of the examples of the sinistral ceremonial circuit of the Mayas was recorded by Landa in his account of the observances before the four "piles of stones" (shrines?) at the four cardinal points—south, east, north, and west.‡ In this observance the sequence followed the sinistral circuit and began at the south, which is significant.

The direction or sequence in reading (?) the rows of dots in the so-called "*Tableau des Bacab*" of the *Codex Cortesianus*, as pointed out by Professor Cyrus Thomas,§ follows a sinistral ceremonial circuit. Professor Thomas' argumentation on this point seems to me conclusive, and the arrangement of figures and enumerative marks in this "Tableau" points to the sinistral circuit. It seems to me that we can also use a knowledge of a sinistral ceremonial circuit in an explanation of the four direction signs corresponding to the cardinal points in the same "*Tableau des*

\* Opposite the motion of the hands of a watch and opposite the apparent motion of the sun in the northern hemisphere. A direction of movement in ceremonies with the center on the left hand.

† In most of Catlin's figures of nomad Indian dances the circuit is dextral. In two pictures of a Sioux war dance the ceremonial direction taken by the celebrants is sinistral.

‡ The Hopi villages have a shrine at the north, one at the west, one at the south, and one at the east, which are used ceremonially. See in my Snake Dance memoir the deposit of *bā'-ho(s)* by the courier, *Ka'-kap-ti*.

§ Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1881.



*Bacab*." The sign placed above the figure with opened breast\* indicates, according to Thomas, the north, and the relationship with Mexican ceremonial and mythological systems would support this supposition, if it were not proven in other ways. Adopting, then, the sinistral circuit in reading the signs which indicate the cardinal points, it is evident that passing to the next symbol with the center of the figure on the left hand we would meet in sequence in the four "world quarters" of the "Tableau" the signs for west, south, and east.†

Perez, in his "Calendar wheel," gave the exact sinistral ceremonial circuit, in which *Kan* is east, *Muluc*, north, *Gix*, west, and *Cauac*, south, and Landa had the same sequence and enumeration. Brasseur accepted the same order in his interpretation of the arrangement of the cardinal points. The statements in Aquilar and Cogolludo seem to show that the sinistral ceremonial circuit was not necessarily always followed by the aborigines of Yucatan. According to Aquilar, the first symbol or cardinal point is "*Cuch*," east; the second, west; third, south, and fourth, north. Mentioned in this order we do not follow a true sinistral ceremonial circuit, but, as pointed out by Mr. C. P. Bowditch, while apparently not following the sinistral circuit, Cogolludo's arrangement is in reality identical with that of Perez.

The figures graven on Yucatan altars and buildings do not face in the same direction. In making their sand mosaics the Hopi always place the figures facing in such a way as to have the center on their left hands. I think, however, these differences can be harmonized in some instances with a belief that the Mayas generally adhered to the sinistral circuit.‡

8. Cu, shrine. A Hopituh word for house is *ki*, shrine, *ba-hó-ki* (= "bá-ho-house"), *ki-bva* (estufa). Bandelier (Final Report, part I, p. 254) was informed by Mr. Walker that "nearly every village" (of the Pimas) "has a separate building called *Tyi-in-ki*, or house of speech." Civano Ki (Casa Grande) has the same terminal (*ki*). Brinton gives *kit* as the Opata for "house" (*op. cit.*, p. 337).

We find, on a study of the description of Sahagun in connection with the Hopi Snake Dance, that there are many differences between the two, but that the most striking resemblance is in the carrying of the snake in the mouth of the participants. The Mexican *Mas-*

\* See discussion of "Death God" in Schellhas, *Zeit. für Ethnologie*, 24th year, 1892, part ii. I believe that both of the seated figures in this quadrant are "Death Gods."

† See Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40. If the sinistral ceremonial circuit was always used by the Mayas, as I believe it was, having determined the sign for north, there is no doubt about the other three.

‡ For a discussion of the position of figures in the sand mosaic of the Antelope Society in the Hopi Snake Dance, see my article in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. v, No. xvi, 1892, on "The Ceremonial Circuit of the Village Indians of Northeastern Arizona."



*cateca* swallow (?) the snakes and frogs, and the *Tcu'-a-wymp-ki-ya* of the Hopi carry the snakes in their mouths between their teeth.

It is interesting to note, however, that Tlaloc, a water god, is a prominent deity in the Mexican festival, which indicates that it is a rain ceremonial, as I have elsewhere shown is the case with the Hopi Snake Dance and its kindred, the Flute Celebration.\* It may be pointed out that Quetzalcoatl, the Feathered Snake, is not mentioned in Sahagun's description or text in connection with this festival. No effigy† of *Ba'-lü-lü-koñ*, the Hopi plumed snake, was seen in the Snake Dance, although figures of the same adorn the kilts of the snake priests. The introduction of the butterfly with the serpent in a Mexican ceremony described by Mendoza calls to mind the *Ho-ko'-na-ma-na* or "Butterfly Virgin" tile, which occupies a prominent place on the altar of the Antelopes in the Hopi Snake Dance at Walpi. The *ectotonti* or serpents made of wooden slabs, mentioned by Sahagun and Serna (*op. cit.*), can be found in similar objects which have been described by me in my account‡ of the Flute Ceremony, which is similar in essential points to the Snake Dance, with which it alternates every two years.

The resemblances between a ceremony practiced in the heart of Mexico and that still kept up in Arizona naturally leads one to look for likenesses in symbolism, especially that pertaining to the mythological Snake among the two peoples. It would be especially suggestive to find such symbolism identical in objects connected with serpent rites. Among the Nahua people I have not found a close likeness in symbolism of the snake, but with the Mayas there is a remarkable case of similarity or identical symbolism apparently connecting the plumed snake of Yucatan with that of the Hopi towns. The Maya codices afford interesting evidence bearing on this point, but although the resemblances in the symbolism of the conventional plumed snake of the Maya codices and the feathered snake of the Hopi are great, this resemblance does not apply to all snakes which are represented in the aboriginal literature of Yucatan.

I have already called attention to the symbolic markings on the

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\* A suggestion as to the meaning of the Moki Snake Dance: *Journal of American Folk Lore*, 1891.

† I shall later describe a Hopi ceremony in which the effigy of the great plumed snake appears in a most suggestive connection with symbols of the sun.

‡ *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. ii, No. 1, p. 115.



head and body of *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ*, the crested, plumed serpent of Hopi mythology. To explain the following comparisons I will repeat what I have already published.\* Two good representations of *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ*, which serve for a comparison of its symbolism with that of the Maya plumed snake, are known to me, viz., four pictographs and the figures (which represent the body only) on the kilt (Pl. II) of the Snake priests. The former were figured in my paper on "Tusayan Pictographs." The head of the Hopi *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ*, as represented in the pictographs, is drawn as follows: On the top it bears a crest of radiating marks or scratches standing at an angle. These represent feathers, if we trust the explanations of the priests. In front of this crest there is a horn-shaped appendage curving forward, and from a slit which represents the mouth there hangs an oval pyriform dependent ring. The body scratched on the rock bears the following symbolic markings, both in the pictographs referred to and in the zigzag figures painted on the snake kilts. These markings are of two kinds, one of which are two short parallel lines† extending lengthwise of the body, the other alternating with these arrow-shaped markings, of which there is one between each consecutive pair of parallel lines. They point toward the head of the serpent. On the snake kilt (Pl. II) the zigzag body of *Ba-lū-lū-koñ* is painted lengthwise across the cloth and is colored black, with white lines on each margin. The parallel lines and alternate arrow-marks are painted white. On one snake kilt which I have examined the pairs of white markings are not parallel with the body, but are represented as arising from one side, obliquely placed as regards the longer axis of the reptile represented. This solitary instance we shall see is highly instructive. The combination of symbolism expressed by the markings above described on dance paraphernalia and in pictographs is characteristic of the Hopi *Ba-lū-lū-koñ* or great feathered mythologic snake.

In my studies of some of the snakes depicted in the Maya codices

\* "A Few Tusayan Pictographs," *Am. Anthropol.*, Jan., 1892. I am quite conscious of the distinctions which are recognized by ethnologists between Nahuas and "Mayas," and also that similar symbolism on Maya codices and Hopi pictographs proves nothing in a comparison of the Snake Dance of Tusayan villages and Nahua ceremonials.

† More or less fanciful explanations of the symbolic meaning of these two lines have been given me by Hopi priests. I am about convinced that they are symbolic of feathers, but this opinion is subject to a revision. In the same way I interpret the parallel red lines on many Hopi dolls. In some of my best Hopi dolls feathers are used to cover the body, but in the simpler, generally female, alternate red and white lines take their place.



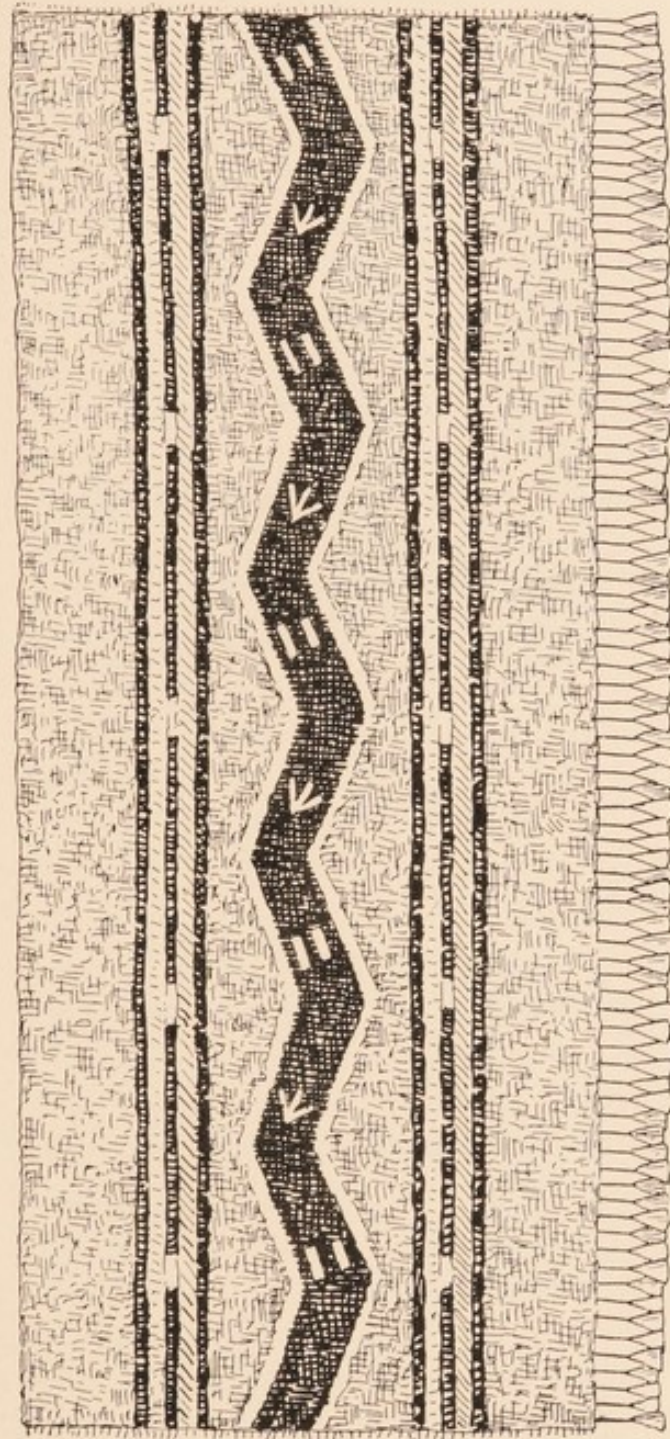


PLATE II.—Kilt of Tusayan Snake-Priest.







(*Codex Troanus* and *Codex Cortesianus*) I was struck by symbolic markings on head and body, similar to those on *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ*. There were, to be sure, other more complicated symbolic figures in the representations, but the following resemblance appeared to me extraordinary.

The most striking likenesses between the *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ* figures and those of the snake of the codices are the two parallel marks alternating with other symbols on the body. In the Maya representations these two marks, although parallel, are set obliquely to the axis of the body, as in the single specimen from Tusayan referred to above, and the arrow-shaped figures are replaced by others which have no resemblance to them. Several snakes figured in both *C. Tr.* and *C. Cort.*, some with, others without a plumed head, bear these markings, and several figures of the same animal are wholly without body markings.

Turning now to the examination of the symbolism of the heads of the plumed snake of the Hopi and Mayas, we find other similarities besides that of the symbolic marks referred to. In some of the figures of the snake from the codices the head-dress is most elaborate, in others very simple, but it is the most elaborate which most forcibly reminds one of representations of the heads of the Hopi *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ*. Of these heads I have chosen a type from the Cortez codex (Pl. III) for the description which follows:

Head green, with open mouth and red lips, in which a row of black dots is painted; upper jaw with two pendent white tooth-shaped projections. Out of the angle of the lower and upper jaw hangs a curved "tongue" (?), extending downward and backward. The eye is oval, with curved lines in the pupil, capped by a crescentic figure which projects above the head. Radiating from this cap there are three triangular-shaped bodies which represent feathers, and from the occular cap extending forward over the nose there is a red-colored body enlarged at the end. The snake's head is generally colored green,\* some are white and brown, but none red or yellow.

Several variations from the type described exist in the different figures of the feathered snake of the codices, and these variations

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\*See note on page 7 of Brasseur's edition of *Popul Vuh*. Gucumatx is the blue or green colored snake. The Mayas, like the Hopi and many other tribes of the United States, did not distinguish blue from green in the ceremonial use of these colors.



probably have a meaning which it is not my purpose to consider in this place.\*

I venture to call attention to two homologies between the head described as a type and that of the *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ* of the Hopi. The tongue-shaped pendant from the mouth corresponds with the oval ring from the snout of the pictograph, and the crest and curved horn are similar in both. Along the ventral line of some snake figures of the Maya codices there extends from head to tail a band, generally red, which is enlarged into a vasiform body, out of which falls parallel lines, symbolic among the Maya as among the Hopi of falling water or rain. One of the Hopi pictographs of *Ba'-lū-lū-koñ* is represented with four udders, and in the folk tales of these people it is said that the waters of the world come from the breasts of the great snake. It would seem as if the Maya had a similar conception and that the vasiform body was in some way connected with some tale which they had of the origin of water from their mythological plumed snake. I will in this connection call attention to the fact that in the *Codex Tr.* a female figure † bearing for a head-dress a well drawn snake is represented with the symbolic lines of water streaming from her breasts.

It is not in the codices alone that we find the symbolic markings of the body of the feathered snake, but in certain sculptured bas-reliefs as well. I have not yet found the two parallel marks ‡ on any of the Yucatan monuments as well brought out as in the *C. Cort.*, but on the snake accompanying the figure to the right of the "Adoratorio" of Casa No. 3, at Palenque (see Stephen's Yucatan, vol. II), there are several pairs of these symbols, each consisting of two elongated crescents or double hooks, found on the serpent's body of the codex. The figure on the altar with this snake is represented as "blowing through a tube" or some musical instrument, which naturally recalls the flageolet, and leads us to think of the

\*On this point I have arrived at a conclusion which is somewhat opposed to that generally accepted.

†The Hopi have a female deity for every male, and it is possible that the same may be true among the ancient Maya. There is very little likeness between the mask of the "Snake Woman" of *C. Tr.* and that of the priest personifying the snake, as represented so often in *C. Cort.*, but the interpretation of their symbolism leads me to believe them related.

‡The handles of many dippers from the ruins of Cibola and Tusayan are decorated with alternate sets of horizontal and transverse bars. An identical ornamentation occurs on a Nahuatl (?) dipper exhibited in Madrid as a receptacle for a burning offering of copal.



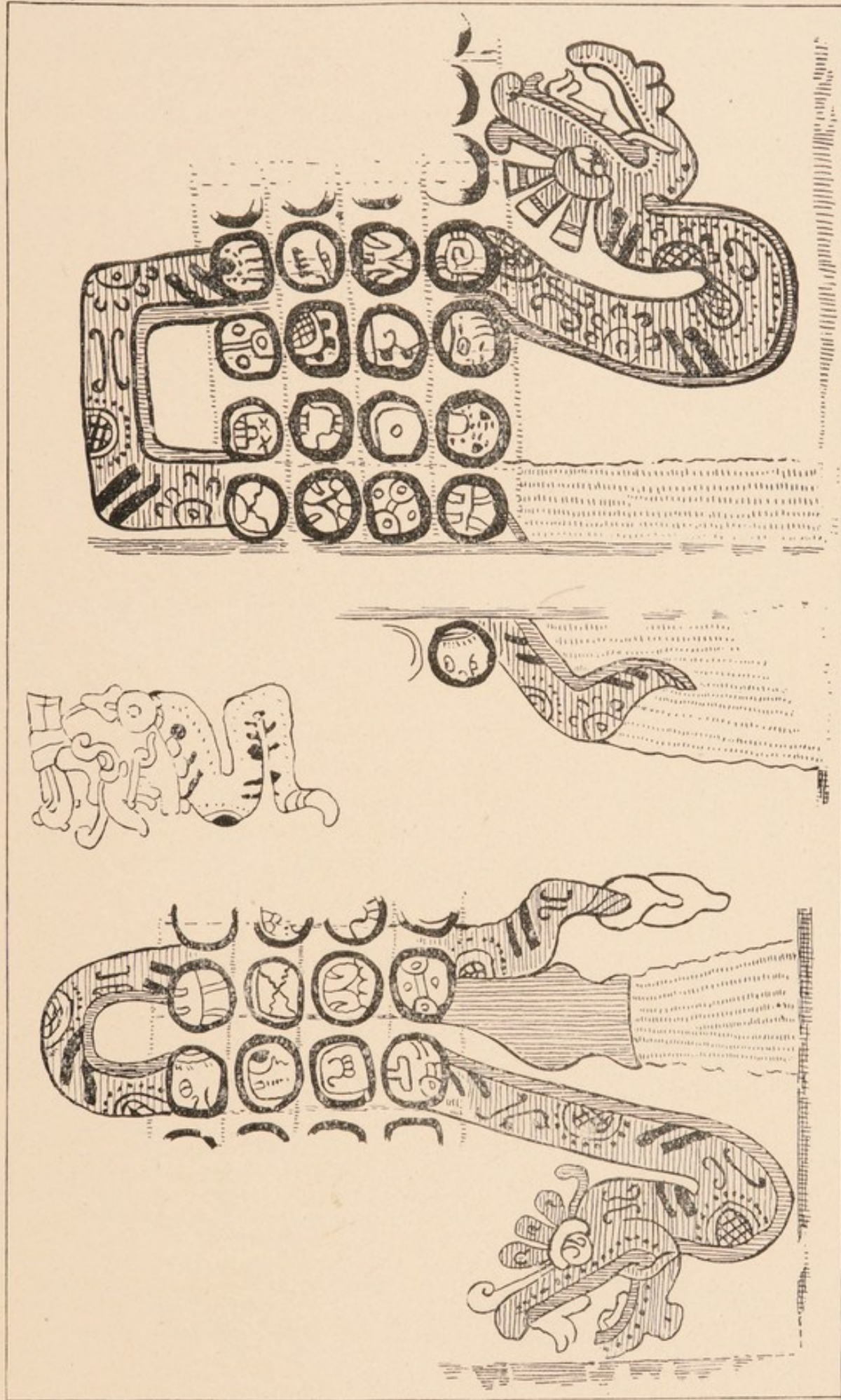


PLATE III.—Mythological snake (after Codex Cortesianus).







so-called Flute Ceremonial. This figure Holden takes to be the "sorcerer," Tlaloc. It is probably a personage connected in some way with rain, but whether a rain god or a priest officiating in ceremonies for rain I do not know, but incline to the latter opinion.\*

The literature† describing the ceremonials in which the Feathered Snake is introduced in Central America is voluminous. Between Quetzalcoatl, Kukulcan, and the various other names under which this personage figures, and *Ba'-lü-lü-koñ* there are many points of resemblance, but I have not yet found that the Hopi associate with their god the idea of a beneficent law-giver or wise reformer. I have not yet found that the Hopi entertain the same idea of *Ba'-lü-lü-koñ* that the Mexicans did of Quetzalcoatl. Experience has taught me, however, not to declare that such an association does not exist in their conception of his attributes.

In the codices we find figures of animals and human beings with heads drawn in the same way, and we may conclude that the two have some intimate relationship. We have, for instance, a snake's body with symbolic markings and a head almost identical with the head of an accompanying human being. It is reasonable to conclude that the human being personifies the snake, wears the mask‡ of the snake, as shown in Pl. IV. He represents the feathered snake ceremonially. From a study of the figures of the codices we may thus be able to reconstruct the mythological system§ of the Maya from the pictures without regard to the hieroglyphic symbols. Following this method, which is by no means a novel one, I have introduced a figure of what I regard as one of the snake gods|| in my representation (Pl. IV) of the Plumed Serpent of Yucatan.

\* According to Sahagun (p. 5) the Mexicans had a goddess, Civacoatl, "mother of the snake," "mother of twins," who was called Tonantzin, our mother. If the Mexicans believed that Civacoatl or a snake mother was their ancestor it would not surprise a Hopi snake priest, who traces his ancestry to the *Tcu'-a-ma-na* or snake virgin whom the snake hero, Tiyo, the legend says, saw and married in the underworld and brought to his people, but who gave birth to snakes. In the legendary dramatization of the Snake Dance she is personified in the Tusayan *kib-vas*. See, for another meaning of Civacoatl, Brinton, *Rig-Veda Americana*.

† See Acosta, pp. 388-392; Serna, *Documentos Inéditos*, Tomo civ; Sahagun, Gomara, Herrera, Clavijero, *et al.* Gomara (*Cronica*, p. 199) mentions the fact that in the festival of Quecholli rattlesnakes ("culebras del cascabel") are carried in the hands.

‡ The symbolism is always best expressed in Hopi personification by the head-dress. This is common among all primitive people, and is well seen in a study of the figurines or dolls of the Tusayan villages.

§ See Schellhas, Seler, *et al.*

|| I have no cause for controversy with any one who may consider this a "rain god," and I am willing to designate it a "snake rain god," for it seems to me that the identity of its mask with the head of the adjoining snake connects the two.



It has not been my intention in the preceding pages to compare all the aboriginal ceremonials of the people of Central America and those at present practiced in Tusayan. A large literature is in existence treating of the former, and we are beginning to become acquainted with the details of the latter. Several most important works on the religious practices of the Mexicans have long been overlooked on account of their rarity, but are now being published in Spain and in Mexico. There possibly still remains among the unpublished manuscripts in the precious collection of the Lonja, in Seville, other documents bearing on this part of the subject which historical research will bring to light.\* There is also a call for observations on the survivals of old culture in folk-lore among existing tribes of Mexico and other countries of Central America. The study of documentary accounts and modern survivals should go hand in hand, and, forming the body of data thus accumulated, it will be possible to enter the field of comparative ceremoniology of the American race better equipped than ever before, and to make an exhaustive comparison which will throw light on individual likenesses.

One is tempted to indulge in a theory as a working hypothesis. From the speculative side it seems probable that there is an intimate resemblance between some of the ceremonials, the symbolism, and mythological systems of the Indians of Tusayan and those of the more cultured stocks of Central America. In my opinion, we are not yet justified in offering any but a theoretical explanation of the origin of the Hopi ceremonial and mythological systems, but their intimate relationships with those of the neighboring Pueblos indicates a close kinship. How much has been derived from the Pueblos and how much from other stocks can only be answered by more research. The facts here recorded look as if the Hopi practice a ceremonial system of worship with strong affinities to the Nahuatl and Maya.

I have not yet seen enough evidence to convince me that the Hopi derived their cult or ceremonials from the Zuñians or from any other single people. It is probably composite. I am not sure that portions of it were not brought up from the far south, perhaps from the Salado and Gila by the Bat-kin-ya-mûh, "Water people," whose legendary history is quite strong that they came from the south. I only know at present that there are traces or tracks of the

\* See Bandelier in *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. iii.





PLATE IV.—Human figure with snake mask (after Codex Cortesianus).







same mythological system and symbolism among them and the aborigines of Central America,\* and that the relationship between them and the Zuñians and other Pueblos is most intimate. Their ceremonials are not always identical, as the same observances in the different villages are not the same in details. If we can trust their legends, their kinship with the other Pueblos is of the most intimate kind.†

### EXPLANATION OF PLATE I.

#### *The Atamalqualizti.*

(The identification of the figures was made for me by Dr. Seler,‡ and the following explanations are translations from the German text :)

1. The masked dancers.
2. Rain Gods on the top of a wind mountain.
3. The eight years (interval in which the ceremony occurs).
4. The *Cu*, temple.
5. The weeping old men and women with baskets full of pastry.
6. Leading Mexicans clad in gala costume (for the dance).
7. Women bringing offerings.
8. Water with snakes and frogs.
9. The Maçatecatl swallowing a snake.
10. Macuilxochitl, god of play and dance.
11. Xilonen (?) goddess of the early corn.
12. Pahtecatl, the pulque god.
13. Tlaloc, rain god.
14. Chalchiuhtlicue, goddess of flowing water.
15. Ixtlilton, god of health-giving water.

\* See remarks by Bandelier, Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, etc. Archæol. Inst. Papers, Am. series, iv, pp. 586-591.

† According to Stephen's account (see Mindeleff, A Study of Pueblo Architecture) the Asa people came from as far east as the Rio Grande, stopping at different pueblos in their migrations. They brought their cult with them, became amalgamated with the Snake people, who came from the north and west.

‡ The author knows next to nothing of the symbolic characters of the Mexican deities and is not responsible for the identifications introduced in the explanations of the plate; he has simply translated Dr. Seler's text.



16. Xochiquetzal, goddess of female manual and artistic fabrications.
17. Tezcatlipoca.
18. Tezcacvac aiopechtli, an earth goddess.
19. Ixcoçauhqui, god of fire.
20. Ciuacouatl, earth goddess.  
(The author has spoken of other identifications in the text.
21. The five Tlaloc, the five rain gods.

The legend at the bottom of Pl. I, "Mexican Rain Ceremony," may seem an improper one, as nothing is said in Sahagun of its being connected with rain-making, and another object for the festival is distinctly stated. The predominance given to the Rain Gods, Tlaloc, "in whose honor they danced," and other reasons of a comparative nature have led to the adoption of the legend.—J. W. F.















