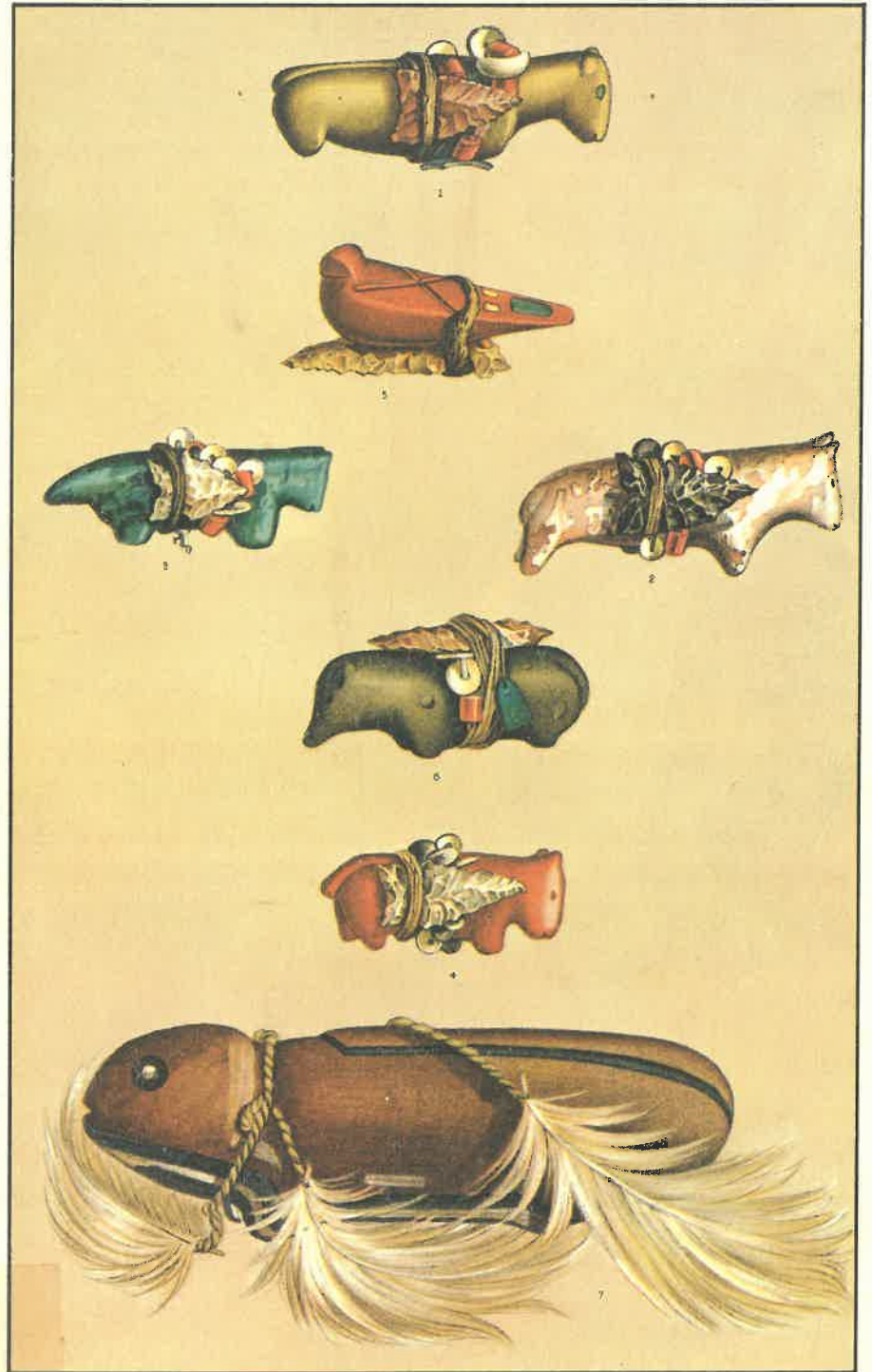


ZUNI FETISHES



by Frank Hamilton Cushing

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by Frank Hamilton Cushing

Introduction by Tom Bahti

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INTRODUCTION

is probably not the place to ponder the shortcomings of our own American society which leads so many of its members to seek amulets and charms of cultures other than their own for the purpose of "warding off evil" and "bringing good luck". Nevertheless, aside from a serious interest by collectors, it is this very phenomena that has attracted to a great extent the reprinting of this article on Zuni fetishes¹ thanks to Frank H. Cushing.²

The use of fetishes by Indians dates from pre-Columbian times³ but its use is probably as prevalent today as it was in the past, for man's desire to control those forces beyond his immediate power has not changed.

Many tribes in the Southwest make and use fetishes but the pueblo Indians have developed them to the greatest degree. Of the pueblos the Zuni have the reputation for being the most skillful at carving. For this reason the Zunis are looked to as a source for magical charms and amulets by members of other tribes. The Navajos, for example, will barter for the figures of horses, cattle, sheep or goats to keep their herds and flocks free from disease and to insure their propagation. Small cylindrical pieces carved from banded calcite are purchased for use as prayer sticks.

Fetishes may be of almost any form or material. The *mili*, a representation of the "Breath of Life" as given by Awonawilona, the Supreme Spirit of the Zunis, is a perfect ear of corn, filled with the seeds of various plants, wrapped in buckskin and set in a base of basketry and decorated with the feathers of various birds. *Ettone*, a fetish of the Rain which symbolizes Mother Earth, rain and all of the life-giving forces upon which man depends, consists of short sections of painted wood filled with seeds and water (One contains a live toad⁴) and wrap-

¹ *fetich* and *fetich* are both correct; *fetish* is now the preferred spelling.

² Frank H. Cushing (born 1857, died 1900) was a member of an expedition to the Zuni in 1879 sent by Major J. W. Powell, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C. Cushing remained with the Zunis for several years, writing numerous and excellent accounts of many aspects of their life. He not only learned to speak the Zuni language but lived, as nearly as possible, as a Zuni. So well was he accepted by these people that he was given a Zuni name (Medicine Flower) and initiated into the Bow Priesthood as a Chief. Because of his habit of dressing in a dandified version of a Zuni costume the Indians nicknamed him "Many Buttons", a reference to his overuse of button decorations.

³ The meanings of many of the words used in songs and prayers relating to fetishes are unknown today, an indication of an early origin of the use of fetishes.

⁴ Matilde Coxson, p. 163 "The Zuni Indians" 23rd Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C. 1904.



Modern Zuni fetishes.



Carvings in stone, shell and antler represent animals but are not used as fetishes.

ZUNI FÉTICHES.

BY FRANK H. CUSHING.

ZUNI PHILOSOPHY.

The Á-shi-wi, or Zuñis, suppose the sun, moon, and stars, the sky, earth, and sea, in all their phenomena and elements; and all inanimate objects, as well as plants, animals, and men, to belong to one great system of all-conscious and interrelated life, in which the degrees of relationship seem to be determined largely, if not wholly, by the degrees of resemblance. In this system of life the starting point is man, the most finished, yet the lowest organism; at least, the lowest because most dependent and least mysterious. In just so far as an organism, actual or imaginary, resembles his, is it believed to be related to him and correspondingly mortal; in just so far as it is mysterious, is it considered removed from him, further advanced, powerful, and immortal. It thus happens that the animals, because alike mortal and endowed with similar physical functions and organs, are considered more nearly related to man than are the gods; more nearly related to the gods than is man, because more mysterious, and characterized by specific instincts and powers which man does not of himself possess. Again, the elements and phenomena of nature, because more mysterious, powerful and immortal, seem more closely related to the higher gods than are the animals; more closely related to the animals than are the higher gods, because their manifestations often resemble the operations of the former.

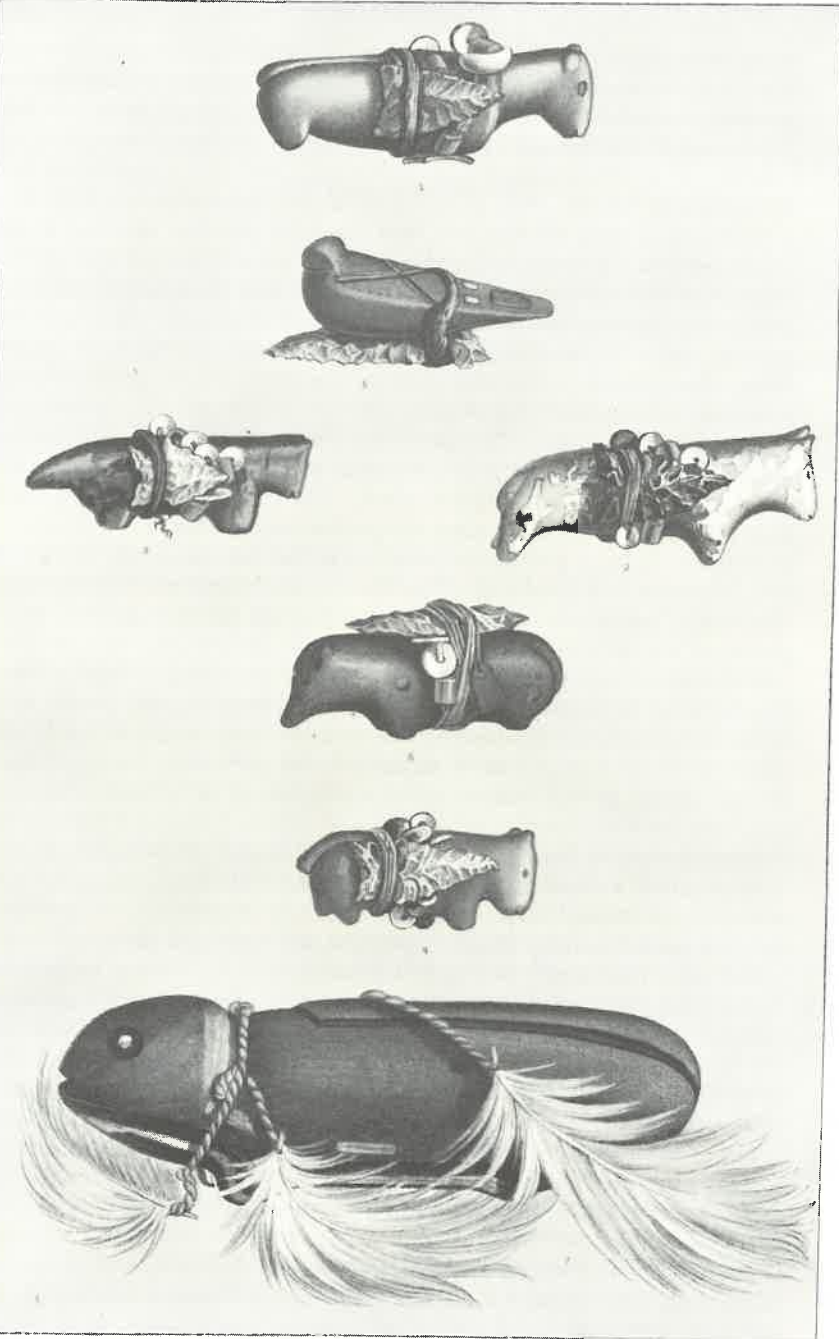
In consequence of this, and through the confusion of the subjective with the objective, any element or phenomenon in nature, which is believed to possess a personal existence, is endowed with a personality analogous to that of the animal whose operations most resemble its manifestation. For instance, lightning is often given the form of a serpent, with or without an arrow-pointed tongue, because its course through the sky is serpentine, its stroke instantaneous and destructive; yet it is named Wí-lo-lo-a-ne, a word derived not from the name of the serpent itself, but from that of its most obvious trait, its gliding, zigzag motion. For this reason, the serpent is supposed to be more nearly related to lightning than to man; more nearly related to man than is lightning, because mortal and less mysterious. As further

. Āsh-i-k'ia=á-hâ-i, from *ä'sh-k'ia*=made, finished, and *á-hâ-i*=beings, finished Beings," including the *dead* of mankind.

That very little distinction is made between these orders of life, or that they are at least closely related, seems to be indicated by the absence from the entire language of any general term for *God*. True, there are many beings in Zuñi Mythology godlike in attributes, anthropomorphic, monstrous, and elemental, which are known as the "Finishers or makers of the paths of life," while the most superior of all is called the older of the paths (of our lives), *Hâ'-no-o-na wí-la-po-na*. Not only these gods, but all supernatural beings, men, animals, plants, and many objects in nature, are regarded as personal existences, and are included under the one term *á-hâ-i*, from *á*, the plural particle signifying "all," and *i*, being or life,="Life," "the Beings." This again leads us to the important and interesting conclusion that all beings, whether deistic or supernatural, or animistic and mortal, are regarded as belonging to the same system; and that they are likewise believed to be related by blood ties to be indicated by the fact that human beings are spoken of as "children of men," while *all* other beings are referred to as "the fathers," the "All-fathers," and "Our Fathers."

THE WORSHIP OF ANIMALS.

It naturally follows from the Zuñi's philosophy of life, that his worship, while directed to the more mysterious and remote powers of nature, or, as he regards them, existences, should relate more especially to the animals; that, in fact, the animals, as more nearly related to himself than are these existences, more nearly related to these existences than to himself, should be frequently made to serve as mediators between them and him. We find this to be the case. It follows likewise from his inability to differentiate the objective from the subjective, that he should establish relationships between natural objects which resemble the animals and the animals themselves; that he should even ultimately attribute these animals for the sake of establishing such relationships, making such accidental resemblances as his *motives*, and thus developing conventionality in all art connected with his worship. It follows that the special requirements of his life or of the life of his ancestors should influence him to select as his favored mediators or aids those animals which seemed best fitted, through peculiar characteristics and powers, to meet these requirements. This, too, we find to be the case, for, pre-eminently a man of war and the chase, like all savages, the Zuñi has chosen above all other animals those which supply him with food and useful material, together with the animals which prey on them, giving preference to the latter. Hence, while the name of the former class is applied preferably as a *general* term to all animals and animal gods, as



T. Sinclair & Son, lith., Phila.

PREY GOD FETICHES.

another in anguish, and fell down, and covered their eyes with their bare hands and arms, for men were black then, like the caves they came from, and naked, save for a covering at the loins of rush, like yucca fiber, and sandals of the same, and their eyes, like the owl's, were unused to the daylight.

Eastward the two children began to lead them, toward the Home of the Sun-father.

Now, it happened that the two children saw that the earth must be dried and hardened, for wherever the foot touched the soil water gathered—as may be seen even in the rocks to-day—and the monsters which rose forth from the deep devoured the children of men. Therefore they consulted together and sought the advice of their creator, the Sun-father. By his directions, they placed their magic shield upon the wet earth. They drew four lines a step apart upon the soft sands. Then the older brother said to the younger, "Wilt thou, or shall I, take the lead?"

"I will take the lead," said the younger.

"Stand thou upon the last line," said the older.

And when they had laid upon the magic shield the rainbow, and across it the arrows of lightning, toward all the quarters of the world, the younger brother took his station facing toward the right. The older brother took his station facing toward the left. When all was ready, both braced themselves to run. The older brother drew his arrow to the head, let fly, and struck the rainbow and the lightning arrows midway, where they crossed. Instantly, *thlu-tchu!* shot the arrows of lightning in every direction, and fire rolled over the face of the earth, and the two gods followed the courses of their arrows of lightning.

Now that the surface of the earth was hardened, even the animals of prey, powerful and like the fathers (gods) themselves, would have devoured the children of men; and the Two thought it was not well that they should all be permitted to live, "for," said they, "alike will the children of men and the children of the animals of prey multiply themselves. The animals of prey are provided with talons and teeth; men are but poor, the finished beings of earth, therefore the weaker."

Whenever they came across the pathway of one of these animals, were he great mountain lion or but a mere mole, they struck him with the fire of lightning which they carried in their magic shield. *Thlu!* and instantly he was shriveled and burnt into stone.

Then said they to the animals that they had thus changed to stone, "That ye may not be evil unto men, but that ye may be a great good unto them, have we changed you into rock everlasting. By the magic breath of prey, by the heart that shall endure forever within you, shall ye be made to serve instead of to devour mankind."

Thus was the surface of the earth hardened and scorched and many of all kinds of beings changed to stone. Thus, too, it happens that we find, here and there throughout the world, their forms, sometimes large

PREY GODS OF THE SIX REGIONS.

THEIR ORIGIN.

Therefore it happens that the use of these fetiches is chiefly connected with the chase. To this, however, there are some exceptions. One of these may be partly explained by the following myth concerning Pó-shai-an-k'ia, the God (Father) of the Medicine societies or sacred esoteric orders, of which there are twelve in Zuñi, and others among the different pueblo tribes. He is supposed to have appeared in human form, poorly clad, and therefore reviled by men; to have taught the ancestors of the Zuñi, Taos, Oraibi, and Coconino Indians their agricultural and other arts, their systems of worship by means of plumed and painted prayer-sticks; to have organized their medicine societies; and then to have disappeared toward his home in Shí-pä-pu-li-ma (from *shí-pi-a*=mist, vapor; *u-lin*=surrounding; and *i-mo-na*=sitting place of—"The mist-enveloped city"), and to have vanished beneath the world, whence he is said to have departed for the home of the Sun. He is still the conscious auditor of the prayers of his children, the invisible ruler of the spiritual Shí-pä-pu-li-ma, and of the lesser gods of the medicine orders, the principal "Finisher of the Paths of our Lives." He is, so far as any identity can be established, the "Montezuma" of popular and usually erroneous Mexican tradition.

PÓ-SHAI-AN-K'IA.

In ancient times, while yet all beings belonged to one family, Pó-shai-an-k'ia, the father of our sacred bands, lived with his children (disciples) in the City of the Mists, the middle place (center) of the Medicine societies of the world. There he was guarded on all sides by his six warriors, Á-pi-thlan-shí-wa-ni (*pí-thlan*=bow, *shí-wa-ni*=priests), the prey gods; toward the North by the Mountain Lion (Long Tail); toward the West by the Bear (Clumsy Foot); toward the South by the Badger (Black Mark Face); toward the East by the Wolf (Hang Tail); above by the Eagle (White Cap); and below by the Mole. When he was about to go forth into the world, he divided the universe into six regions, namely, the North (P'ísh-lan-kwín táh-na=Direction of the Swept or Barren place); the West (K'íä'-li-shi-in-kwín táh-na=Direction of the Home of the Waters); the South (Á-la-ho-in-kwín táh-na=Direction of the Place of the Beautiful Red); the East (Té-lu-a-in-kwín táh-na=Direction of the Home of Day); the Upper Regions (Í-ya-ma-in-kwín táh-na=Direction of the Home of the High); and the Lower Regions (Ma-ne-lam-in-kwín táh-na=Direction of the Home of the Low)."

All, save the first of these terms, are archaic. The modern names for the West, South, East, Upper and Lower Regions signifying respectively—"The Place of Evening," "The Place of the Salt Lake" (Las Salinas), "The Place whence comes the Day," "The Above," and "The Below."

In the center of the great sea of each of these regions stood a very ancient sacred place (Té-thlä-shi-na-kwín), a great mountain peak. In the North was the Mountain Yellow, in the West the Mountain Blue, in the South the Mountain Red, in the East the Mountain White, above the Mountain All-color, and below the Mountain Black.

We do not fail to see in this clear reference to the natural colors of the regions referred to—to the barren north and its auroral hues, the west with its blue Pacific, the rosy south, the white daylight of the east, the many hues of the clouded sky, and the black darkness of the "caves and holes of earth." Indeed, these colors are used in the pictographs and in all the mythic symbolism of the Zuñis, to indicate the directions or regions respectively referred to as connected with them.

Then said Pó-shai-ay-k'ia to the Mountain Lion (Plate II, Fig. 1), "Long Tail, thou art stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore give I unto thee and unto thy children forever the mastership of the gods of prey, and the guardianship of the great Northern World (for thy coat is of yellow), that thou guard from that quarter the coming of evil upon my children of men, that thou receive in that quarter their messages to me, that thou become the father in the North of the sacred medicine orders all, that thou become a Maker of the Paths (of men's lives)."

Thither went the Mountain Lion. Then said Pó-shai-ay-k'ia to the Bear (Plate II, Fig. 2), "Black Bear, thou art stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Mountain Lion, the guardian and master of the West, for thy coat is of the color of the land of night," etc.

To the Badger (Plate II, Fig. 3), "Thou art stout of heart but *not* strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Bear, the guardian and master of the South, for thy coat is ruddy and marked with black and white equally, the colors of the land of summer, which is red, and stands between the day and the night, and thy homes are on the sunny sides of the hills," etc.

To the White Wolf (Plate II, Fig. 4), "Thou art stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Badger, the guardian and master of the East, for thy coat is white and gray, the color of the day and dawn," etc.

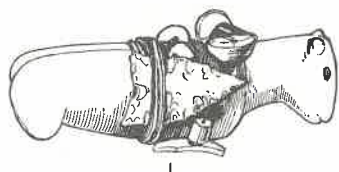
And to the Eagle (Plate II, Fig. 5), he said: "White Cap (Bald Eagle), thou art passing stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Wolf, the guardian and master of the Upper regions, for thou fliest through the skies without tiring, and thy coat is speckled like the clouds," etc.

"Prey Mole (Plate II, Fig. 6), thou art stout of heart and strong of

Mí-tsi. Mí-tsi kicked. Black bear came and pressed his wind out again. It hurt Mí-tsi, and he said to himself, "Oh dear me! what shall I do? The father thinks I am not punished enough." So he kept very still. Black bear started again, then stopped and looked at Mí-tsi, started and stopped again, growled and moved off, for Mí-tsi kept very still. Then the black bear went slowly away, looking at Mí-tsi all the while, until he passed a little knoll. Mí-tsi crawled away and hid under a log. Then, when he thought himself man enough, he started for Zufi. He was long sick, for the black bear had eaten his foot. He "still lives and limps," but he is a good Ma-ke-tsá-na-kwe. Who shall say that Pó-shai-an-k'ia did not command?

THEIR WORSHIP.

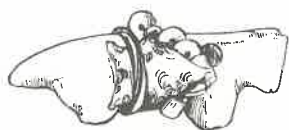
The prey gods, through their relationship to Pó-shai-an-k'ia, as "Makers of the Paths of Life," are given high rank among the gods. With this belief, their fetiches are held "as in captivity" by the priests of the various medicine orders, and greatly venerated by them as mediators between themselves and the animals they represent. In this character they are exhorted with elaborate prayers, rituals, and ceremonials. Grand sacrifices of plumed and painted prayer-sticks (Téthl-na-we) are made annually by the "Prey Brother Priesthood" (Wé-ma á-pa-pa á-shi-wa-ni) of these medicine societies, and at the full moon of each month lesser sacrifices of the same kind by the male members of the "Prey gentes" (Wé-ma á-no-ti-we) of the tribe.



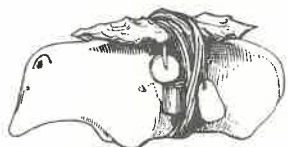
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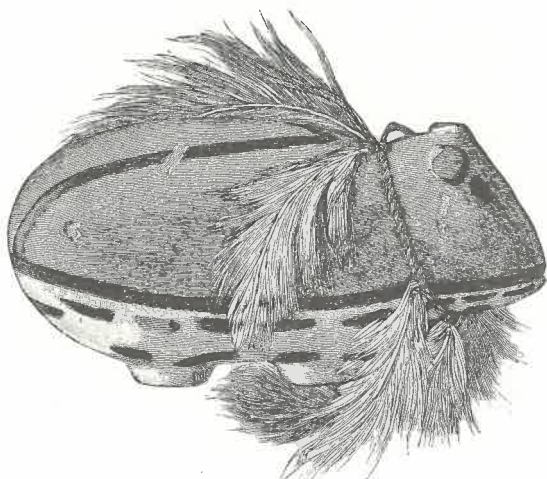
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6



7

PREY GOD FETICHES OF THE HUNT.

He espied the deep tracks of the elk and fleetly followed him. Passing swift and strong was he, though weak from hunger, and ere long he came in sight of the great Elk. The sight gladdened and strengthened him; but alas! the Elk kept his distance as he turned again toward the hiding-place of his brother animals. On and on the Sha'-la-k'o followed him, until he came to the edge of a great cañon, and peering over the brink discovered the hiding-place of all the game animals of the world.

"Aha! so here you all are," said he. "I'll hasten back to my father, Pá-u-ti-wa,* who hungers for flesh, alas! and grows weak." And like the wind the Sha'-la-k'o returned to Kó-thlu-ël-lon-ne. Entering, he informed the Kâ'-kâ, and word was sent out by the swift Sá-la-mo-pi-a† to all the We-ma-á-hâ-i for counsel and assistance, for the We-ma-á-hâ-i were now the Fathers of men and the Kâ'-kâ. The Mountain Lion, the Coyote, the Wild Cat, the Wolf, the Eagle, the Falcon, the Ground Owl, and the Mole were summoned, all hungry and lean, as were the Kâ'-kâ and the children of men, from want of the flesh of the game animals. Nevertheless, they were anxious for the hunt and moved themselves quickly among one another in their anxiety. Then the passing swift runners, the Sá-la-mo-pi-a, of all colors, the yellow, the blue, the red, the white, the many colored, and the black, were summoned to accompany the We-ma-á-hâ-i to the cañon-valley of the Snail People. Well they knew that passing wonderful were the Snail People, and that no easy matter would it be to overcome their medicine and their magic. But they hastened forth until they came near to the cañon. Then the Sha'-la-k'o,‡ who guided them, gave directions that they should make themselves ready for the hunt.

When all were prepared, he opened by his sacred power the magic corral on the northern side, and forth rushed a great buck Deer.

"Long Tail, the corral has been opened for thee. Forth comes thy game, seize him!" With great leaps the Mountain Lion overtook and threw the Deer to the ground, and fastened his teeth in his throat.

The corral was opened on the western side. Forth rushed a Mountain Sheep.

"Coyote, the corral has been opened for thee. Forth comes thy game, seize him!" The Coyote dashed swiftly forward. The Mountain Sheep dodged him and ran off toward the west. The Coyote crazily ran about

*The chief god of the Kâ'-kâ, now represented by masks, and the richest costume known to the Zuñis, which are worn during the winter ceremonials of the tribe.

†The Sá-la-mo-pi-a are monsters with round heads, long snouts, huge feathered necks, and human bodies. They are supposed to live beneath the waters, to come forth or enter snout foremost. They also play an important part in the Kâ'-kâ or sacred dances of winter.

‡Monster human bird forms, the warrior chiefs of Pá-u-ti-wa, the representatives of which visit Zuñi, from their supposed western homes in certain springs, each New Year. They are more than twelve feet high, and are carried swiftly about by persons concealed under their dresses.

ZUÑI FETICHES.

When the earth and winds were filled with rumbling from the feet of departing animals, and the Snail People saw that their game was going; hence the world was filled with the wars of the Ká'-ká, the I People, and the children of men.

Thus were let loose the game animals of the world. Hence the Buffalo, Great Elk, and the largest Deer are found mostly in the north, where they are ever pursued by the great Mountain Lion; but with them escaped other animals, and so not alone in the north are the Buffalo, Great Elk, and the Deer found.

Among the mountains and the cañons of the west are found the Mountain Sheep, pursued by the Coyote; but with them escaped many other animals; hence not alone in the west are the Mountain Sheep found.

Toward the south escaped the Antelopes, pursued by the Wild Cat. With them escaped many other animals; hence not alone in the south are the Antelopes found.

Toward the east escaped the Ó-ho-li, pursued by the Wolf; but with them escaped many other animals; hence not alone in the east are the Ó-ho-li found.

North in all directions escaped the Jack Rabbits, Cotton Tails, Rats, Mice; hence over all the earth are they found. Above them in the circle the Eagle, the Falcon, and the Ground Owl; yet into the circle escaped many of them, followed by the Prey Mole; hence beneath the earth burrow many.

Thus, also, it came to be that the Yellow Mountain Lion is the master of the north, but his younger brothers, the blue, the white, the spotted, and the black Mountain Lions wander over other regions of earth. Does not the spotted Mountain Lion (evidently the Ocelot) live among the *high* mountains of the south?

Thus, too, was it with the Coyote, who is the master of the West, but his younger brothers wander over all the regions; and thus, too, the Wild Cat and the Wolf.

In this tradition there is an attempt, not only to explain the special distribution throughout the six regions, of the Prey animals and their enemies, but also to account for the occurrence of animals in regions other than those to which, according to this classification, they properly belong.

THEIR VARIETIES.

And, therefore, that each one of the six species of Prey animals is divided into six varieties, according to color, which determine the location of each variety in that one or other of the regions to which its color agrees, yet it is supposed to owe allegiance to its

representative, whatsoever this may be or wheresoever placed. For instance, the Mountain Lion is primarily god of the North, but he is supposed to have a representative (younger brother) in the West (the blue Mountain Lion), another in the South (the Red), in the East (the White), in the Upper regions (the Spotted), and in the Lower regions (the black Mountain Lion).

Hence, also, there are six varieties of the fetich representing any one of these divisions, the variety being determined by the color, as expressed either by the material of which the fetich is formed, or the pigment with which it is painted, or otherwise, as, for example, by inlaying. (Plate III, Fig. 4, and Plate VII, Fig. 2.)

THE MOUNTAIN LION—HUNTER GOD OF THE NORTH.

According to this classification, which is native, the fetiches of the Mountain Lions are represented on Plate IV. They are invariably distinguished by the tail, which is represented very long, and laid lengthwise of the back from the rump nearly or quite to the shoulders, as well as by the ears, which are quite as uniformly rounded and not prominent.

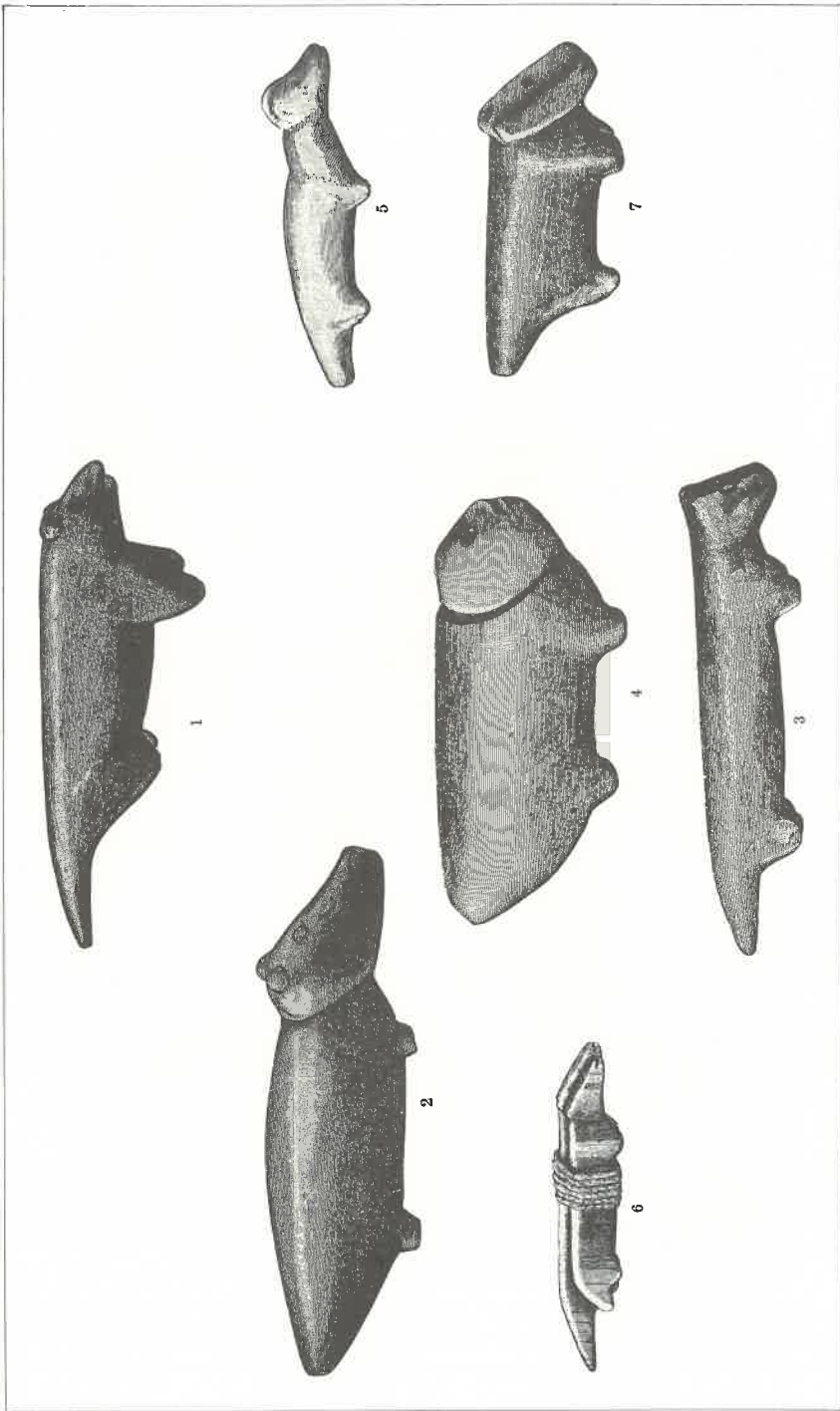
The fetich of the yellow Mountain Lion (Há'k-ti tä'sh-a-na thlúp-tsi-na), or God of the North (Plate IV, Fig. 1), is of yellow limestone.* It has been smoothly carved, and is evidently of great antiquity, as shown by its polish and patina, the latter partly of blood. The anus and eyes are quite marked holes made by drilling. An arrow-point of flint is bound to the back with cordage of cotton, which latter, however, from its newness, seems to have been recently added.

The fetich of the blue Mountain Lion, of the West (Há'k-ti tä'sh-a-na thlí-a-na), is represented in Plate IV, Fig. 2. The original is composed of finely veined azurite or carbonate of copper, which, although specked with harder serpentinous nodules, is almost entirely blue. It has been carefully finished, and the ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth, tail, anus, and legs are clearly cut.

The fetich of the white Mountain Lion, of the East (Há'k-ti tä'sh-a-na k'ó-ha-na), is represented by several specimens, two of which are reproduced in Plate IV, Figs. 3 and 4. The former is very small and composed of compact white limestone, the details being pronounced, and the whole specimen finished with more than usual elaboration. The latter is unusually large, of compact gypsum or alabaster, and quite carefully carved. The eyes have been inlaid with turquoises, and there is cut around its neck a groove by which the beads of shell, coral, &c., were originally fastened. A large arrow-head of chalcedony has been bound with cords of cotton flatwise along one side of the body.

The only fetich representing the red Mountain Lion, of the South (Há'k-ti tä'sh-a-na á-ho-na), in the collection was too imperfect for reproduction.

*I am indebted to Mr. S. F. Emmons, of the Geological Survey, for assisting me to determine approximately the mineralogical character of these specimens.



THE COYOTE FETICHES OF THE CHASE—HUNTER GOD OF THE WEST.

ite limestone. The first is evidently a natural fragment, the
 ig but slightly indicated by grinding, the mouth by a deep cut
 across the snout, and the eyes by deeply drilled depressions,
 groove around the neck being designed merely to receive the
 . The second, however, is more elaborate, the pointed chin,
 al tail, and pricked-up ears being distinctly carved, and yet in
 specimen resembles more a weasel than a coyote.

stich of the many-colored Coyote (Sús-k'i í-to-pa-nah-na-na), of
 er regions, is reproduced in Plate V, Fig. 6, which represents
 and female together, the latter being indicated merely by the
 size and the shorter tail. They are both of aragonite. This
 l form of the male and female fetiches is rare, and is significant
 powers than those of the hunt.

ack Coyote (Sús-k'i shí-k'ia-na), of the Lower regions, is repre-
 y Plate V, Fig. 7, the original of which is of compact white
 or yellowish-gray marble, and shows traces of black paint or

THE WILD-CAT—HUNTER GOD OF THE SOUTH.

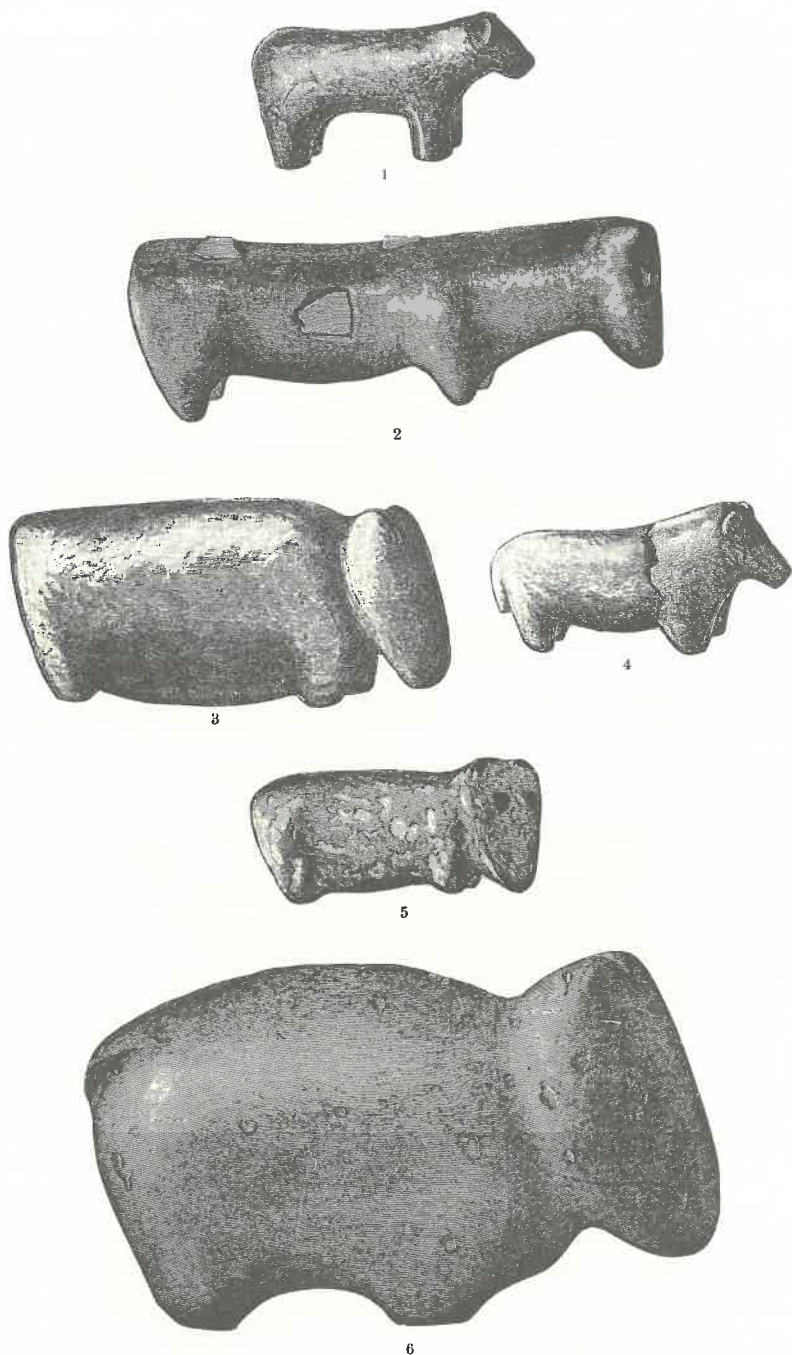
tiches of the Wild Cat, the principal of which is God of the
 e represented on Plate VI. They are characterized by short
 l tails and in most cases by vertical faces and short ears, less
 a in the fetiches of the Coyote.

I, Fig. 1, represents the fetich of the yellow Wild Cat (Té-pi
 na) of the North. Although of yellow limestone, it is stained
 ck with blood. A long, clearly-chipped arrow-point of chal-
 bound with blood-stained cotton cordage along the right side
 re, and a necklace of white shell beads (Kó-ha-kwa), with one
 stone (Kewí-na-kwa) among them, encircles the neck.

I, Fig. 2, represents the fetich of the blue Wild Cat (Té-pi
 of the West. It is formed from basaltic clay of a grayish-blue
 is furnished with an arrow-point of jasper (jasp vernis), upon
 aid a small fragment of turkois, both secured to the back
 cimen with sinew taken from the animal represented. Plate
 , likewise represents the fetich of the Wild Cat of the West.
 gment from a thin vein of malachite and azurite, or green
 arbonate of copper, and has been but little changed from its
 ondition.

I, Fig. 4, represents the red Wild Cat (Té-pi á-ho-na), of the
 lthough formed from gypsum or yellow limestone, its color
 hanged by the application of paint. It is supplied with the
 lace and arrow-point of the perfect fetich, secured by bands
 nd cotton.

gs. 5 and 6 of Plate VI represent the fetich of the white Wild
 k'ó-ha-na), of the East, and are of compact white limestone
 ashioned and polished, the one to represent the perfect animal,



WOLF FETICHES OF THE CHASE—HUNTER GOD OF THE EAST.

Plate VII, Fig. 5, represents the fetich of the many-colored Wolf (na-wi-ko í-to-pa-nah-na-na), of the Upper regions. The original is fine-grained sandstone of a gray color, stained in some places faintly red and other tints. The mouth, eyes, ear tips, and tail have been painted with black to make them appear more prominent.

Plate VII, Fig. 6, represents the fetich of the black Wolf (Íú-na-wi-ko í-tia-na), of the Lower regions. Although uncommonly large and greatly resembling in form the bear, it possesses the oblique face, upright ears, hanging tail, and other accepted characteristics of the Wolf.

THE EAGLE—HUNTER GOD OF THE UPPER REGIONS.

The fetiches of the Eagle, God of the Upper regions, and his younger brothers of the other regions (K'íä'-k'íä-li wé-ma-we) are represented Plate VIII. They are characterized merely by rude bird forms, with wings either naturally or very conventionally carved (Figs. 3 and 4).

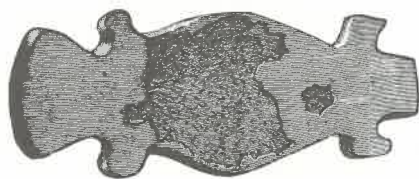
Further details are rarely attempted, from the fact that all the other principal prey animals are quadrupeds, and the simple suggestion of the bird form is sufficient to identify the eagle among any of them. Plate VIII, Fig. 1, represents the fetich of the yellow Eagle (K'íä'-k'íä-li thlúp-tsi-na), of the Northern skies. It consists merely of the head and shoulders, very rudely formed of white limestone and painted with yellow ochre. This specimen is doubtless a natural fragment very little altered by art.

Plate VIII, Fig. 2, represents the fetich of the blue Eagle (K'íä'-k'íä-li íó-k'íä-na), of the Western skies. It is quite elaborately carved, supplied with a pedestal, and pierced through the body to facilitate suspension. For during ceremonies, to be described further on, the fetiches of the Eagle are usually suspended, although sometimes, like those of the quadrupeds, they are placed on the floor, as indicated by the pedestal furnished to this specimen. Although of compact white limestone, this fetich is made to represent the blue Eagle by means of black eyes and a green stain over the body. A small pink chalcony arrow-point is attached to the back between the wings by means of a single sinew band passed around the tips of the latter and the tail and under the wings over the shoulders.

Plate VIII, Fig. 3, represents the fetich of the red Eagle (K'íä'-k'íä-li ío-na), of the Southern skies. Like Fig. 42, this is doubtless a nearly natural fragment of very fine-grained red sandstone, the wings being indicated by deep lines which cross over the back, and the rump grooved to receive the cord with which to secure to the back an arrow-point. The breast is perforated.

Plate VIII, Fig. 4, is a nearly natural fragment of compact white limestone, representing the white Eagle (K'íä'-k'íä-li k'ó-ha-na), of the stern skies. No artificial details, save the eyes, which are faintly indicated, have been attempted on this specimen.

Plate VIII, Fig. 5, represents, in compact yellow limestone, the speckled



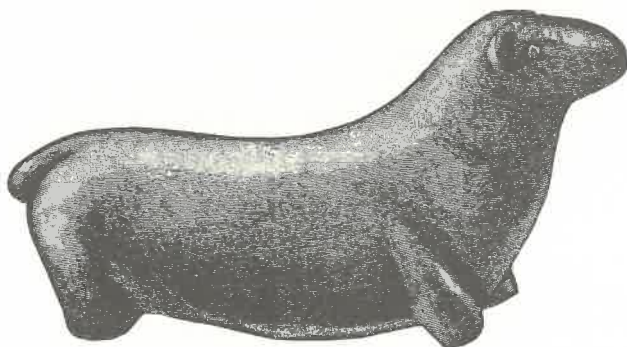
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2



3



4.

MOLE AND THE GROUND-OWL FETICHES—HUNTER GODS OF THE LOWER REGIONS
AND ALL REGIONS.

THE NAVAJO FETICHES—PHALLIC GODS OF THE FLOCKS.

ZUÑI FETICHES.

ests with these memberships and these alone to perfect the fetiches found, and to carry on at stated intervals the ceremonials and lip connected with them.

en not in use, either for such ceremonials or for the hunt, these fetiches are kept in a very ancient vessel of wicker-work, in louse of the Deer Medicine` (Nál-e-ton ín-kwīn), which is usually welling place of the keeper.

THE RITES OF THEIR WORSHIP.

THE DAY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE FETICHES.

e principal ceremonial connected with the worship of the Prey gs takes place either a little before or after the winter solstice or nal New Year.

is is due to the fact that many of the members of the above-men- d associations also belong to other societies, and are required on xact night of the New Year to perform other religious duties than , connected with the fetich worship. Hence, the fetiches or gods ey have their special New Year's day, called Wé-ma-a-wa ú-pu-k'ia -ne ("The day of the council of the fetiches").

this occasion is held the grand council of the fetiches. They are ken from their place of deposit and arranged, according to species color, in front of a symbolic slat altar on the floor of the council iber in a way I have attempted to indicate, as far as possible, by arrangement of the figures on the plates, the quadrupeds being ed upright, while the Eagles and other winged fetiches are suspended the rafters by means of cotton cords. Busily engaged in observing r ceremonials and debarred from actual entrance, until my recent ation into the Priesthood of the Bow, I have unfortunately never essed any part of this ceremonial save by stealth, and cannot describe a whole. I reserve the right, therefore, to correct any details of following at some future day.

re ceremonials last throughout the latter two-thirds of a night. h member on entering approaches the altar, and with prayer-meal and addresses a long prayer to the assembly of fetiches, at the close hich he scatters the prayer-meal over them, breathes on and from hand, and takes his place in the council. An opening prayer-chant, ing from one to three hours, is then sung at intervals, in which various abers dance to the sound of the constant rattles, imitating at the e of each stanza the cries of the beasts represented by the fetiches. t the conclusion of the song, the "Keeper of the Deer Medicine," is master priest of the occasion, leads off in the recitation of a long rical ritual, in which he is followed by the two warrior priests with rter recitations, and by a prayer from another priest (of uncertain

-le-te-k'ia; tom lithl hã hãl-lo-wa-ti-nán thle-a-ú tom an té-ap-k'o-nan
 overtaken (have); unto here I good fortune (ad)dress thy own wherewith (thou
 thee hast being)

n-ti-shem-án a-k'ia yam á-wi-te-lin tsi-tá, hã lithl té-u-su a-k'ia
 wishing for hence, to my all earth mother I here (with prayer) hence,
 (-from), prayer

ne yäthl kwai-k'ia-ná.

rail over go out shall.

Lé-we ú-lokh nan thla-ná tom te-ap-k'o-nán sho-hi-tá tom pi-nan
 thus much (of the) great thy wherewith (thou) (the) deer thy wind
 world hast being breath (of
 life)

k'ia a-u-la-shó. Awen shi-nán, awen k'iah-kwín hothl án-ti-she-mán
 by encircle about Their flesh their Life fluid soever wanting
 enee wander around. (blood)

k'ia le-hok té-u-su a k'ia hã ó-ne yäthl kwai k'ia-ná.

ence yonder prayer hence I trail over go out (shall).
 (from me) with

Kwa-i-no-ti-nam hothl yam té-ap-k'o-nán a-k'ia hom tâ ke-tsä-ti.
 Without fail (unfailing) where- thy wherewith (thou) hence (by) to me thou happy
 enee soever for me hast being

ia-ná. Hom tâ té-k'o-ha-ná an-ik tchi-a-tú.
 ake, do). Unto me thou (the) light meet with (do).

FREE TRANSLATION.

Why (of course)—

This day, my father (or, my mother), here I, (as if) unexpectedly,
 meet thee with whatsoever I have made ready of the sacred things of
 my fathers, the priest gods of the sacred dances, the priest gods of the
 reys (beings). These sacred things bringing I have here overtaken
 thee, and with their good fortune I here address thee. Wishing for
 that whereby thou hast being, I shall go forth from here prayerfully
 upon the trails of my earth-mother.

Throughout the whole of this great country, they whereby thou hast
 being, the deer, by the command of thy wind of life (breath), wander
 about. It is wishing for their flesh and blood that I shall go forth yon-
 der prayerfully out over the trails.

Let it be without fail that thou shall make me happy with that
 whereby thou hast being. Grant unto me the light of thy favor.

Then scattering forth the prayer-meal in the direction he proposes to
 make on the hunt, he chooses from the vessel the fetich, and pressing it
 to or toward his lips breathes from it and exclaims:

Ha! é-lah-kwá, hom tä-tchú (hom tsi-tá), lú-k'ia yät-ton-né o-né
 Ah! Thanks, my father, (my mother), this day trails
 lithl eh-kwé ta-pan hã té-u-su a-k'ia, o-né yäthl kwai-k'ia-ná.
 over ahead taking I prayer with trails over go out shall.

FREE TRANSLATION.

Ah! Thanks, my father (or, my mother), this day I shall follow (thee)
 forth over the trails. Prayerfully over the trails I shall go out.

Should a party be going to the hunt together, all repair to the House
 of the Deer Medicine, repeating, one by one, the above prayers and
 remonial as the fetiches are drawn.

The fetich is then placed in a little crescent-shaped bag of buckskin

ZUÑI FETICHES.

The master priest of the occasion, is a signal for the commencement of the ceremonials. It is therefore substituted for "Ma!", used in the regoing prayer, whenever any preparations, like sacrifices and ceremonials, precede the prayer.

With this introduction he utters the accompanying prayer:

Lú-k'ia yät ton-né, hom tä-tchú k'ia-pin há-í, to-pin-té yät-ton-né, to-
This day my father game being, one day
 n-té teh-thli-na-né, tom an o-né yäthl u-lap-nap-té. Hothl yam á-wi-
me night thy own trail over round about (even) However to me earth
though. your
 -lin tsi-tau-án to-pin-té i-te-tchu-ná hom tá an-k'o-ha-ti-ná. Tom an
mother (with) one step to me thou shalt grant (favor). Thy own
 íah-kwín an-ti-shi-ma-ná, tom an shi-i-nán án-ti-shi-mán a-k'íá tom
blood wanting, thy own flesh wanting, hence to thee,
life-fluid
 thl há hál-lo-wa-ti-nán á-thle-a-ú thlá á-thle-a-ú. Lé-we tá-kuthl po-ti'
ere I good fortunes (ad)dress, treasure (ad)dress. Thus much woods round filled
all the about
 om an tom yä't-ti-na tsú-ma-k'ie-ná. Hom á-tä-tchú, hom ton án-k'o-
me mine you grasping strong shall. My all-fathers, to me you favor
 a-ti-na-wá. Hom ton té-k'o-ha-na án-ik-tchi-a-nap-tú.
do (all). To me you light (favor) meet with do.

FREE TRANSLATION.

Si! This day, my father, thou game animal, even though thy trail
 ne day and one night hast (been made) round about; however, grant
 into me one step of my earth-mother. Wanting thy life-blood, want-
 ng thy flesh, hence I here address to thee good fortune, address to thee
 reasure.

All ye woods that fill (the country) round about me, (do) grasp for
 ne strongly. [This expression beseeches that the logs, sticks, branches,
 rambles, and vines shall impede the progress of the chased animal.]
 My fathers, favor me. Grant unto me the light of your favor, do.

The hunter then takes out his fetich, places its nostrils near his lips,
 breaths deeply from them, as though to inhale the supposed magic
 breath of the God of Prey, and puffs long and quite loudly in the gen-
 eral direction whither the tracks tend. He then utters three or four
 times a long low cry of, "Hu-u-u-u!" It is supposed that the breath
 of the god, breathed in temporarily by the hunter, and breathed out-
 ward toward the heart of the pursued animal, will overcome the latter
 and stiffen his limbs, so that he will fall an easy prey; and that the low
 roar, as of the beast of prey, will enter his consciousness and frighten
 him so as to conceal from him the knowledge of any approach.

The hunter then rises, replaces his fetich, and pursues the trail with
 all possible ardor, until he either strikes the animal down by means of
 his weapons, or so worries it by long-continued chase that it becomes an
 easy capture. Before the "breath of life" has left the fallen deer (if it
 be such), he places its fore feet back of its horns and, grasping its

ZUÑI FETICHES.

he digs a grave, as it were, and deposits therein, with prayer-
his strange mixture, meanwhile saying the following prayer:

lú-k'ia yät-ton-né, k'ia-pin-hâ-i, tó-pin-ta yät-ton-né tó-pin-ta
This day game being, one day, one
-na-né, lé-we tom o-né yäthl ú-lap-na-k'ia tap-té lú-k'ia yät-ton-né
ht, thus much thy trail over circled about though this day
(even)
-té te-ä-ti-pá, tom lithl hâ an-ah-ú'-thla-k'ia. Tom lithl hâ hâ'l-lo-
x- was it thou here I upward pulling To thee here, I good
embraced.
thle-a-ú. Tom lithl hâ ó-ne-an thle-a-ú. Tom lithl hâ thlâ
address To thee here I corn pollen address. To thee here I treas-
the yellow ure
Yam an-i-kwan-a-k'ia hâ'l-lo-wa-ti-nan, ó-ne-an, thlâ í-thle-a-u-
By thy knowledge-hence good fortune, the yellow, treas- (thysell) shall
ure,
thli-mon hâ-i í-ya-k'ia-nan hom an té u-su-pé-nan a-k'ia tâ
new being making shall be my own prayer-speech hence thou
(thysell) with,
a i-tú loh k'ia-ná. K'ia-pin-á-hâ-i á-te-kwi a-k'ia. Kwa hom
come and go (shall). Game beings relative to with. Not mine
raw animals in the di-
rection of
am tun a-k'ia tom lithl hâ hâ'l-lo-wa-ti-nan, ó-ne-an, thlâ, á thle-
to hence, to thee here I good fortune, the yellow, treas- (have) all
ure
Hom tâ té-k'o-ha-na an'-ik-tchi-a-náp-tú. O-né yäthl k'ok-shi
To me thou light grant (meet) do. Trail over good
tchaw' il-lü'p ó-na yá-k'ia-náp-tú.
children together with, finish, do.
trail

FREE TRANSLATION.

his day, game animal, even though, for a day and a night, thy
ove (the earth) circled about—this day it has come to pass that
embraced thee upward (from it). To thee here I address good

To thee here I address the (sacred) pollen. To thee here I ad-
easure. By thy (magic) knowledge dressing thyself with this
tune, with this yellow, with this treasure, do thou, in becoming
eing, converse with (or, of) my prayer as you wander to and fro.
I may become unfailing toward the Game animals all, I have
ressed unto thee good fortune, the yellow and treasure.

unto me the light of thy favor.

unto me a good (journey) over the trail of life, and, together
ldren, make the road of my existence, do.

g the performance of these ceremonials the fetich is usually
a convenient spot to dry, and at their conclusion, with a bless-
s replaced in the pouch. The hunter either seeks further for
; making a pack of his game in its own skin by tying the legs
and crossing them over his forehead like a burden strap, re-
me and deposits it either at the door or just within. The wo-
a come, and, breathing from the nostrils, take the dead animal
nter of the room, where, placing its head toward the East, they
ther side of its body next to the heart an ear of corn (signifi-

PREY GODS OF THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE BOW.

THE KNIFE-FEATHERED MONSTER, THE MOUNTAIN LION, AND THE GREAT WHITE BEAR.

The Priesthood of the Bow possesses three fetiches, two of which are of the We-ma-á-há-i, (Plate X, Fig. 2, and Plate XI, Fig. 2.) The other is sometimes classed with these, sometimes with the higher beings, and may be safely said to form a connecting link between the idolatry proper of the Zuñis and their fetichism. These three beings are, the Mountain Lion (Plate X, Fig. 2), the great White Bear (Plate XI, Fig. 2), (Áiy-shi k'ó-ha-na—the god of the scalp-taking ceremonials), and the Knife-feathered Monster (Á-tchi-a lä-to-pa), (Plate X, Fig. 1).

This curious god is the hero of hundreds of folklore tales, and the tutelary deity of several of the societies of Zuñi. He is represented as possessing a human form, furnished with flint knife-feathered pinions, and tail. His dress consists of the conventional terraced cap (representative of his dwelling-place among the clouds), and the ornaments, badge, and garments of the Kâ'-kâ. His weapons are the Great Flint-Knife of War, the Bow of the Skies (the Rain-bow), and the Arrow of Lightning, and his guardians or warriors are the Great Mountain Lion of the North and that of the Upper regions.

He was doubtless the original War God of the Zuñis, although now secondary, in the order of war, to the two children of the Sun mentioned at the outset.

Anciently he was inimical to man, stealing and carrying away to his city in the skies the women of all nations, until subdued by other gods and men of magic powers. At present he is friendly to them, rather in the sense of an animal whose food temporarily satisfies him than in the beneficent character of most of the gods of Zuñi.

Both the Great White Bear and the Mountain Lion of the War Priesthood are, as well as the Knife-feathered Demon, beings of the skies. For this reason the fetich of the Mountain Lion of the skies (of aragonite) is preferred by a Priest of the Bow above all other kinds or colors. Unfortunately, none of the fetiches of this priesthood are to be found in the collections of the Bureau, and but one, with its pouch, has been reproduced from the original, which is in my possession. It was not presented to me with my other paraphernalia on the night of the final ceremonials of my initiation into the Priesthood of the Bow, but some months afterward when I was about to start on a dangerous expedition. At this time I was charged with carefully preserving it during life as my special fetich, and instructed in the various usages connected with



T. Sinclair & Son, Lith.

SHIELD AND FETICH OF THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE BOW.

his breast, and kneels or squats on the ground while uttering the accompanying prayer:

Si! Lú-k'ia yät-ton-né, hom a-tä-tchú K'ia-pin-á-há-i lé-we í-na-kwe
 Si! This day, my Fathers, Animal Beings, (all) (by) enemies
 thus much
 pó-ti-tap-té hom ton té-bi-a-na-wé. Ethl tel-i-kwën-te thlothl tchu-a
 filled through me ye precious render Not that (in any) way soever whom (of the)
 (all do). unexpected
 í-na-kwe hom kwa'hothl a-k'íá a-tsu-ma-na-wam-i-k'ia-ná. Lú-k'ia yät-
 enemy my whatsoever with daring (existence) (pl.) shall. This day
 ton-né hom to le'-na
 to me ye thus

[At this point, while still continuing the prayer, he scratches or cuts in the earth or sands with the edge of the arrow-point, which is lashed to the back or feet of the fetich, a line about five or six inches in length].

ai'-yäl-la-na-wá. Ethl thlothl-tchu-á í-na-kwe í-pi-kwai-nam-tun a-k'íá
 shelter (pl.) shall give. Not that whomsoever (of the) enemy pass themselves through to hence
 shield
 hom ton ai'-yäl-la-na-wá. [Here he scratches a second line.] Hâk-ti-
 to me ye shelter shield (pl.) Tail-long
 shall (give),
 tšä/sh-a-ná, [scratches a third line.] Ä-tchi-a-lä'-to-pá, [scratches a fourth
 Mountain Lion), Knife-feathered,
 line] hom ton í-ke-i-nan ai'-yäl-la-na-wá.
 my ye heart shelter shield (pl.)
 shall give.

[These lines, although made immediately in front of the speaker, relate to the four points of the compass, the other two regions not being taken into account, since it is impossible for the enemy to bring harm from either above or below the plane on which the subject moves. It may be well to add, also, that four (the number of the true fingers) is the sacred numeral of the Zuñis, as with most all Indian tribes and many other lower races.]

FREE TRANSLATION.

Si! This day, my fathers, ye animal gods, although this country be filled with enemies, render me precious. That my existence may not be in any way so ever unexpectedly dared by the enemy, thus, O! shelter give ye to me (from them). (In order) that none of the enemy may pass through (this line) hence, O! shelter give ye to me (from them). Long Tail [Mountain Lion], Knife-feathered [God of the Knife Wings], O! give ye shelter of my heart from them.

On the conclusion of this prayer the fetich is breathed upon and replaced, or sometimes withheld until after the completion of the war-song and other chants in which the three gods mentioned above are, with others, named and exhorted, thereby, in the native belief, rendering protection doubly certain. I am of course thoroughly familiar with

