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.[1] 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.

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[1] W. W. Hill, *The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Tranvestite 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 Humptulips (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 łaʼmana 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 (Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Zuni łaʼmana*, 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 inverts were accepted with passivity, male inverts 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·ḳovat, "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.[2] 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·ḳovat."

The Pima attitude toward the berdache 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 berdache 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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[2] 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 desist from copulating when disturbed.[2] The Oraibi 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 (Zuñi 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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[1] Florence Hawley, *Kokopelli, of the Prehistoric Southwestern Pantheon* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 644–46, 1937).

[2] Dragonfly? A sacrosanct Pueblo insect, at Zuñi called Shumaikoli and functioning as the kachina patron of the Shuma·kwe society. By Zuñi workmen at Hawikuh Shumaikoli 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 neuropterous insect. He is eye medicine (Zuñi, Hano).

[3] A. M. Stephen, *Hopi Journal* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 23, 1936), pp. 388, 1142.

[4] E. C. Parsons, *Tewa Tales* (Memoirs, American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. 19, 1926), pp. 206, 236. Compare the pictograph of a humpbacked figure killing a deer (A. V. Kidder and S. J. Guernsey, *Archeological Explorations in Northeastern Arizona*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 65, 1919, Pl. 94).

[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.

[7] A. M. Stephen, *Hopi Tales* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 42, 1929), pp. 5–6.

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.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

NEW YORK CITY

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[8] F. H. Cushing, *Origin Myth from Oraibi* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 36, 1923), pp. 167–68. Locust's facility in shedding his skin figures in a widespread Spanish-Pueblo folk tale.—Folk tale, myth, medicine, ceremony, art, the usual admirable intertwining of Pueblo pattern!

[9] H. R. Voth, *The Traditions of the Hopi* (Publication, Field Columbian Museum, No. 96, Anthropological Series, Vol. 8, 1905), p. 220. [10] Voth, *loc. cit.*

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REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF PUEBLO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In a recent issue of the American Anthropologist[1] 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*.[2] 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.[3] 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.[4]

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[1] Vol. 39, pp. 504–22, 1937.

[2] American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, pp. 1–61, 1927.

[3] W. D. Strong, *Anthropological Theory and Archaeological Fact* (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 359–70, Berkeley, 1936).

[4] Ralph L. Beals, *Preliminary Report on the Ethnography of the Southwest* (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Field Division of Education, Berkeley, 1935).

THE ZUNI INDIANS BY MATILDA COXE STEVENSON, 23 ANN. REP. BUR. AM. ETH.

Pages 310-313.

ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF WE WHA, THE TRANSVESTITE.

(310) A death which caused universal regret and distress in Zuni was that of We wha, undoubtedly the most remarkable member of the tribe. This person was a man wearing woman's dress, and so carefully was his sex concealed that for years the writer believed him to be a woman. Some declared him to be an hermaphrodite, but the writer gave no credence to the story, and continued to regard We wha as a woman; and as he was always referred to by the tribe as "she" - it being their custom to speak of men who don woman's dress as if they were women - and as the writer could never think of her faithful and devoted friend in any other light, she will continue to use the feminine gender when referring to We wha. She was perhaps the tallest person in Zuni; certainly the strongest, both mentally and physically. Her skin was much like that of the Chinese in color, many of the Zunis having this complexion. During six months' stay in Washington she became several shades lighter. She had a good memory, not only for the lore of her people, but for all that she heard of the outside world. She spoke only a few words of English before coming to Washington, but acquired the language with remarkable rapidity, and was soon able to join in conversation. She possessed an indomitable will and an insatiable thirst for knowledge. Her likes and dislikes were intense. She would risk anything to serve those she loved, but
(311) toward those who crossed her path she was vindictive. Though severe she was considered just. At an early age she lost her parents and was adopted by a sister of her father. She belonged to the Badger clan, her foster mother belonging to the Dogwood clan. Owing to her bright mind and excellent memory, she was called upon by her own clan and also by the clans of her foster mother and father when a long prayer had to be repeated or a grace was to be offered over a feast. In fact she was the chief personage on many occasions. On account of her physical strength all the household work requiring great exertion was left for her, and while she most willingly took the harder work from others of the family, she would not permit idleness; all had to labor or receive an upbraiding from We wha, and nothing was more dreaded than a scolding from her.

In the fall of 1896 a Sha lako god was entertained at her home. Although at this time We wha was suffering from valvular heart disease, she did most of the work, including the laying of a stone floor in the large room where the ceremonial was to occur. She labored early and late so hard that when the time came for holding the ceremony she was unable to be present. From this time she was listless and remained alone as much as possible, though she made no complaint of illness. When a week or more had passed after the close of the great autumn ceremonial of the Sha lako, and the many guests had departed, the writer dropped in at sunset to the spacious room in the house of We wha's foster father, the late Jose Palle. We wha was found crouching on the ledge by the fireplace. That a great change had come over her was at once apparent. Death evidently was rapidly approaching. She had done her last work. Only a few days before this strong minded, generous-hearted creature had labored to make ready for the reception of her gods; now she was preparing to go to her beloved Ko thluwala wa. When the writer asked, "Why do you not lie down?" We wha replied: "I cannot breathe if I lie down; I think my heart break." The writer at once sent to her camp for a comfortable chair, and fixed it at a suitable angle for the invalid, who was most grateful for the attention. There was little to be done for the sufferer. She knew that she was soon to die and begged the writer not to leave her.

From the moment her family realized that We wha was in a serious condition they remained with her, ever ready to be of assistance. The family consisted of the aged foster mother, a foster brother, two foster sisters with their husbands and children, and an own brother with his wife and children. The writer never before observed such attention as every member of the family showed her. The little children ceased their play and stood in silence close to their mothers, occasionally toddling across the floor to beg We wha to speak. She
(312) smiled upon them and whispered, "I can not talk." The foster brother was as devoted as the one related by blood.

During two days the family hoped against hope. Nai uchi, the great theurgist, came three times and pretended to draw from the region of the heart bits of mutton, declared to have been "shot" there by a witch who was angry with We wha for not giving her a quarter of mutton when she asked for it. We wha appeared relieved when the theurgist left. She knew that she was dying and appeared to desire quiet. After Nai uchi's last visit,

The Speaker of the House of Representatives and his wife entertain a Zuni Indian catamite, who is dressed up as a woman. News Flash!

the foster brother, with streaming eyes, prepared te likinawe (prayer plumes) for the dying, the theurgist having said that her moments on earth were few. We wha asked the writer to come close and in a feeble voice she said in English: "Mother, I am going to the other world. I will tell the gods of you and Captain Stevenson. I will tell them of Captain Carlisle, the great seed priest, (At the time of We wha's visit to Washington Hom John G. Carlisle was Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Speaker and Mrs Carlisle were very kind to We wha, and upon her return to Zuni she found a great sack of seed which had been sent by the Speaker.) and his wife, whom I love. They are my friends. Tell them good-by. Tell all my friends in Washington good-by. Tell President Cleveland, my friend, good-by. Mother, love all my people; protect them; they are your children; you are their mother." These sentences were spoken with many breaks. The family seemed somewhat grieved that We wha's last words should be given to the writer, but she understood that the thoughts of the dying were with and for her own people. A good-by was said to the others, and she asked for more light.

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It is the custom for a member of the family to hold the prayer plumes near the mouth of the dying and repeat the prayer, but this practice was not observed in We wha's case. She requested the writer to raise the back of the chair, and when this was done she asked if her prayer plumes had been made. Her foster brother answered "Yes," whereupon she requested him to bring them. The family suppressed their sobs that the dying might not be made sad. The brother offered to hold the plumes and say the prayers, but We wha feebly extended her hand for them, and clasping the prayer plumes between her hands made a great effort to speak. She said but a few words and then sank back in her chair. Again the brother offered to hold the plumes and pray, but once more she refused. Her face was radiant in the belief that she was going to her gods. She leaned forward with the plumes tightly clasped, and as the setting sun lighted up the western windows, darkness and desolation entered the hearts of the mourners, for We wha was dead.

Blankets were spread upon the floor and the brothers gently laid the lifeless form upon them. After the body was bathed and rubbed with meal, a pair of white cotton trousers were drawn over the legs, the (313) first male attire she had worn since she had adopted woman's dress years ago. The rest of her dress was female. The body was dressed in the finest clothing; six shawls of foreign manufacture, gifts from Washington friends, besides her native blanket wraps, and a white Hopi blanket bordered in red and blue, were wrapped around her. The hair was done up with the greatest care. Three silver necklaces, with turquoise earrings attached and numerous bangles, constituted the jewels.

We wha's death was regarded as a calamity, and the remains lay in state for an hour or more, during which time not only members of the clans to which she was allied, but the rain priests and theurgists and many others, including children, viewed them. When the blanket was finally closed, a fresh outburst of grief was heard, and then all endeavored to suppress their sobs, for the aged foster mother had fallen unconscious to the floor. The two brothers carried the remains unattended to the grave. The sisters made food offerings to the fire. The foster brother on his return made prayer plumes for each member of the immediate family, and also the writer. The little procession, including the foster mother, who had recovered sufficiently to accompany the others, then made its way to the west of the village and on the river bank deposited the clothing, mask, and prayer plumes in the manner heretofore described. Upon the return to the house the foster mother had the rest of We wha's possessions brought together that they might be destroyed. All her cherished gifts from Washington friends, including many photographs, were brought out; all must be destroyed. This work was performed by the mother, who wept continually. All was sacrificed but pictures of Mr and Mrs Carlisle, Mr Stevenson, and the writer. These were left in their frames on the wall. With another outburst of grief the old woman declared they must remain, saying: "We wha will have so much with her. I can not part with these. I must keep the faces of those who loved We wha and whom she loved best. I must keep them to look upon."

TRANSVESTITES: STEVENSON, ZUNI INDIANS, 23d BUR. AM. ETH. PAGES 37 AND 38.

(37) In the Zuni dramatization of the Kia nakwe dance of thanksgiving for the capture of the gods the one personating the Kor kokshi wears woman's dress and is referred to as the ko thlama, meaning a man who has permanently adopted female attire. The custom of youths donning female attire at puberty, which exists to some extent among the pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, has gien rise to conflicting statements. An assertion made, not

only by the writer after her first visit to Zuni, but also by others, was that these persons were hermaphrodites. One is led into this error by the Indians, who, when referring to men dressed as women, say "She is a man;" which is certainly misleading to one not familiar with Indian thought. Others claim that men who are thus attired, who are regarded in a religious light, subject the maidens of the tribe to their desires before their husbands are privileged to take them unto themselves. After more intimate acquaintance with the pueblos the writer is able to give the facts as they are. Men who adopt female attire do so of their own volition, having from childhood hung about the house and usually preferring to do the work of women. On reaching puberty their decision is final. If they are to continue woman's work they must adopt woman's dress; and though the women of the family joke the fellow, they are inclined to look upon him with favor, since it means that he will remain a member of the household and do almost double the work of a woman, who necessarily ceases at times from her labors at the mill and other duties to bear children and to look after the little ones; but the ko thlama is ever ready for service, and is expected to perform the hardest labors of the female department. The men of the family, however, not only discourage men from unsexing themselves in this way, but ridicule them. There have been but five such persons in Zuni since the writer's acquaintance with these people; and until about ten years ago there had been but two, these being the finest potters and weavers in the tribe. One was the most intelligent person in the pueblo, especially versed in their ancient lore. He was conspicuous in ceremonials, always taking the part of the captive Kor kokshi in the dramatization of the Kia nakwe. His strong character made his word law among both the men and the women with whom he associated. Though his wrath was dreaded by men as well as by women, he was beloved by all the children, to whom he was ever kind. Losing his parents in infancy, he was adopted by an aunt on his father's side, and the loving gratitude he exhibited for his aunt and her grief at his death afforded a lesson that might well be learned by the more
(38) enlightened. Such was his better side. He was said to be the father of several children, but the writer knew of but one child of whom he was regarded as certainly being the father. The other ko thlama, who was one of the richest men of the village, allied himself to a man during one of the visits of the writer to Zuni, and to the time of her departure from Zuni in 1897 this couple were living together, and they were two of the hardest workers in the pueblo and among the most prosperous. The third and fourth assumed woman's attire during the absence of the writer. The fifth, a grandson on the maternal side of Nai uchi, elder brother Bow priest, donned the dress during the visit of the writer to Zuni in 1896. The mother and grandmother were quite willing that the boy should continue in the work in which he seemed interested, but the grandfather, who was much disgusted, endeavored to shame him out of his determination to follow woman's work. He did not, however, attempt any authority in the matter, and on the boy's reaching manhood the trousers were replaced by woman's attire. There is a side to the lives of these men which must remain untold. They never marry women, and it is understood that they seldom have any relations with them.

WORK OF TRANSVESTITE; STEVENSON, ZUNI INDIANS, 23d.BUR.AM.ETH.PAGE 374.

On one occasion Mr Stevenson and the writer accompanied We wha to Corn Mountain to obtain clay. (The men who collect the clay are the few who adopt woman's dress and do woman's work, and these are always referred to as women.) On passing a stone heap she picked up a small stone in her left hand, and spitting upon it, carried the hand around her head and threw the stone over one shoulder upon the stone heap in order that her strength might not go from her when carrying the heavy load down the mesa. She then visited the shrine at the base of the mother rock and tearing off a bit of her blanket deposited it in one of the tiny pits in the rock as an offering to the mother rock (see plate XII a). When she drew near to the clay bed she indicated to Mr Stevenson that he must remain behind, as men never approached the spot. Proceeding a short distance the party reached a point where We wha requested the writer to remain perfectly quiet and not talk, saying: Should we talk, my pottery would crack in the baking, and unless I pray constantly the clay will not appear to me." She applied the hoe vigorously to the hard soil, all the while murmuring prayers to Mother Earth. Nine-tenths of the clay was rejected, every lump being tested between the fingers as to its texture. After gathering about 150 pounds in a blanket, which she carried on her back, with the ends of the blanket tied around her forehead, We wha descended the steep mesa, apparently unconscious of the weight.

The Sacred Fire, B.Z. Goldberg, p. 88. (Dakota)

Among the Santees, an American Indian tribe, if a man had a nightmare and dreamed of the terrible goddess, the moon, he had to appease the divinity by putting on feminine dress, serving as a woman and offering himself to men. In other tribes, the medicine men had to be effeminate and always wore the dress of women.

DREAMS, NATURE OF AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLE: (WHAT THEY THOUGHT A DREAM WAS).

Homer, The Iliad, Book II. (Translation by Andrew Lang).

Now all other gods and chariot driving men slept all night long, only Zeus was not holden of sweet sleep; rather was he pondering in his heart how he should do honour to Achilles and destroy many beside the Achaians' ships. And this design seemed to his mind the best, to wit, to send a baneful dream upon Agamemnon son of Atreus. So he spake, and uttered to him winged words: "Come now, thou baneful Dream, go to the Achaians' fleet ships, enter into the hut of Agamemnon son of Atreus, and tell him every word plainly as I charge thee. Bid him call to arms the flowing-haired Achaians with all speed, for that now he may take the wide-wayed city of the Trojans. For the immortals that dwell in the halls of Olympus are no longer divided in counsel, since Hera hath turned the minds of all by her beseeching, and over the Trojans sorrows hang." So spake he, and the Dream went his way when he had heard the charge. With speed he came to the Achaians' fleet ships, and went to Agamemnon son of Atreus, and found him sleeping in his hut, and ambrosial slumber poured over him. So he stood over his head in seeming like unto the son of Neleus, even Nestor, whom most of all the elders Agamemnon honoured; in his likeness spake to him the heavenly Dream: "Sleepest thou, son of wise Atreus tamer of horses? To sleep all night through beseemeth not one that is a counsellor, to whom peoples are entrusted and so many cares belong. But now hearken straightway to me, for I am a messenger to thee from Zeus, who though he be afar yet hath great care for thee and pity. He biddeth thee call to arms the flowing-haired Achaians with all speed, for that now thou mayest take the wide-wayed city of the Trojans. For the immortals that dwell in the halls of Olympus are no longer divided in counsel, since Hera hath turned the minds of all by her beseeching, and over the Trojans sorrows hang by the will of Zeus. But do thou keep this in thy heart, nor let forgetfulness come upon thee when honeyed sleep shall leave thee." So spake the Dream, and departed and left him there, deeming in his mind things that were not to be fulfilled.

22 Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pt. 2, Pawnee Hako, Fletcher, p. 318.

In the song belonging to this first night (of the Hako ceremony) the visions that "attend the Hako" were invoked. According to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, (leader of the ceremony) these visions resembled dreams, inasmuch as they often came during sleep, but they also appeared when the dreamer was awake. They might be called revelations, which served either to strengthen a purpose or to suggest means by which a plan could be carried out to insure success to some cherished project. Through such visions, we are told, the manner of procedure of the ceremony had been taught and its details prefigured, details which were afterward carefully followed so as to conform to what was regarded as a supernaturally given model. The birds, the animals, and the products of the earth represented on the Hako communicated with man by visions. In the song of invocation these visions are personified. They hear the summons in their dwelling place above; they descend and pass over the quiet earth, making their way to the door of the lodge, where they pause; they cross the threshold and "walk within"; they move around and fill the space, touching all the people; this accomplished, they "walk away" and ascend to their abode on high. We note that the visions follow the same sequence of movements that the Hako party followed in entering the lodge; they pause at the door, then enter and "walk within"; they move about and touch the people in prefiguration of the bestowal of gifts promised through the ceremony.

The Sacred Fire, B.Z. Goldberg, pp. 85-86.

To what extent favors were highly paid for in antiquity may be gleaned from the following anecdote of a famous courtesan, Archidice. A young Egyptian became infatuated with her and offered her all his possessions for one night of love. Archidice disdained his offer. In despair the lover besought Venus to give him in his dream what the beautiful Archidice refused him in reality. The prayer was answered and the young Egyptian had the dream he so much desired. When Archidice heard of it, she had the young man arrested and taken before the judges to make him pay for his voluptuous dream. The judges decided (86) that Archidice should, in turn, pray to Venus for a dream of silver in repayment for a fictitious lover.

John Buckman, an Atsina (Gros Ventre) Indian of Fort Belknap, Montana, (1909) gave the following information: That the Atsina were not clearly informed, nor were they sure of a life after death. All that they knew was that people saw their dead in dreams, and from this they concluded that these dead people must be in existence somewhere, because of the fact that they saw them. JGC.

The Indians of North America, From the Jesuit Relations, Edna Kenton, Vol. II, p. 191, Relation 1669-71: "The Iroquois have, properly speaking, only a single Divinity - the dream."

TRANSVESTITES AMONG INDIANS OF ISLETA PUEBLO, NEW MEXICO. ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS, ISLETA, 47TH. REP. BUR. AM. ETH. PAGES 245 TO 247. MAN-WOMAN.

(245) There is no man-woman (lunide) to-day in Isleta. About 30 years ago there was one called Palure who died at a very advanced
(246) age; he walked with a cane. Palure wore woman's clothes. He was a plasterer. He always lived alone. Boys would visit him, chop wood for him, calling him "mother," and would stay late at night, until cockcrow, to be scolded afterwards by their parents. They could not keep away from him. Palure or Pa.lur did not like girls, but girls came to his house to meet the boys. The younger girls who had to carry babies on their backs would come, too, to rest themselves. Nobody made such good cakes as Pa.lur and he would give them to the children. When the boys came in he would send the children away. Pa.lur was a very pretty person, and "they would sell him for a night, sometimes three or four times of a night, to some Mexican or white, fooling them." His name appears to be a nickname for this, meaning water, jump in. Jumping into the river is an Isletan phrase for sexual intercourse. But palure means also water dripping or sprinkling (see p. 280), and this was the first translation of his name that I got. In spite of some of these facts, there was not in the minds of my two informants, one a man, the other a woman, the slightest idea of attributing perverse sexual practice to this man-woman. To these informants the idea of sexual perversion seemed completely unfamiliar. This ignorance on the part of the woman in particular, a woman completely without sex reticence, is the most convincing evidence I have found of the lack of perversion on the part of the Pueblo man-woman.

Another Isletan man-woman was called Axa Hose lunude, old father Jose man-woman. He dressed in men's clothes which were always Indian buckskin trousers and moccasins.

From Lucinda I heard again of the last man-woman who lived at old Laguna, and who was involved there in a murder. (See Parsons, 12: 166, 237, 272. Dyamu - Valentino - was of the Chaparral Cock clan.) After this "Valentino" was released from prison he came to Orai bi to visit his mother's brother, Francisco Torres.

Valentino would tell how he had carried the murdered husband to the railway track, crying as he told about it. (And Lucinda, the emotional one, cried too.) Valentino was a fine potter. ... Still earlier there had been another Laguna visitor of the same type at Orai bi - Kuyuye, who was called Naiya Huye, Mother Huye, at Orai bi. He had been at school with Lucinda at Santa Fe. "We called him cumare." After some time he was found out at school and made to wear boy's clothes and placed with the boys. From school he went to Orai bi, where he lived with his uncle, Jose Antonio Correo. He wore trousers, but he did woman's work, grinding and making wafer bread, and carrying water. He would not chop wood. He talked like a girl. After staying there three or four years at Orai bi, he died.
(247) Incidentally Lucinda described a man-woman of San Felipe who is employed in a store at Albuquerque, where he wears men's clothes. At home, in San Felipe, he wears women's clothes. When he visits Lucinda at Isleta he acts shy like a girl. He talks like a girl and he will wash dishes for his hostess.

SCATALOGIC RITES OF ALL NATIONS, BY CAPTAIN JOHN G. BOURKE, THIRD CAVALRY, U.S.A. WASHINGTON, D.C., W.H. LOWDERMILK & CO. 1891. PAGES 22 AND 23.

(22) But upon another matter stress should be laid; in both the Feast of Fools and in the Urine Dance of the Zunis, it has been shown that some of the actors were naked or disguised as women.

No attempt is made to prove anything in regard to the European orgy, because research has thrown no light upon the reasons for which the participants assumed the raiment of the opposite sex.

In the case of the Zunis, the author has had, from the first, a suspicion, which he took occasion to communicate to Professor F.W. Putnam three years since, that these individuals were of the class called by Father Lafitau "hommes habilles en femme," and referred to with such frequency by the earliest French and Spanish authorities. This suspicion has been strengthened by correspondence lately received from Professor Bandelier which is, however, suppressed at the request of the latter.

In this connection, the student should not fail to read the remarkable contribution of A.B. Holder, M.D., of Memphis, Tennessee, in the New York Medical Journal of Dec. 7, 1889, entitled "The Bote: description of a peculiar sexual perversion found among the North American Indians."

An explanation of the "hommes habilles en femme," may be suggested in the following from Boas, descriptive of certain religious
(23) dances of the Eskimo: "Those who were born in abnormal presentations, wear women's dresses at this feast, and must make their round in a direction

opposite to the movement of the sun." - ("The Central Eskimo," Franz Boas, in Sixth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1888, p. 611.)

SCATALOGIC RITES OF ALL NATIONS, BY CAPTAIN JOHN G. BOURKE, PAGES 4 TO 10.

II.

THE URINE DANCE OF THE ZUNIS.

(4) On the evening of November 17, 1881, during my stay in the village of Zuni, New Mexico, the Nehue-Cue, one of the secret orders of the Zunis, sent word to Mr. Frank H. Cushing, (Mr. Cushing's reputation as an ethnologist is now so firmly established in two continents that no further reference to his self-sacrificing and invaluable labors in the cause of science seems to be necessary.) whose guest I was, that they would do us the honor of coming to our house to give us one of their characteristic dances, which, Cushing said, was unprecedented.

The squaws of the governor's family put the long living-room to rights, sweeping the floor and sprinkling it with water to lay the dust. Soon after dark the dancers entered; they were twelve in number, two being boys. The centre men were naked, with the exception of black breech-clouts of archaic style. The hair was worn naturally, with a bunch of wild-turkey feathers tied in front, and one of corn husks over each ear. White bands were painted across the face at eyes and mouth. Each wore a collar or neckcloth of black wooleh stuff. Broad white bands, one inch wide, were painted around the body at the navel, around the arms, the legs at mid-thighs, and knees. Tortoise shell rattles hung from the right knee. Blue woolen footless leggings were worn with low-cut moccasins, and in the right hand each waved a wand made of an ear of corn, trimmed with the plumage of the wild turkey and macaw. The others were arrayed in old, cast-off American Army clothing, and all wore white cotton night-caps, with corn-husks twisted into the hair at top of head and ears. Several wore, in addition to the tortoise-shell rattles, strings of brass sleigh bells at knees. One was more grotesquely attired than the rest, in a long India-rubber gossamer "overall," and with a pair of goggles, painted white, over his eyes. His general "get-up" was a spirited take-off upon a Mexican priest. Another was a very good counterfeit of a young woman. (5) To the accompaniment of an oblong drum and of the rattles and bells spoken of they shuffled into the long room, crammed with spectators of both sexes and of all sizes and ages. Their songs were apparently a ludicrous reference to everything and everybody in sight, Cushing, Mindeleff, and myself receiving special attention, to the uncontrolled merriment of the red-skinned listeners. I had taken my station at one side of the room, seated upon the banquette, and having in front of me a rude bench or table, upon which was a small coal-oil lamp. I suppose that in the halo diffused by the feeble light, and in my "stained-glass attitude," I must have borne some resemblance to the pictures of saints hanging upon the walls of old Mexican churches; to such a fancied resemblance I at least attribute the performance which followed.

The dancers suddenly wheeled into line, threw themselves on their knees before my table, and with extravagant beatings of breast began an outlandish but faithful mockery of a Mexican Catholic congregation at vespers. One bawled out a parody upon the pater-noster, another mumbled along in the manner of an old man reciting the rosary, while the fellow with the India-rubber coat jumped up and began a passionate exhortation or sermon, which for mimetic fidelity was incomparable. This kept the audience laughing with sore sides for some moments, until, at a signal from the leader, the dancers suddenlt countermarched out of the room in single file as they had entered.

(5) An interlude followed of ten minutes, during which the dusty floor was sprinkled by men who spat water forcibly from their mouths. The Nehue-Cue re-entered; this time two of their number were stark naked. Their singing was very peculiar, and sounded like a chorus of chimney-sweeps, and their dance became a stiff-legged jump, with heels kept twelve inches apart. After they had ambled around the room two or three times, Cushing announced in the Zuni language that a "feast" was ready for them, at which they loudly roared their approbation, and advanced to strike hands with the munificent "Americanos," addressing us in a funny gibberish of broken Spanish, English, and Zuni. They then squatted upon the ground and consumed with zest large "ollas" full of tea, and dishes of hard tack and sugar. As they were finishing this a squaw entered, carrying an "olla" of urine, of which the filthy brutes drank heartily.

I refused to believe the evidence of my senses, and asked Cushing if that were really human urine. "Why, certainly," replied he, "and (6) here comes more of it." This time it was a large tin pailful, not less than two gallons. I was standing by the squaw as she offered this strange and abominable refreshment. She made a motion with her hand to indicate to me that it was urine, and one of the old men repeated the Spanish word mear

(to urinate), while my sense of smell demonstrated the truth of their statements.

The dancers swallowed great draughts, smacked their lips, and, amid the roaring merriment of the spectators, remarked that it was very, very good. The clowns were now upon their mettle, each trying to surpass his neighbors in feats of nastiness. One swallowed a fragment of corn-husk, saying he thought it very good and better than bread; his vis-a-vis attempted to chew and gulp down a piece of filthy rag. Another expressed regret that the dance had not been held out of doors, in one of the plazas; there they could show what they could do. There they always made it a point of honor to eat the excrement of men and dogs.

For my own part, I felt satisfied with the omission, particularly as the room, stuffed with one hundred Zunis, had become so foul and filthy as to be almost unbearable. The dance, as good luck would have it, did not last many minutes, and we soon had a chance to run into the refreshing night air.

To this outline description of a disgusting rite, I have little to add. The Zunis, in explanation, stated that the Nehue-Cue were a Medicine Order, which held these dances from time to time to inure the stomachs of members to any kind of food, no matter how revolting. This statement may seem plausible enough when we understand that religion and medicine, among primitive races, are almost always one and the same thing, or at least so closely intertwined, that it is a matter of difficulty to decide where one begins and the other ends. (There are three secret orders in Zuni, - the "Zuni," the "Knife," and the "Nehue-Cue." The object of the latter is said to be to teach fortitude to its members, as well as to teach them the therapeutics of stomachic disorders, etc. In their dances they resort to the horrible practice of drinking human urine, eating human excrement, animal excrement, and other nastiness which can only be believed by seeing it."- Extract from the Personal Notes of Captain Bourke, November 16, 1881.)

Religion, in its dramatic ceremonial, preserves, to some extent, the history of the particular race in which it dwells. Among nations of high development, miracles, moralities, and passion plays have taught, down to our own day, in object lessons, the sacred history in which the (7) spectators believed. Some analogous purpose may have been held in view by the first organizers of the urine dance. In their early history, the Zunis and other Pueblos suffered from constant warfare with savage antagonists and with each other. From the position of their villages, long sieges must of necessity have been sustained, in which sieges famine and disease, no doubt, were the allies counted upon by the investing forces. We may have in this abominable dance a tradition of the extremity to which the Zunis of the long ago were reduced at some unknown period. A similar catastrophe in the history of the Jews is intimated in 2 Kings xviii. 27; and again in Isaiah xxxvi. 12: "But Rab-shakeh said unto them: hath my master sent me to thy master, and to thee to speak these words? hath he not sent me to the men which sit on the wall, that they may eat their own dung and drink their own piss with you?" In the course of my own studies I came across a reference to a very similar dance, occurring among of the fanatical sects of the Arabian Bedouins, but the journal in which it was recorded, the "London Lancet," I think, was unfortunately mislaid. ("There must, I think, be some mistake about the fanatical dance of Arabian Bedouins; probably one of the wild practices of Moslem Dervishes was described in the source you have mislaid. These practices are Turkish or Persian, not Arabian, in origin. The Rifar Dervishes eat live serpents and scorpions, and, I dare say, perform still more disgusting acts." - Personal letter from Professor W. Robertson Smith, Christ's College, Cambridge, England.)

As illustrative of the tenacity with which such vile ceremonial, once adopted by a sect, will adhere to it and become ingrafted upon its life, long after the motives which have suggested or commended it have vanished in oblivion, let me quote a few lines from Max Muller's "Chips from a German Workshop," "Essay upon the Parsees," pp. 163, 164, Scribner's edition, 1869: "The nirang is the urine of a cow, ox, or she-goat, and the rubbing of it over the face and hands is the second thing a Parsee does after getting out of bed. Either before applying the nirang to the face and hands, or while it remains on the hands after being applied, he should not touch anything directly with his hands; but, in order to wash out the nirang, he either asks somebody else to pour water on his hands, or resorts to the device of taking hold of the pot through the intervention of a piece of cloth, such as a handkerchief or his sudra, - that is, his blouse. He first purs water on his hand, then takes the pot in that hand and washes his other hand, face, and feet." - (Quoting from Dadabhai-Nadrosi's "Description of the Parsees.")

(8) Continuing, Max Muller says: "Strange as this process of purification may appear, it becomes perfectly disgusting when we are told that women, after childbirth, have not only to undergo this sacred ablution, but

actually to drink a little of the nirang, and that the same rite is imposed on children at the time of their investiture with the Sudra and Koshti, - the badges of the Zoroastrian faith."

Before proceeding further it may be advisable to clinch the fact that the Urine Dance of the Zunis was not a sporadic instance, peculiar to that pueblo, or to a particular portion of that pueblo; it was a tribal rite, recognized and commended by the whole community, and entering into the ritual of all the pueblos of the Southwest.

Upon this point a few words from the author's personal journal of Nov. 24, 1881, may well be introduced to prove its existence among the Moquis, - the informant, Nana-je, being a young Moqui of the strictest integrity and veracity: "In the circle I noticed Nana-je and the young Nehue-cue boy who was with us a few nights since. During a pause in the conversation I asked the young Nehue if he had been drinking any urine lately. This occasioned some laughter among the Indians; but to my surprise Nana-je spoke up and said: 'I am a Nehue also. The Nehue of Zuni are nothing to the same order among the Moquis. There the Nehue not only drink urine, as you saw done the other night, but also eat human and animal excrement. They eat it here too; but we eat all that is set before us. We have a medicine which makes us drunk like whiskey; we drink a lot of that before we commence; it makes us drunk. We don't care what happens; and nothing of that kind that we eat or drink can ever do us any harm.' The Nehue-cue are to be found in all the pueblos on the Rio Grande and close to it; only there they don't do things openly."

In addition to the above, we have the testimony of Mr. Thomas V. Keam, who has lived for many years among the Moquis, and who confirms from personal observation all that has been here said.

The extracts from personal correspondence with Professor Bandelier are of special value, that gentleman having devoted years of painstaking investigation to the history of the Pueblos, and acquiring a most intimate knowledge of them, based upon constant personal observation and scholarship of the highest order.

In a personal letter, dated Santa Fe, N.M., June 7, 1888, he tells, among much other most interesting information, that he saw at the Pueblo of Cochiti, on Nov. 10, 1880, "the Koshare eating their own excrement." (9) The following description of the "Club-house" of the Nehue-cue may be of interest: "It was twenty-one paces long, nine paces wide, with a banquette running round on three sides; in front of the altar were sacred bowls of earthenware, with paintings of tadpoles to typify water of summer, frogs for perennial water, and the sea-serpent for ocean water. (They describe the sea-serpent - vibora del mar - as very large, with feathers - spray? - on its head, eating people who went into the water, and when cut up with big knives yielding a great deal of oil.) In the first of the sacred dishes was a conch-shell from the sea, wands made of ears of corn, with hearts of chalchihuitl, and exterior ornamentation of the plumage of the parrot and turkey. Bowls of sacred meal (kunque) were on the floor; this sacred meal, to be found in niches in the houses of every Zuni, or for that matter almost every pueblo throughout New Mexico and Arizona, is generally made of a mixture of blue corn-meal, shells, and chalchihuitl; but for more solemn occasions, as the old Indian Pedro Pino assured me, sea-sand is added. Around the room at intervals were pictographs of birds, - ducks and others, - nine in number on one side, and nine of clown-gods on the other. These pictures were fairly well delineated in black and in red and yellow ochre. The god of "The Winged Knife" was represented back of the altar. In this room were also kept several of the painted oblong wooden drums seen in every sacred dance." - (Extract from personal notes of Captain Bourke, Nov. 17, 1881.)

"Have you ever, while in New Mexico, witnessed the dance of that cluster or order called the "Ko-sha-re" among the Queres, "Ko-sa-re" among the Tehuas, and "Shu-re" among the Tiguas? I have witnessed it several times; and these gentlemen, many of whom belong to the circle of my warm personal friends, display a peculiar appetite for what the human body commonly not only rejects, but also ejects. I am sorry that I did not know of your work any sooner, as else I could have given you very full description of these dances. The cluster in question have a very peculiar task, inasmuch as the ripening of all kinds of fruits is at their charge, even the fruit in the mother's womb, and their rites are therefore of sickening obscenity. The swallowing of excrements is but a mild performance in comparison with what I have been obliged to see and witness." - (Letter from Professor Bandelier, dated at Santa Fe, N.M., April 25, 1888.)

Major Ferry, whom the author met in the office of General Robert Mc Feely, Acting Secretary of War, Oct. 5, 1888, stated that he was the son of the first Protestant missionary to build a church at Macki-
(10) naw, and that the Indians of the Ojibway tribe who lived in the neighborhood of that post indulged from time to time in orgies in which the drinking of urine was a feature.

Mr. Daniel W. Lord, a gentleman who was for a time associated with Mr. Frank H. Cushing in his investigations among the Zuhis of New Mexico, makes the following statement: -

"In June, 1888, I was a spectator of an orgy at the Zuni pueblo in New Mexico. The ceremonial dance of that afternoon had been finished in the small plaza generally used for dances in the northwestern part of the pueblo when this supplementary rite took place. One of the Indians brought into the plaza the excrement to be employed, and it was passed from hand to hand and eaten. Those taking part in the ceremony were few in number, certainly not more than eight or ten. They drank urine from a large shallow bowl, and meanwhile kept up a running fire of comments and exclamations among themselves, as if urging one another to drink heartily, which indeed they did. At last one of those taking part was made sick, and vomited after the ceremony was over. The inhabitants of the pueblo upon the housetops overlooking the plaza were interested spectators of the scene. Some of the sallies of the acotrs were received with laughter, and others with signs of disgust and repugnance, but not of disapprobation. The ceremony was not repeated, to my knowledge, during my stay at the pueblo, which continued till July, 1889." + (Personal letter to Captain Bourke, dated Washington, D.C., May 26, 1890.)

SCATALOGIS RITES OF ALL NATIONS, BY JOHN G. BOURKE, CAPTAIN, U.S.A., P. 64.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE DOG A SUBSTITUTION FOR HUMAN SACRIFICE.

It would add much to the bulk of this chapter to show that the dog has almost invariably been employed as a substitute for man in sacrifice. Other animals have performed the same vicarious office, but none to the same extent, especially among the more savage races. To the American Indians and other peoples of a corresponding stage of development, the substitution presents no logical incongruity. Their religious conceptions are so strongly tinged with zoolatry that the assignment of animals to the role of deities or of victims is the most natural thing in the world; but their belief is not limited to the idea that the animal is sacred; it comprehends, additionally, a settled appreciation of the fact that lycanthropy is possible, and that the medicine-men possess the power of transforming men into animals or animals into men. Such a belief was expressed to the writer in the most forcible way, in the village of Zuni, in 1881. The Indians were engaged in some one of their countless dances and ceremonies (and possibly not very far from the time of the urine dance), when the dancers seized a small dog and tore it limb from limb, venting upon it every torture that savage spite and malignity could devise. The explanation given was that the hapless cur was a "Navajo," a tribe to which the Zunis have been spasmodically hostile for generations, and from whose ranks the fortunes of war must have enabled them to drag an occasional captive to be put to the torture and sacrificed.

Mrs. Eastman describes the "Dog Dance" of the Sioux, in which the dogs represented Chippewas, and had their hearts eaten raw by the Sioux.

47 Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. Bunzel. Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism. 1930.
(533) Religious life. We have already alluded to the attendance of the Newekwe at the winter dances of the masked gods, and there summer ceremony, which is only rarely performed. This ceremony comprises a four-day retreat with prayers for rain, at which there is no singing to the drum of the songs of the Beast Gods. The retreat ends with an all-night ceremony the last night and a public dance the last day. In this ceremony, as well as in the initiation rites, importance is given to various obscene and cruel practices. The dance may be repeated by request. In this ceremony they are assisted by the Ci wanakwe.

New Light on Ancient Egypt, G. Maspero, Trans. Elizabeth Lee. New York, 1909.
Treatise on Egyptian Medicine, p. 269. It is difficult to discover exactly of what the greater part of the medicaments consisted. The names of plants, minerals, animals, natural or manufactured objects, that enter into their composition, can seldom be identified with the substances they signify, and in many cases, if we could transliterate the Egyptian terms, we are incapable of translating them. When by chance we know all the ingredients, the formula generally belongs to the category of what we call old wives' remedies. There figure in them milk, saliva, urine, excrements, worms, insects, horn, gall, the whole contents of popular pharmacy. As a matter of fact, the Greek and Roman physicians, and the physicians of the Middle Ages, used no other, and it would be easy to turn the medly into ridicule, but in many cases there was a serious reason for the use of the substances, and the prescriptions, which seem so grotesque to us, cured the patient. It is certainly less disagreeable to apply ammonia, or medicaments made with ammonia, where the Egyptians prescribed urine, or the excrements of certain animals, but the results were the same, and the ammonia imprisoned in those repugnant substances acted in exactly the same manner as if it had been chemically prepared; it may be that, mingled with organic substances, its action was less harsh than it is in the case of the pure ammonia of our laboratories.

See Bourke, Scatalogic Rites of All Nations, chapters on Ur-Orgies, and Use of Urine and Ordure in Medicine.

THE ZUNI INDIANS BY MATILDA COXE STEVENSON, 23 ANN. REP. BUR. AM. ETH.

Pages 429-438.

NE WEKWE (GALAXY FRATERNITY)

(429) The Ne wekwe fraternity embraces the orders of O naya nakia and It sepeho and has a Kok ko thlan na (Great god) (see plate CIII a), as a patron god. Two other gods (plate CIII b shows mask of one of these gods) also appear at times with the Ne wekwe, but the writer is not sure what their relation is to the fraternity. It has been stated that the Ne wekwe was one of the four original fraternities organized soon after the A shiwi came to this world, and that Bi' tsi tsi, having special qualifications, was appointed musician and jester to the fraternity. Bi' tsi tsi remained with the Ne wekwe during the migrations of the A shiwi until they reached Tkiap kwena (Ojo Caliente), a farming district of the Zunis 15 miles southwest of the village. Here the (430) Ne wekwe visited Lu kiana tkiai a (Ashes spring), where Kok kothlan na (The Kok ko thlan na of the Ne wekwe is quite different from the patron god of the same name of the Great Fire fraternity) appeared to them. The god inquired of the mo sona (director): "What medicine have you?" Upon being told, he said: "Your medicine is good, but not good alone. Should you give it alone, it would destroy the intestines, for it is very hot. I will give you medicine which must be taken to allay the burning qualities of the other." Kok ko thlan na instructed the Ne wekwe to use human excrement in conjunction with their medicine.

Since that time the Kok ko thlan na is personated at the initiatory ceremonials of the Ne wekwe. He administers the excrement not only to the initiates but to others of the fraternity. While the Ne wekwe are considered great theurgists, one of the organization is seldom called upon except in extreme cases, from the fact that the invalid, if cured, is expected to join the fraternity and one naturally hates to indulge in its filthy practices; but after joining, the new fellow seems as eager as the others to excel in their disgusting acts.

The excrement is not given to invalids, but is administered on the occasion of an initiation, when every member of the fraternity must receive it, so that their bodies may be kept in condition for the other medicine. Kok ko thlan na talked much to Bi' tsi tsi, who told him of the mi wachi (see plate CI), of the te likinawe, and of the bauble of his fraternity; and Kok ko thlan na said: "That is well; that is well. Come and live with me and you shalle be musician and jester to the Sun Father." Before Bi' tsi tsi disappeared in the waters of the spring he told his fraternity that whenever they needed him they should notify him with te likinawe and he would come to them. Since that time Bi' tsi tsi has borne the name of Pa yatamu. The ground for a considerable distance about this spring is marshy and so covered with tall rank grass that it was with difficulty the writer followed Nai uchi (Elder brother Bow priest, since deceased.) to the place. Very little water was found in the spring, and it was dark and disgusting to taste. The spring is walled on three sides, the walls, about 2 feet high, being made of the gray soil (from which the spring takes its name) and stones. Slender poles placed across the spring, with brush and soil, make the roof. The soil about this spring is used by the Ne wekwe to decorate their persons and skull caps for their ceremonials.

To add to the amusement of the spectators, members of the Ne wekwe frequently appear in the plaza with the Ko yemshi between the dances of the gods, and whenever this occurs they play the fool generally; but it is when the Ne wekwe appear in large numbers that their conduct is shocking.

The writer was present at a meeting of the Ne wekwe in 1884. (431) On the evening of October 28 she happened to be passing the ceremonial chamber and was attracted by a half circle of white meal before the ground entrance of the chamber. She immediately stepped to the door, and although many Indians protested against her entering, she passed through the doorway before their cries and threats (432) could be heard inside. The members of the fraternity looked up from their repast with surprise, but the writer was made welcome and invited to be seated and join in the meal. An elaborately decorated tabelt altar stood at the west end of the long room and a bar representing the Galaxy, on which stood two figures of Pa yatamu (Bi' tsi tsi), extended across the room above the altar. Figure 28 shows a Hopi Indian carving an image of Pa yatamu (see also plate CIV). The central portion of the bar is composed of cloud symbols with seven stars representing Ursa Major. The sun's face is shown by a disk of blue-green, surrounded by blocks of black and white, which denote the house of the clouds. The carved birds, suspended from the blue-green serrated clouds of the bar, represent the

esho tsi (bat). "If a man sees a bat when he is on his way at night to plant prayer plumes, he is happy, for he knows that in four days there will be much rain." The birds perched on the clouds of the upper portion of the bar represent the kia wulo tki bird of the Zenith (Progne subis, purple martin). Lightning is symbolized by zig zag carvings at each end of the bar upon which figures of Pa yatamu stand. The pendent eagle plumes symbolize the breath of life, which is A wonawil ona (see page 22), the supreme power. The tablet altar is composed of cloud symbols, the sun surrounded by the house of the clouds, the morning and evening stars carved on the tops of the rear posts and painted in white each side of the sun. The yellow lion of the north and blue green of the west are represented on the two front posts, each of which has two hawk plumes standing from the top. Three small stone prey animals stand in line before the mi wachi. A dark stone animal about 2 feet high is sejant before the altar. The flute of the fraternity, a medicine bowl, and a prayer-meal basket are placed before the altar. The star of the four winds, each point decorated with a star and cumulus clouds (the serrated ends) from which eagle cast plumes hang, is suspended above the altar (see description of plate LVIII, page 245).

On entering the chamber the writer observed at once an object which in their surprise at her entrance had for the moment been forgotten by the fraternity. It was the large stone animal. This fetish stood before the altar on the north and was partly covered with a lynx skin. But a few moments elapsed before they remembered with consternation that the sacred object was exposed to the eye of the visitor, who, appreciating the situation, appeared unconscious of any objects beyond the group of men about the food. Expressions of relief escaped their lips and on the instant several large balnkets were thrown over it. Those whom the writer afterward questioned regarding the fetish at first denied all knowledge of it, but finally they admitted it to be their great father of Mystery medicine, and stated that the animal was converted into stone at the time when the great fire spread over the earth (see Origin of animal fetishes). After the
(433) meal the men formed into groups and prepared plume offerings, which are quite different from those made by other fraternities, spears of grass being combined with the plumes. Figure 29 shows the method of combining plumes and grass. As there was to be an initiation, a parallelogram was outlined in white meal on the floor near the altar, and was afterward filled in with the meal. A line of black inclosed the whole, and segments of circles, symbolic of rain clouds, were formed in black upon the white ground. The black coloring is made from charred corncobs. A black line was run transversely across the parallelogram. Two figures were delineated also in black on the
(434) ground color, one representing Bi' tsi tsi and the other his younger brother or fellow, and horizontal black lines crossed these figures from the top of the head to the feet.

After the completion of the prayer plumes each man lighted a reed filled with native tobacco and drawing a mouthful of smoke puffed it through the feathers. The smoking of the cigarette was repeated three times, and the prayer plumes were then gathered by one of the fraternity and deposited in a basket tray, which was placed by the altar. At 10 o'clock the members of the choir grouped themselves in the southwest end of the room, the women sitting on the north side. The large animal fetish now stood behind the altar. (When the officers of the fraternity and the writer became better acquainted no effort was made to seclude the sacred fetish from view. This fetish, however, is usually partly covered with a lynx skin or a sacred white embroidered blanket, so that it is necessary to raise the covering to see it clearly.) The flutist had his usual place behind the altar. The a kwamosi, who sat on the north side of the altar, proceeded to prepare the medicine water (see page 492). The consecration of the medicine water is virtually the same as in all orders of Mystery medicine. After the water was consecrated the a kwamosi took each plume offering separately from the basket and sprinkled it with water. He then dipped the water with a shell and taking it into his mouth threw it in a spray over the plumes. After the offerings were all sprinkled, the director wrapped them in corn husks in groups of twos and fours and returned them to the basket tray.

During the long ritual there were several interludes, when such jokes as the following were introduced: "I know a girl; her name is Manuelita; she is very good and pretty; she has many horses and fine clothes; her father and mother are rich and are very nice. Who desires Manuelita?" Some one in the choir calls the name of a member of the choir and the whole party joke him. Then again they call the name of another girl and say: "She is ugly and poor, with mean and despised parents." One of the choir is named as her lover, which causes great

merriment. The Catholic priest is mimicked and the paternoster repeated with all seriousness to its close, when the assemblage 434 indulges in wit at the expense of church and priest. (No other fraternity indulges in any such hilarity during their rites.)

After such an intermission the choir would take up the thread of their ritual. The following are terms employed in one of their songs: Kash ita tsi ponipon (fish with bearded mouth); Kash ita chu tape (spotted fish); Kash ita thlan na (great fish, or father of all fish).

The healing ceremonies of the order of Mystery medicine are similar to those described in connection with the Great Fire fraternity (page 493). All night the weird performances continue, and at sunrise the Kok ko thlan na appears in order to administer his medicine to the novices - a man, a woman, and a girl 6 years of age. The latter is the (435) daughter of the Kia kwemosi (rain priest of the North), who is a member of the fraternity and is as much of a buffoon when acting with the Ne wekwe as any of the others. Though the child does not flinch from the ordeal, it is apparent that the noxious dose is taken with aversion. They must eat of the offal and drink the urine, that their intestines may not be destroyed by the hot medicine. This dose is given and received with the same seriousness that Christian churches observe with their most sacred sacraments. Later in the morning, when the fraternity adjourns to the Si aa te wita, the Kok ko thlan na administers another dose. He wears a cotton shirt, the sleeves of which are tied to the wrists with blue yarn. A Hopi embroidered blanket is worn as a skirt; it hangs from the waist and is fastened at the back. An embroidered cotton sash is tied at the back of the waist and a fox skin is pendent at the back. The lower portion of the legs is wrapped with white cotton cloth of Hopi weaving, and the feet are covered with dance moccasins. Ko hakwa and turquoise beads hang in profusion over the breast. He carries in each hand large bunches of giant yucca, each (436) spear being split into fine pieces. It is observed that the yucca sprays are always held horizontally except when they are being used over the back of some one. He also carries in his left hand a feather wand wrapped with corn husks. There are thirty men and five boys, all but one having their bodies painted in ash color; the one exception has his body painted black with bands of white. All wear the black woven breechcloth embroidered at the ends in blue. A bust of Bi' tsi tsi, made by scraping off the paint from the body, is outlined on the back of each man. Figure 30 shows markings on the back. Four of the men wear skullcaps of cotton cloth painted in ash color, with bunches of ribboned corn husks on top and on each side near the ears; the others have their hair parted and tied in bunches. Figure 31 shows arrangement of hair. Each carries a baton (see plate XVII) about 10 inches long and 1 inch in diameter wrapped closely with cotton cord,
(437) which is afterward colored in circles of blue, green, and yellow, with black lines between, and finished at the top with banded turkey plumes. A single grain of corn, symbolic of the heart of the baton, is attached to the other end of the stick by wrappings of corn husks. The women and grils wear the conventional dress, with white Hopi blankets, bordered in red and blue, around their shoulders, and their best moccasins; their hair is done up like the men's.

The Kok ko thlan na administers the wretched morsel while moving in a peculiar dancing motion, reminding one of a humming bird hovering about a blossom. He advances to a man and whips him with the yucca switches, and then hands the dose to one of the Ko yemshi gods (see page 33) in attendance, who in turn gives it to the person designated by the god. None of the older members of the fraternity seem to shrink from the dose, while some receive it with apparent relish. Occasionally the one receiving the morsel divides it with a man, woman, or child by placing his lips to the other's lips and forcing it into the mouth. The children accept it as a religious duty, but it is evident that they do not relish it. The god leaves the plaza at intervals and during his absence there is great revelry, the principal amusement being the wool-bag game, played between the Ne wekwe and Ko yemshi, and the emptying of vessels of urine over one another.

While the scenes at the closing of the initiatory ceremonies are disgusting, the acme of depravity is reached after the Kok ko thlan na takes his final departure from the plaza. The performances are now intended solely for amusement. The women and grils of the fraternity leave the plaza after the ceremony and take no part in the debauchery. The one who swallows the largest amount of filth with the greatest gusto is most commended by the fraternity and onlookers. A large bowl of urine is handed by a Ko yemshi, who receives it from a woman on the house top, to a man of the fraternity, who, after drinking a portion, pours the remainder over himself by turning the bowl over his head. Women run to the edge of

The Sacred Fire, B.Z. Goldberg, p. 183, "At a Dionysian Mystery."Orgy.
Separating themselves from the crowd, they gathered in a room and partook of the sacramental meal. Food in mystic forms was eaten out of the sacred drum and more wine was drunk, but this time out of the cymbal, which was making sacred music to the god. Then an animal was driven into the room and all fell upon it in savage attack. Whether it was lamb, calf, or steer, it was torn to pieces and eaten, while its hot, streaming blood was drunk in great passion. The animal was supposed to incarnate the god. By tearing it, one was tearing his way into the very being of his divinity, and by eating the meat of the animal and drinking its blood, he was assimilating the body of the deity with his own flesh and blood. In the frenzy of religious and sexual passion, even a human might be taken for the god and be torn to pieces, especially when there were captives or slaves about. Hysterical parents might throw their own infants into the affray, they themselves fighting in the general skirmish for a piece of their own child's flesh.

the roof and empty bowls of urine over the Ne wekwe and Ko yemshi. Each man endeavors to excel his fellows in buffoonery and in eating repulsive things, such as bits of old blankets or splinters of wood. They bite off the heads of living mice and chew them, tear dogs limb from limb, eat the intestines and fight over the liver like hungry wolves. It is a pleasure to state that the Ne wekwe is the only fraternity that indulges in such practices.

The Ne wekwe are great mimics and all strangers are subjects for their ridicule, especially the Catholic priest and the army officer. A youthful member is picked up by one of the fraternity, who declares him to be a "Catolico santo," and the others form in line and carry the quasi saint about in procession. Finally a small blanket (438) is spread on the ledge which extends across the north side of the plaza, and another is pinned to the wall behind it, in imitation of a church altar; two of the fraternity disappear, to return with two torches, which they place upon the mock altar, and then they seat the "santo" between these. So the day passes until the evening shadows fall upon the most ridiculous and revolting sights that are to be seen in the pueblo of Zuni.

New Light on the Early History of the Northwest. Henry-Thompson Journals. Elliott Coues. Volume I, p. 398 and p. 399.
(398)
Henry Jounral. Reached the great Mandan village at five o'clock, Saturday, July 26, 1806.
(399) On Sunday, July 27, 1806, early in the morning mounted and went to the other village, (i.e. that of the Big Bellies, or River Gros ventres, or Hidatsa Indians), to see the Crows, who had come there to trade with the Hidatsa.
(399) The language of the Crows is nearly the same as the Big Bellies'; there is also a great similitude between these two nations in manners, customs, and dress. They have the character of a brave and warlike people; though obliged to put up with many insults from the people here, they have been repeatedly at war with the latter, and on many occasions have displayed dauntless spirit. I am informed they are much addicted to unnatural and beastly lusts, and have no scruple in satisfying their desires with their mares and wild animals freshly killed.
(347) Upon the whole they (the Minitari) appeared to me to be a firece and savage set of scoundrels, still more loose and licentious than (348) the Mandanes; the men appear to take pride in displaying their nudities. I am also informed that they are much given to unnatural lusts and often prefer a young man to a woman. They have many berdashes amongst them, who make it their business to satisfy such beastly passions. The men are always ready to supply a stranger with a bed-fellow, if he has any property. They are very complaisant in giving him the choice of their women, and proud when the can accomodate him with one who is provided with a good swinging pair of contrevents, or well labiated. I am not competent to determine whether this extraordinary appendage be natural or otherwise. I am informed that it is produced by the filthy custom of the men pulling upon it daily while the girls are still young, and continuing to do so when they are grown to maturity, until it attains the length of several inches on each side of the orifice. Some say that such females suspend weights to the parts for that purpose, and others again say it is natural to some of the women. That some of the women have such ornaments, or whatever we may choose to call them, I can affirm from ocular demonstration. These people, like their neighbors, have the custom of washing morning and evening, and then wallowing in mud or clay, which answers the purpose of soap. (Henry Journal, July 21, 1806).

The Crow Indians, Robert H. Lowie.

(xiv) Morally, Maximilian's informants gave the Crow an indifferent character: though they never killed whites, they did not scruple to rob them; their women were rivaled in debauchery only by the Arikara; and perverts were common. (Maximilian Prince of Wied-Neuwied at Fort Clark, on the Upper Missouri, June 1833.)
(48) Quite a different anomaly has been noted among the Crow since a century ago. Maximilian speaks of their many "bardaches or men-women" and quaintly credits this tribe with the championship in unnatural practices. There certainly seem to have been some of these inverts in every genreation, for the task of chopping down the first tree for the Sun Dance lodge (p. 312) specifically devolved on a berdache (bate'). The only representative of this class I have ever seen lived in the Big-horn district. He was then possibly fifty years of age, stood fully 5 feet, 7 inches in his moccasins, and was of large build. Dressed as a woman, he might have passed for one except for his affectedly piping voice. Agents, I learnt, had repeatedly tried to make him put on masculine clothing, but the other Crow protested, saying that it was against his nature. He enjoyed the reputation of great skill in women's crafts, but I also heard that he had once fought valiantly in an encounter with the Dakota. Berdaches naturally associate with girls and pretend to have sweethearts among the men. Anatomically a berdache is said to be indistinguishable from male infants at birth, but as he grows up his weak voice sets him off from other boys.
(xv) As to Maximilian's report on the Crow: Indian morals are judged by European standards.
(312) Chopping down the first tree for the Sun Dance lodge. Two other officers had to be chosen; one was a berdache, the other a captive from the tribe that had caused the Whistler's mourning, and each received a tongue as a fee. The berdaches were in hiding at this stage, but finally the police would discover and bring one. Amidst general merriment he would cover his face from bashfulness. A crier now announced that everything was ready and that everybody should approach.
(313) The three special officers stood by the tree, the Tree-notcher holding