NOTE ON THE PIMA BERDACHE

BY

W. W. HILL

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The degree of social recognition and freedom within the cultural pattern accorded individuals of psychic or physiological peculiarities varies enormously among primitive peoples. As I have pointed out in connection with the Navaho, the transvestite enjoyed more opportunities for personal and material gratification and was more respected and revered than the normal individual. At the opposite pole from the Navaho attitude was that displayed by the Pima. There, in a culture where any outward or public manifestation of individuality was considered a breach of good manners, the sexual invert had no cultural niche and such abnormal behavior was definitely stigmatized.

According to Pima mythology transvestites first originated among the Papago. The account of this first transformation is as follows:

Many years ago it happened that in the Pima country there was a shortage of materials for making bows and arrows. They sent word to the Papago. The Papago cut wood for bows and arrow-weed for arrow shafts. They also collected feathers and sinew. They put these materials in two net carrying frames. Two Papago boys placed these women's carrying devices on their backs and brought the materials to the Pima. When the boys returned home they became berdaches. They really began among the Papago, not the Pima.

3 W. W. Hill, The Status of the Hermaphroditic and Transvestite in Navaho Culture (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, pp. 273–79, 1935). This status, while manifesting itself in different directions, is affirmed for many of the Californian tribes (A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 78, 1925, pp. 46, 190, 497, 500, 647, 748, 803; Ralph L. Beals, Ethnology of the Nisenan, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 31, No. 6, 1933, p. 376) and probably for the Klamath (Leslie Spier, Klamath Ethnography, same series, Vol. 30, 1930, pp. 51–53). It may be implied with some diminution in intensity for the Quinault, Queets, Quilleute, and Hump-tulips (Ronald L. Olson, The Quinault Indians, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1936, p. 99) and for the various Shoshonean tribes (Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 20, Part 3, 1924, pp. 282–83). The cultural sanction among the Zuñi seems to take a less positive form. While the la'mana are accorded ceremonial equality, with a possibility of even special ritual prerogatives, reverence and respect for their status seems lacking, and in one case at least marriage to a transvestite was objected to by both families involved (Elise Clews Parsons, The Zuñi la'mana, American Anthropologist, Vol. 18, pp. 521–28, 1916). Turning southward the attitude toward transvestites changes to one of general uneasiness. Among the Cocopa they were involved in no special functions, and while female invertes were accepted with passivity, male invertes were apparently disliked (E. W. Gifford, The Cocopa, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 31, No. 5, 1933, p. 294). In the Yuma tribe they were given public recognition and no attempt was made to suppress the tendency. However, the parents of such an individual felt a definite shame (C. Daryll Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, same series, Vol. 28, No. 4, 1931, p. 157). The Maricopa attempted to curtail the development of transvestitism. Here they had the sanction of the men but were looked upon by the women with disapproval (Leslie Spier, Yuman Tribes of the Gila River, Chicago, 1933, pp. 242–43). Papago women, on the contrary, liked such individuals for their working abilities, while the men's attitude involved a friendly ridicule (Ruth Underhill, The Autobiography of a Papago Woman, Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, No. 46, 1936, pp. 43–44.)
The Pima word for male invert was wi·kovat, "like a girl." The term might also be used in a broader sense and was applied to an individual who was "frightened by small things." While female inverts occurred, no special name was applied to them. Nor was there an attempt made to distinguish between individuals who were hermaphrodites and those whose invert tendencies were due mainly to psychic causes.

There was no sanction for the sexual invert in Pima culture and the cultural pattern had never been modified to allow them a specialized role. They did not wear the clothes or perform the duties of the opposite sex and no marriages between individuals of the same sex were ever known to have occurred. Likewise, no sexual irregularities were reported. Their abnormal behavior manifested itself only in acting, talking, and expressing themselves like members of the opposite sex, showing an interest in the duties and work of the other sex, and a marked preference for their companionship. Male inverts sat like women, with their knees together.

Definite attempts were made to suppress the tendency toward inversion. During early childhood the sexes were separated as much as possible and children were not allowed to play with toys characteristic of the opposite sex. Should the tendencies manifest themselves in spite of these precautions, a test was made to allay or confirm the suspicion. No ritual was included and no idea of curing was involved.

The test was performed only in the case of male children. A brush hut was erected and in it were placed a bow and arrow and a basket. The child was put in the hut and the hut was then fired at the back. As the boy fled, it was said, he would grasp either the bow and arrow or the basket. "If he took the basket, you knew that he would become a wi·kovat."

The Pima attitude toward the herdache paralleled very closely that in our own culture toward the same type of abnormal behavior. The boy who made the wrong choice in the test was disgraced and looked down upon. Another indication of this feeling was shown by the assignment of the origin of the herdache to the Papago, and still further by the fact that leniency was shown in cases of crime committed by these individuals because "they were not normal." However, their occurrence seems to have been accepted more or less fatalistically, as, except for ridicule and admonishments to "change their ways," no cure or coercion was attempted. The disgrace within a family, while a cause for real concern, was borne, true to the cultural pattern, with a quiet forbearance and resignation.

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4 This is interesting because of somewhat analogous tests cited by Spier for the Klamath (Klamath Ethnography, p. 52) and Maricopa (Yuman Tribes of the Gila River, pp. 242-43).
THE HUMPBACKED FLUTE PLAYER OF THE SOUTHWEST

In her recent identification of the Hopi kachina Kokopelli and the humpbacked flutist of Southwestern pictographs and pottery,1 Dr Hawley overlooks the fact that both are insects, possibly however not the same insect. Kokopelli, according to Fewkes, is "a certain dipterous insect," which according to Titiev is humpbacked and does not desert from copulating when disturbed.2 The Oralbi Kokopelli kachina female races and performs mock copulation with the man "she" overtakes. The male kachina, according to legend, sewed shirts and seduced girls. In his hump were blankets, belts, and seeds of which he gave a few to each girl.3 At Hano Kokopelli is equated with Nepokwa'i, "a big black man" (Kokopelli's mask and body are painted black) who in the tales appears with a buckskin on his back from which to make moccasins for a bride. He is hunter and moccasin maker.4 Fewkes associates Kokopelli with the Mustard (Asa) clan from the East. As Dr Hawley observes, but does not quite explain, Kokopelli has no flute.

The humpbacked flute player of the rock walls and potsherds is so obviously an insect, "once you see it," that no analysis is called for; but I might point out that among the pictographs near the Village of the Great Kivas (Zuni Valley) the flutist is represented in company with other insects,5 a plausible association. (This shortlived village is believed to have been settled by people from the Chaco where, as Dr Hawley points out, the flutist was depicted.)

Locust is the musical and curing patron of Hopi Flute societies. He is represented playing the flute on Flute altar tiles.6 Hopi have locust medicine for wounds, inferably belonging to the Flute societies. This medicine is "explained" in the Emergence myth. When Locust was sent up from below to scout for an exit into the upper world, the Clouds shot their bolts through him and he just went on playing his flute.7 In another version, after the Emergence when Locust was shot with arrows he died.

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2 Dragonfly? A sacrosanct Pueblo insect, at Zuñi called Shumaikolii and functioning as the kachina patron of the Shuma’kwe society. By Zuñi workmen at Hawikuh Shumaikolii was identified with a face design on an awl they excavated (F. W. Hodge, History of Hawikuh, New Mexico, Los Angeles, 1937, fig. 21), so this might associate him with moccasin making. Dragonfly is a persistent copulator but a neuropteron insect. He is eye medicine (Zuñi, Hano).
5 F. H. H. Roberts, Jr., The Village of the Great Kivas of the Zuñi Reservation, New Mexico (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 111, 1932), Pl. 61; see also fig. 27a.
6 Stephen, op. cit., Pl. 22.
and then came back to life.⁸ Locust, the unwinking, is a brave man, a suitable patron for societies that cure for lightning shock and, inferably, for arrow or gun wounds.

The Flute societies have locust medicine to dream coming events, possibly in war, and pieces of locust are thrown on the fire (by Flute chiefs?) to bring warm weather.⁹ The Flute societies of Oraibi had charge of the sun from winter solstice to summer solstice. In Hopi folk tale the flute is played to melt the snow, by the Locusts when they are appealed to by the Snakes. They sing:

Hao my fathers, hao my mothers!
Drab Flutes, Blue Flutes (Flute societies)
My fathers, beautiful living
(In) summer will begin for us.
(In) summer blossoms wave, (in) summer blossoms will sway.¹⁰

Insects are important medicine or spirits to the Western Pueblos, perhaps, if we knew, to all the Pueblos, as they were to early Aztecs and, I infer, to other Middle Americans, some of whom think of Saint Paul as a Bee god.

NEW YORK CITY

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REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF PUEBLO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In a recent issue of the American Anthropologist Dr. Florence Hawley suggested a new interpretation of Pueblo history on the basis of social organization in the course of which she took issue with the viewpoint expressed by Duncan Strong in his Analysis of Southwestern Society. Dr. Strong is doubtless capable of defending himself, but I cannot refrain from pointing out that he has already recanted in part the errors attributed to him. At the time Strong wrote the paper criticized by Hawley, few modern works were in print concerning the Rio Grande. Naturally Strong fell into the error of assuming a functioning clan organization on the Rio Grande, as had previous field workers in that region. But the significance of the new evidence produced by Parsons has already been emphasized in a mimeographed publication which Hawley can hardly be blamed for overlooking.

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A death which caused universal regret and distress in Dublin was that of Mrs. Anne Ward, who was a woman of fine character and great virtues. She had been married to Mr. William Ward for many years, and they had five children. Mrs. Ward was a devoted wife and mother, and her absence was felt by all who knew her.

The family was very poor, and Mrs. Ward worked hard to provide for her family. She was known for her kindness and generosity, and she always helped those in need. Her death was a great loss to Dublin, and she was remembered with great affection and respect.

The funeral was held on a cold and rainy day, and the streets were lined with people who came to pay their respects. Mrs. Ward was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and her grave is still visited by many people. Her memory lives on in the hearts of those who knew her and loved her.
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WORK OF TANNERISM, STEAMSON, FOR INDUSTRY, RED BULL, FRENCH, 1942.

To the Nature of the Work on the roof and in the yard the nature of the woman and the man...
Use of Urine and Ovule in Medicine.

See Huxley, Searle. "Hyge of All Nations," Chapters on Ur-Drinks, and

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THE INDIAN NATIONS OF NORTHERN MICHIGAN

AN EXHIBITION

[Exhibition Details]

The display includes various sections on the history, culture, and contemporary lives of the Native American tribes in Northern Michigan. It features artifacts, informational panels, and interactive exhibits designed to educate visitors about the rich heritage and ongoing challenges faced by these communities.

Arranged in chronological order:

1. **Prehistoric and Ancient**
   - Tools and artifacts from early indigenous cultures.

2. **Contact Period**
   - Trade items and tools exchanged with European settlers.

3. **Reservation Era**
   - Images and stories about life on reservations.

4. **Modern Day**
   - Contemporary issues and achievements of the tribes.

5. **Future Directions**
   - Plans and initiatives for the future.

Visitors can also participate in workshops and discussions to learn more about Native American culture and the work being done to preserve it.

[Exhibition Location]

[Exhibition Date and Time]

[Exhibition Access Information]

For more information, contact the Northern Michigan Native American Cultural Society at [contact information].

[Exhibition Partner: Northern Michigan Native American Cultural Society]
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