MYTHS AND SYMBOLS

OR

ABORIGINAL RELIGIONS

IN

AMERICA

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

In preparing a book on the Aboriginal Religions of America, the author has been impressed with the thought that very few have ever been written or published upon the subject. It is true that there are many books upon American Mythology, but there is a difference between mythology and religion, for mythology is occupied mostly with the fanciful tales of the people, and belongs mainly to the department of literature; while the aboriginal religions relate to the Divinities about which the myths are concerned. They are very comprehensive, and include not only the ceremonies, sacred dramas, and religious exercises, but also the symbols and external signs and objects of worship, thus making a double title necessary.

It is true that the mythology of the American Aborigines is closely connected with religious ceremonies which are explanatory of them, and in this respect resemble the ceremonies which were common among the Egyptians and Greeks, especially the Eleusinian mysteries. These mysteries were so secret that their significance was unknown, except to the initiated, and yet the probability is that the great tragedies of nature, which consist in the return of the seasons and the war of the elements, and the relation of the activities of the earth to the power of the heavenly bodies, were in reality quite similar to these sacred dramas practised by the natives of this continent.

The Scandinavian mythology, which has become familiar to us through the volumes of the younger Edda, also illustrates this point. It had to do with the powers of nature and the remarkable scenery of the Norseland, but was mingled with traditions and myths which came from the far East. It represented the earliest system of religion which prevailed in Europe and in farther Asia, and yet there was a remarkable difference between that mythology and the religion of the Norsemen, for the mythology is
purely literary, as is well known; but their religious rites and ceremonies came from paganism.

This illustrates the difference between the present work and those various volumes which have been prepared on the native mythologies of America, for the object of the author has been to get at the actual religious beliefs from which the mythology sprang, and make these the chief objects of study.

It should be said that great activity has appeared among the specialists in the work of collecting the myths, and witnessing and describing the religious ceremonies, and many volumes have been published by the various museums and societies, but these are so purely local in their character, that they do not really assist us in comprehending the entire system as it prevailed on this continent, though they have served to perpetuate the myths and ceremonies which are fast disappearing, and are likely soon to pass away altogether.

The author would acknowledge his indebtedness to these various reports, and refer the readers to them for further information upon the subject which is at hand. It will be remembered, however, that there were many tribes and nations in Mexico, Central America and Peru who gave up their religious customs at the time of the conquest. Our acquaintance with the Aboriginal Religions of this region is dependent upon the study of the symbols which have been preserved, and the sacred books or codices which are still in existence.

The method of studying the religious systems has been to take the native tribes as they are actually situated geographically, and trace the relation between the myths and the divinities, which were worshiped in the locality, to their surroundings, without undertaking to trace their historical development, or even to show their resemblance to those found on other continents. There was a great variety of religious systems on this continent, each of which seems to have arisen in the very locality where they prevailed at the time of the Discovery, and some of them are prevailing at the present time. There is one peculiarity of all these systems: viz., there were no such religious founders, as have marked the systems which prevailed in the lands of the East; but
all owed their existence to natural causes, with the slight mixture of traditions which had reached them from some distant lands.

The most remarkable fact which is brought out by this study, is that the aboriginal religions of America correspond to the earliest forms of religions which prevailed in the lands of the East. But the grades of progress which are manifest in them follow the geographical, instead of chronological lines. The lowest form, such as Demonism, found in the far North among the Eskimos, resembled that which was the earliest in the far East. Next to this was Totemism, which resembles that which prevailed among the wild and wandering tribes of Arabia. There was also a system of Star-Worship and Sky-Worship which prevailed among the mountain tribes of the Interior, which resembled that existing in Central Asia during prehistoric times. The system of Sun-Worship which prevailed among the agricultural tribes of the Gulf States, closely resembling that which existed in Egypt and Babylonia at the opening of history, and many of the same customs were observed.

There was a system prevailing among the partially civilized tribes of the Southwest, very similar to that which existed among the Greeks. It consisted in the worship of Culture Heroes and Humanized Divinities, some of whom so resembled human beings, as to be taken for historical personages, or visitors from some foreign land.

Hiawatha and Quetzalcoatl (the Fair God of Mexico) correspond to Buddha, the chief divinity of the Hindoos; at the same time Tezcatlipoca, the War God of the Aztecs, corresponds in character to Loki of the Scandinavians. There were rulers among the Peruvians who were worshipped as Children of the Sun, and had great power over the entire nation because of this superstition. In this respect they resembled the early kings of Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece. The dawn of civilization brought out their shadowy character, so that they were regarded as super-human beings.

The same analogies may be recognized in the symbols and myths which prevailed on the two hemispheres. There were monsters of the deep which filled the imaginations of
the Eskimos, just as there were dragons which haunted the houses and temples of the Chinese. There were also, Bird Divinities which were regarded by the people of the Northwest Coast as their protectors, just as there were among the tribes of Southern Africa. The same analogies can be traced also in the animal divinities, for there were many animal forms which can be recognized among the art products of America, which resemble those found among the palaces of Babylon. They were wild animals, and yet they were regarded as protectors and were worshipped as sincerely as were the Winged Lions and Human Headed Bulls which stood in the palaces of Nineveh.

The most striking analogy between the religious systems of America and those which existed in the far East, consists in the fact that there was a constant progress, and the conception of Divinity grew higher as civilization advanced, and, yet, strange to say, no such character ever appeared on the continent of America, as that which was embodied in the person of Jesus Christ. In fact, it does not seem possible that the ordinary progress of society could have developed such a character, or even brought the conception to the human mind, except by the process of divine inspiration.
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.
RACES AND RELIGIONS IN AMERICA.................................. 1

CHAPTER II.
TOTEMISM AND MYTHOLOGY............................................. 17

CHAPTER III.
THE SERPENT SYMBOL IN AMERICA.................................. 53

CHAPTER IV.
THE SERPENT SYMBOL IN AMERICA—Continued................. 81

CHAPTER V.
ANIMAL WORSHIP AND SUN WORSHIP COMPARED................. 113

CHAPTER VI.
AMERICAN ASTROLOGY OR SKY WORSHIP............................ 145

CHAPTER VII.
THE PYRAMID IN AMERICA.............................................. 159

CHAPTER VIII.
THE CROSS IN AMERICA..................................................... 185

CHAPTER IX.
PHALIC WORSHIP AND FIRE WORSHIP IN AMERICA............. 209

CHAPTER X.
THE WATER CULT AND THE DELUGE MYTH.......................... 227

CHAPTER XI.
HUMAN IMAGES AND WINGED FIGURES............................... 249

CHAPTER XII.
THE WORSHIP OF THE RAIN GOD........................................ 281
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIII.
Ethnographic Religions and Ancestor Worship..... 297

CHAPTER XIII.—Continued.
Anthropomorphic and Mountain Divinities............. 315

CHAPTER XIV.
Commemorative Columns and Ancestor Worship..... 333

CHAPTER XV.
Personal Divinities and Culture Heroes.............. 362

CHAPTER XVI.
Culture Heroes and Deified Kings..................... 389

CHAPTER XVII.
Personal Divinities and Nature Powers in America... 421
### List of Illustrations

#### Chapter I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pictographs</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pictographs</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pictographs</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Deer</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Crane</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Turtle</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Bear</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The Crane</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dreams</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Winged Serpent</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ornamented Wall of Buried City in Honduras</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Fresco Figure from Mexico</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Idols in Honduras</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Chapter II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Clan Totems Inscribed on Rocks</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mythologic Totem from Arizona</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mythologic Symbols of the Cliff-Dwellers</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Clan Totems in the Effigies</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Totems of the Village Chief</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Totem Posts from the Northwest Coast</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The Thunder Bird</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>House Post</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Totem Post</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Totem Board</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Totem Post</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Feathered Doll</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The Indian Medicine Man</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Knife-Feathered' Monster</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Chapter III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Great Serpent in Adams County, Ohio</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Great Serpent in Adams County, Ohio</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Serpent Effigy, Chillicothe, Ohio</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Works on the Miami River, Ohio</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Work in Colerain, Ohio</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Serpent in Scotland</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Bird Effigy</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Bald Friar's Rock</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Serpent Heads from the Codices</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Serpent Tablet from Clark's Works, Ohio</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Serpent Pipe from New Mexico</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Serpent and Mound-Builder</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Plumed Serpent, Nicaragua</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.**

**CHAPTER IV.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Serpent Effigies near Ripon, Wis</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Enclosure in Shape of Serpent</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Rock in Shape of Serpent</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Serpent in Rock Inscriptions</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Serpent on an Inscribed Rock in Colorado</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Human Figures Enveloped with the Serpent Symbol</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Vase with Serpent Ornament</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Water Trough with Serpent Ornament</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Aztec Calendar Stone</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Serpent Ornament on Façade at Palenque</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Serpent Ring at Chichen-Itza</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>The Calendar Stone</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER V.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thunder Bird of the Thlinkits</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Shield of the Priesthood of the Bow</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Circle with Symbols of Days</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sun Circle, with Symbols of Months</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tree and Cross as Symbols of the Sun</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Water Spider, with Symbols of the Sun on its Back</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Double Throne and Phallic Symbol</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Winged Circle from Palenque</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Figure of Death</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER VI.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A Sun-Worshiper</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ornament Representing the Sky</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mound Builders' Map of the Sky</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Serpent of the Horizon</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Arched Heavens Personified</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Symbol of the Sun—Spiral Path, Embossed Figure on the Ground</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mound with Circle and Ditch, Symbols of the Sun</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Place of Sacrifice and Map of the Sky</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Stonehenge Restored</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Circle, Crescents and Square at Hopeton, showing the Symbolism of the Region</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sky Divinities of the Zunis</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER VII.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pyramidal Mounds in Mississippi</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pyramid of Cholula</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Governor's House at Uxmal</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pyramid at Palenque</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pyramid of Teotihuacan</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Truncated Mound from the Ohio Valley</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mound at Cahokia</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAPTER VII.—Continued

Figure 8—Platforms and Pyramids at Copan........................................... 171
9—Mound at St. Louis................................................................. 172
10—Palace and Pyramid at Palenque............................................. 176
11—The Pyramid of Quemada...................................................... 177
12—Temple of the Cross............................................................ 182
13—Temple of the Tablets......................................................... 183

CHAPTER VIII.

Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6—Symbols of the Cross............................. 186
Figure 7—Zuni Head Dress......................................................... 187
8—Rock Inscriptions in Illinois.................................................. 188
9—Rock Inscriptions in Missouri................................................ 188
10—Cross in Pickaway County, Ohio............................................ 191
11—Bird Gorget................................................................. 192
12—Spider Gorget............................................................... 194
13—Spider with Cross.............................................................. 195
14—Spider Gorget............................................................... 195
15—Serpent Gorget............................................................... 196
16—Cross on Shell Gorget......................................................... 197
17—Cross on Copper Disk........................................................ 197
18—Suastika on Shell............................................................... 198
19—Cross on Shell........................................................................ 198
20—Shape of the Crosses Found in American Ornamentation............ 199
21 and 22—Symbol of the Cross in House and Shrine................. 202
23—Symbol for the Day............................................................. 203
24—Symbol for the Year............................................................. 203
25—Symbol for the Temple or Shrine........................................... 203
26—Cross of Teotihuacan.......................................................... 204
27—Idol Pillar................................................................. 206
28—Cross of the Tablet............................................................. 207
29—Symbolic Cross............................................................... 208

CHAPTER IX.

Figure 1—Cup Stone at Cincinnati, Ohio........................................... 218
2—Fire Dancers.............................................................................. 219
3—Navajo Sand Painting............................................................... 221
4—Map Showing the Distribution of the Suastika......................... 223

CHAPTER X.

Figure 1—Water Snake of the Zunis............................................... 229
2—Horse Shoe Enclosures at Portsmouth...................................... 236
3—Effigy on the Scioto............................................................... 237
4—Sun Circles.............................................................................. 238
5—Terraced Mound Opposite Portsmouth................................... 239
6—Corral for Prisoners............................................................... 240
7—Enclosure and Spring near Worthington, Ohio....................... 241
8—Legends Rock................................................................. 242
9—Aztec Migration Legend......................................................... 243
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAPTER XI.
Figure 1—Man Eagle ........................................ 250
2—The Maya Gods of Death, Life and Growth .......................... 252
3—The Tree of Life Transformed ..................................... 254
4—The Tree of Life Transformed ..................................... 255
5—Serpent and Human Face ......................................... 258
6—Pottery Idol ..................................................... 259
7—Idol from the West Indies .......................................... 260
8—Haida Carving .................................................... 261
9—Figures in a Cave in West Virginia .............................. 265
10—Fighting Figures from the Mounds .............................. 268
11—Wasco and Yetl .................................................. 269
12—Bird, Sun and Human Figure ................................... 271
13—Human Tree at Palenque ......................................... 273
14—Idol and Manitou Face at Uxmal ............................... 274
15—Cortesian Codex and Symbols of Cardinal Points .......... 275
16—Idol with Symbols of the Sky and Clouds .................. 276
17—Image with Cloud Symbol ...................................... 277
18—Tlaloc, Rain God ................................................. 278
19—Tlaloc, the Aztec Neptune ....................................... 279
20—Quetzalcoatl, Air God of the Mayas ........................... 279

CHAPTER XII.
Figure 1—Medicine Bowl with Rain Symbol ......................... 282
2—Rain and Sky Symbol ........................................... 283
3—Zuni Rain and Cloud Symbol .................................. 283
4—Zuni Prayer-meal Bowl .......................................... 284
5—Butterfly, Dragonfly and Bird Symbols ...................... 286
6—Snake Kilt .......................................................... 293
7—Antelope Priest ..................................................... 295

CHAPTER XIII.
Figure 1—Bear Idol from the Mounds .............................. 303
2—Bear Idol from the Mounds-Front View ......................... 304
3—Carved Images from the West Indies ......................... 306
4—Idol from Guatemala .............................................. 308
5—Idol from Guatemala .............................................. 309
6—Chart of the "Mide Wigan," or Sacred Lodge .............. 320
7—Hastjelti, the Mountain Divinity .............................. 328

CHAPTER XIV.
Figure 1—Circle of Standing Stones at Avebury ............... 335
2—Haida Houses and Totem Posts ................................ 340
3—Haida Houses ..................................................... 341
4—Silver Bracelet ...................................................... 342
5—Silver Bracelet ...................................................... 343
6—Silver Bracelets .................................................... 344
7—Carved Slate Disk ................................................. 348
8—Haida Totem Posts at the World's Fair, Chicago .......... 350
9—Cedar Box ............................................................ 354
10—Slate Box ........................................................... 355
11—Lid of the Box ...................................................... 356
**LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.**

**CHAPTER XV.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Whale Killer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Image on a Rock, Easter Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Serpent Pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 and 5</td>
<td>Serpent Tree and Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Thunder Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Heyoka as a Hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lightning God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Human Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 and 11</td>
<td>Oonktanne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER XVI.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gigantic Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Statue of Tlaloc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Seated Figure at Palenque, representing the God of War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pontiff King at Copan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Tiwoc Stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cacique and Kneeling Figure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER XVII.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Different Culture Heroes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cuculan, Chief God of the Mayas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Cloud Boat of the Mayas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FULL PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FRONTISPIECE—Transformation Ceremony and Dancers Dressed as Wolves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totem Tattoos, Northwest Coast.—Portrait Figure from Guatemala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dakota Indians Imitating the Attitudes of the Buffaloes in Their Dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mythologic and Animal Totems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eagle Man—A Mythologic Totem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper Eagle from the Etowah Mound.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facsimile of Pictures on the Dresden Codex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carved Pipes from the Mounds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuni Water Vases, Ornamented with Animal Figures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuni Fetishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serpent Gorgets from Tennessee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell Gorgets from Tennessee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standing Stones in Dakota.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serpent Effigy, Holmes' Survey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offerings to Serpents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican Goddess of Death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idol Pillar with Serpent Symbols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell Gorgets containing Sun Symbols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carved Animal Symbols.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
xvi.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The God Tlaloc</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoratorium with Winged Globe</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature Power Personified</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon Worship Symbolized</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Initiation of Warriors Among the Mandans</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatization of the Deluge Myth and the Sky Divinities by the Mandans</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer to the Rising Sun</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atotarho, Culture Hero of the Iroquois</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totemic Door Posts of the Stone Houses, Oongo, Easter Islands</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chart of the Mide Song—Schoolcraft</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain Divinities and Sand-Paintings of the Navajos</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village and Cemetery on Prince of Wales Island</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumed Serpent Carved on Temple of Zochicalco</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altars and Images from Copan</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Loaf Rock on Mackinac Island</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portrait Idol on Easter Islands</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Statue from Copan</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back of Female Statue</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearded King at Copan</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buried Statue at Copan</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turbaned King at Copan</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwarf Statue from Copan</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air God Dressed as a King</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain God Dressed as a Priest</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Inner Tablet of the Temple of the Sun</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TRANSFORMATION CEREMONY.
MYTHS AND SYMBOLS.

CHAPTER I.
RACES AND RELIGIONS IN AMERICA.

The subject of comparative religion has been under discussion for many years, and some of the strongest and best thinkers have written upon it well and forcibly. The field which has received the most attention and occupied the most important position has been the continent of Asia, though Arabia, Africa, and the northern part of Europe have also been studied.

There is, however, a field on the continent of America which has not been studied as closely as it deserves, for it carries us back to a stage of religious development which is more primitive than can be found elsewhere, and at the same time presents a series of stages which are quite as interesting as those found in Eastern countries.

It is the purpose of the author to describe the different systems as they are found on this continent, especially in regard to their geographical situation, and to compare them with those which existed in Oriental countries in the earliest time, and to point out the resemblances. The thought which is to be held in mind, is that in America we have a field in which religion passed through those stages which are known to have been the lowest, and at the same time had reached a stage which was nearly or quite as high as any that has been found in the pagan or heathen nations of the Old World. This makes this continent a remarkable field for the investigation into the subject of comparative religion, and especially among the lower races.

I. The first point to which we shall call attention, is that the races and tribes which formerly had dwelt here, were not only isolated from other continents, but in a large degree from one another, but developed their religious systems in parallel lines. It is not claimed that there were any mountain barriers which separated the races according to belts of latitude and made them subject to such differences of climate, for the mountain chains all run in a north and south direction, while in the Eastern hemisphere they run in an east and west direction. Still it will be found that the races were so separated from one another that they developed different phases of society, different modes of government, different forms of religion, and to a great degree different languages. There were several causes of separation. In the first place, there
were wide belts in which the climate and soil kept certain tribes hugging the sea coast, and others the forest belts and regions in the interior.

The chain of the Great Lakes and the rivers ran east and west, and formed lines along which certain races clustered; the Gulf of Mexico and the Southern sea drawing other tribes. To the west of the Rocky Mountains there were rivers and long valleys in which separate tribes were settled, each having its own mode of life, its own social system and, to a certain extent, its own religious customs; while in the midst of the mountains and on the great plateau of the Interior there were other tribes and races, which adopted religious practices peculiar to themselves. The effect was that a great variety of religious systems arose on this continent; systems which were largely the product of the region, and greatly influenced by the peculiarities of the natural surroundings.

1. To illustrate: the Esquimaux were scattered along the shores of the Arctic Sea, and were confined to the ice fields and to a region where the year was divided into a long winter of darkness and a short summer of daylight. The natural consequence of this was that they developed a form of religion, or superstition, entirely different from any which existed elsewhere. The people here were fishermen and their religion consisted in the superstition which peopled the sea with strange creatures, which they imagined to have supernatural powers and at the same time had the human form. To the south of this was the second district, which extended from the Arctic Sea to the chain of the Great Lakes and as far south as the Ohio River. It was occupied by a people mainly hunters, who lived on the creatures found in the forests and rivers and lakes. It was natural that they should have developed a form of religion which had regard to the wild animals which prevailed in the forest, and that their mythology should have abounded with descriptions of strange creatures which dwelt in the water. Stories were told about fish and serpents which were naturalistic and at the same time fraught with supernatural powers.

2. There were tribes living on the prairies as far west as the Rocky Mountains and as far north as Lake Winnipeg, who might be called nomads and were constantly moving about in pursuit of game, spending a part of the time in villages scattered along the streams, and a part of the time in mountains. All of these tribes were totemistic in their beliefs, and yet their totems varied, for the people who dwelt in the forest took the wild animals which abounded about them, and made them their totems, while those who dwelt on the prairie lands took the buffalo and other animals which roamed on the prairies as their totems. The mythology of the two classes varied almost as much as did the animals themselves. Even the form of government varied—in one case it was matriarchy; in the other, it was patriarchy.
3. Another region is worthy of notice because of the diversity of population and the peculiar form of religion which prevailed. It is the region in which so many mounds were situated—mounds which contained a great variety of relics, on which the greatest number of symbols have been discovered. These symbols are speechless, but they tell the story about the religious system which prevailed, and have great interest for the archaeologist. It appears that there was a great variety in these symbols, and the conclusion is that there was a great diversity in the religious beliefs of the people who dwelt here. They were symbols which abounded with crosses and circles, crescents and squares, animal figures, spiders, birds, and serpents; all of which had a latent significance. In fact, the symbols all indicate that sun worship was the chief system which prevailed here, though it was modified by the lunar cult, and by a regard for certain animals and insects, which were connected with Nature worship. This is the region where serpent symbols are very numerous, but the pyramid is also found here; the two indicating that there was a greater variety of religious systems than prevailed farther north.

4. The arid region will be considered next. This was separated from the region just described, by a wide range of mountains, but was, and still is, occupied by a people who have a form of religion, as well as a mode of life, distinct from either of those which have been described. Here we find mountaineers who are at present shepherds, but were formerly hunters. The Navajos are the best representatives of them. But in the midst of the mountains the Great Plateau arises, which has been called the "air continent." It is an arid region, yet it is occupied, and has been for an unknown period, by the Pueblo tribes, who have developed a communistic state of society and are practicing a form of religion which differs from any other on the continent.

5. There was a district in the Valley of Mexico, but which stretched far to the south into the region of Central America. Here society had developed beyond the hunter stage, even beyond the ordinary agricultural stage, into a stage in which there were many different employments, but all under the control of kings and priests. It was a region into which the Spaniards entered, and where they found many things which surprised them. The form of religion which existed here was a matter of greater surprise to the Spaniards, than the social development. The symbolism which prevailed here is very elaborate and worthy of study. There was here a system of writing, which differed from all others in the world, a system which consisted of hieroglyphics, but so mingled with pictographs that it was difficult to decipher. The system which existed here may be regarded as a solar cult, modified by the worship of the elements and a regard for personal divinities, who seem to be the personification of the heavenly bodies and
the Nature powers. This is a form of religion which we shall need to study, for it differs from any found elsewhere. We may say, however, that it so resembles that which prevailed in Central America, Peru, and other parts of South America, that it should be classed under the same head. A term has been devised by Major J. W. Powell, which represents the chief peculiarity; the term is "Henotheism." It consisted in the worship of the Nature powers as personified, but making some one of these powers the chief object of worship and ascribing to it a personal character, but also personifying other Nature powers and making them subordinate. Thus the religious system corresponded to the state of society, of which there were different grades and different offices, and at the same time it corresponded with the works of nature and peculiarities of climate, the correlation between the religion and the geographical surroundings being very close.

Now, this is a mere summary, but it shows that there were many different forms of religion and different systems of mythology, on the continent of North America, and that they all corresponded to the geographical surroundings. The origin of these religions and the different stages through which they have passed, is another point, but so far as they have been studied, the systems all were closely conformed to the geographical situation. We are not able to trace any of these systems back to a very early period; certainly no such early period as existed in the lands of the far East, but we do find an adaptation to the surroundings, which are quite as striking as any that can be traced in other lands.

It will be acknowledged that in the continent of Europe there were different systems of religion, and that they corresponded with the physical surroundings. The mythology always abounds with stories which bring the natural scenery into view and give the picture a background, which is not only natural but interesting. Such is the case with the Scandinavian and Teutonic mythology. But much of the mythology of America is equally beautiful and interesting, and at the same time it pictures the American scenery as it was before the white man appeared, and is all the more interesting on that account. It is true that each tribe or group of tribes was confined to a particular locality, and developed its own mythology and religious system, but this gives great variety and furnishes an unbounded field for research and for speculation.
The continent of America, in fact, furnishes more systems of religion and of mythology than any other continent upon the face of the earth, but they are all systems which seem to have grown up in the same region where they are now found, and they are full of allusions to the physical character and topographical features of the region where they are preserved.

II. This brings up the point which is of great interest to the scholars who have studied the subject of comparative religions. One of the first questions is: What is the lowest form of religion, and through what stages did it pass? We, who live in Christian lands, know what the highest form is, but the question is as to the lowest.

On this question there are great differences of opinion, and no two are really in agreement. The study of the problem in connection with the races which were found on this continent, may be of service to us, especially when we consider the correspondence of their religion to their social state, their domestic life, and their peculiar habits and ways.

We begin with the Hyperboreans, who dwelt on the shores of the Arctic Sea, the most degraded of all the races upon the face of the earth. There never was a people more stupid in their religious ideas than these people at the far North, and none more degraded in their personal character. The dark night, which continued so long and presented such a strange contrast to the ghostly icebergs and cold ice fields, undoubtedly had the effect to keep alive the superstitions which prevailed. It is not strange that with the muttering icebergs and swashing of the waves underneath the icy shores, that there should have arisen a superstition that a supernatural being dwelt under the water, and could be seen at times amid the waves.

Note — The cuts show the power of the Shamans among the Esquimaux and their belief in the presence of demons. In one we see the boat resting on posts, the winter habitation, store houses, trees in the middle, the Shaman and the hunters. In another, the Shaman stands upon his lodge, and drives back the ghost, the deer are seen swimming in the water. In the third, we see the hunter shooting the game which has been driven up to him by the demon and his assistants. The control of the Shamans over the demon is the essential part of the pictograph.
The story, as told by the Esquimaux, is that Sedna was a female who accompanied her husband, or liege lord, in a canoe voyage over the northern sea, but while they were in the midst of the waters, there arose a fierce storm and both were likely to be overwhelmed. The canoe was overthrown, both fell into the water, but the man was able to climb into the canoe again, while the woman was only able to cling to the sides. While in this attitude, the storm blew upon them and the waves threatened to engulf them, and death seemed near, but the man, taking his stone knife or axe, cut off the fingers of the woman and thrust her away, so that she sank beneath the waves. The superstition of the natives is that this Sedna, who became a monster and yet retained her character as a woman, still lives under the sea, and whenever a fierce storm arises and the waves toss high amid the blasts, and the wind's shriek, they can not only hear the voice of this first of all created beings, but they can see her face dimly looking out from beneath the sea, the water and the face mingling together to arouse their fears.

Sedna is the chief divinity of the Arctic regions. She may be regarded as the personification of the sea and the storm, for she is supposed to be as cruel as either, and as ready to seize upon all who come within her reach and draw them down into the dark depths.

There is another system which prevails in the same region. It consists, in the belief that there is not only one living person who can be regarded as a demon or a ghost, but that there are many such, and they continue to inhabit the rocks and the earth, and even the air, and are constantly present to deprive the people of their food, by driving away the deer from their habitations, keeping them from success in fishing, and bringing upon them disease and death. This is another form of demonism, but the demon now becomes visible and inhabits the land as well as the sea. There is no ordinary person who can overcome the demons or banish them from the sky or earth, except the Shaman, and it is his chief mission to protect the people from the evil influence, and counteract it by his own charms. Illustrations of this fact may be found in what may be called the pictographs or bone cuttings, specimens of which are given in the cuts. These carved bones are, perhaps, the rudest of all the specimens of art which have been found on this continent, but are suggestive of the system of religion which prevailed. Some have compared the bone carvings to those which are found in the caves of Europe, and have drawn the inference from the resemblance and other circumstances, that the Esquimaux were the descendants of the old cave dwellers of Europe; but we know nothing about the religion of the cave dwellers and, therefore, can trace no resemblance between the two systems.

We learn from the pictographs and carved bones that the people believed implicitly in the power of the presence of
demons, and therefore were led to rely upon the power of the Shamans, or priests, to dispel or drive away the demons, and to bring in the game. We see this illustrated by the cuts, in all of which we see the reindeer, and even the fish and other creatures subject to the Shaman, while the people were subject to his power for their very subsistence. This may be compared to that form of religion which prevailed in the far East in early historic times, which consisted in the belief in demons, and depended upon the power of the priest to exorcise them, survivals of which were recognized late in history, even among the Babylonians. Demonism similar to that which still prevails in the ice fields of the North, prevailed in archaic times in the regions of the far East, especially in Babylonia. This has been made known by the recent discoveries. It is supposed, also, that the various animal figures which are still common here, and have been discovered among the ruins in the midst of the mounds of Babylonia, are really the survival of the totemism which prevailed there.

Similar to this belief in demons and growing out of it, was the habit of cutting the shapes of the human face upon the surface of the rocks, and placing within them great glaring eyes, which seemed to resemble demons looking out from the depth of the earth, suggesting the thought that Sedna, the great demon of the sea, had changed her abode from the sea to the rock, and though silent and speechless, yet was haunting the earth. Some have interpreted this as an evidence that animism was the earliest form of religion, and that it prevailed here, along with demonism. This may, indeed, be a true interpretation, for it is one characteristic of the superstition that there is a hidden soul or spirit in almost every object in creation. It is not often that the soul has lineaments which can be seen, as in this case of the face in the rocks, but it is rather a shadowy ghost and is oftener heard of than seen. Such is the belief of the degraded Africans and many other races, who dwell far away from the seats of civilization.

The system of animism is associated with demonism, and awakens fear in the mind of the savage, just as the shadow and a ghost would awaken a fear in the minds of the partially civilized. The three systems which are to be found in the far North of this continent may well be compared to those which are called the rudest and lowest, i.e., fetishism, animism and totemism.

III. The system of totemism comes up next for consideration. This has been often described, and yet it is poorly understood. It consists in the belief that animals were the first ancestors, and are at present the chief divinities. The names of the animals are given to the clans, with the idea that there is a charm in the name itself. To make this, however, more forcible, the people place the figure of the animal on the tents or in front of the houses, on their graves, and in every place
which they occupied. Some of the tribes cut the hair, so as to represent the animal whose totem they worshiped. There are individual totems which are in reality dream gods, for they are seen only after long fasting and in connection with their visions or day dreams. This form of religion is quite widespread, but prevailed mainly among the hunter tribes, but varies according to locality. The totemism which existed among the Algonquins differed from that found among the Iroquois, and this again from that found among the Dakotas, the variations appearing even among the separate tribes. The study of symbolism will bring us into contact with this totemism, and it is important that we should realize how deeply-seated it was in the mind of the people before we undertake to interpret the symbols.

It would seem as if all nature was haunted by supernatural beings, who were regarded by the people as tribal totems and as personal divinities. These fabulous animals dwell under the waterfalls, in lakes, in caves, in trees, hills, and people the landscape everywhere, so that it seems almost impossible to escape from their presence and power. Reminders of the totems are found upon the tents and houses, the garments, personal decorations and ornaments, and fill even the amusements with strange associations and thoughts. The most singular feature about totemism is that every individual, as well as every clan and tribe, is under the special care and guardianship of some animal. The figure of the same animal is often placed upon the wooden tablets which are placed over
the grave of the individual. These grave posts recount the exploits of the individual, as well as the religious beliefs, and in this respect resemble the grave stones and monuments on which the virtues of the deceased are mentioned.

The cuts represent the grave boards which are still common among the Ojibwas. One of these (Fig. 4) represents the totem which is the deer, it is placed upside down, to denote the death of the person. Along with it are marks showing the battles which the person had fought, and below are personal decorations and signs of honor as well as the religious beliefs. Another one (Fig. 5) represents the crane, which was a common and prominent totem in the region. Figures 6 and 7 represent the turtle and the bear, which were also prominent totems. Figures 8 and 9 represent the grave boards of the Ojibwas, which give the private records as well as the totems of the individual.

It is acknowledged by all students of comparative religion that there is a complete series, which can be traced out by the study of the ancient monuments of the East; but that there was any such series to be found upon this continent, is somewhat novel, and yet the fact that we have the same social conditions here which correspond with those which were common in the East at various dates, makes the continent a very favorable field for the study of the subject. The prevalence of totemism in Old Testament times is shown by the dying words of Jacob, for in them he described the animal figures which were shown on the escutcheon of each tribe. The lion, on the escutcheon of Judah; the serpent, on that of Dan; the wild
ass, on that of Issachar; and the hind on that of Naphtali.
To
temism prevails among the tribes of Arabia to this day.
It also existed in Scandinavia and may be recognized in their
mythology, as well as in the ornaments and symbols, especially
the symbol of the dragon seen upon their boats.

A modified form of totemism is found in the Mississippi
Valley, especially on the Ohio River and the Gulf of Mexico.
Here we see amid the stone graves and in the mounds, a great
variety of pottery vases, shell tablets, and other relics, on which
are inscribed circles and squares and spiral lines, crescents,
sun symbols, winged figures, and human images. These sug-
gest a thought that sun worship was mingled with animal wor-
ship and that religion had grown out of totemism into sun
worship and assumed a new form.

IV. There was a system of religion which prevailed among
the tribes of the Northwest coast. It consisted in the worship
of supernatural beings in the form of birds, animals, fishes, and
double-headed serpents; the four elements—air, earth, water
and fire—each being represented by a special divinity. The
bird, which is supreme upon the land, is the raven, called Yehl.
It dwells in the forest, but reigns supreme over the creatures
in the air. The bear is the animal which is regarded as the
ruler of the earth. His supernatural character is shown by the
manner in which he is pictured, for there always is a great

Fig. 8.—The Crane.

Fig. 9.—Dreams
glaring eye looking out from every part of the body of the bear; his paws, his different limbs, his head, and his ears have eyes. In fact, he seems to be all eyes. This is, perhaps, a modification of the previous system in which the eyes were looking out from the solid rock, but in this case the bear seems to be alive, and yet possessed by a hidden spirit. The myths are very different from those which prevailed among the tribes of the Interior, for they relate to the adventures of sea monsters, who had the power of transforming themselves into human beings, and again into animals. This was the case with the totems of the hunter tribes, for transformation was very common and many stories are told of the tricks played by means of this transformation. There was such a correspondence between the animal totems and the Nature powers, that the animals were supposed to dwell at the different points of the compass and send the winds and the rains. These were not strictly totems, at least not personal or individual totems, but the mingling of the totems with the Nature powers personified, formed the basis of a great variety of myths, which are very interesting.

The sea is supposed to hide another divinity called the whale killer. This is a fabulous creature, and is capable of changing its shape, for there are many stories in which the creature appears as a great canoe, but is transformed into a sea animal. There are figures upon the fronts of the houses, which represent this whale killer as held in the claws of the raven, thus indicating that the sea gods and gods of the sky have been drawn close together. In this figure the eye is very conspicuous, but the winged feathers and the vertebrae of the bird and of the whale are also clearly seen. The double-headed serpent is generally carried in the hand, and is a symbol which served an important part in the dances. It is called the sisul and is generally worn in front of the stomach. The human face and eyes may be seen at the center, the animal head and eye at either end, with the serpent body and scales between the heads. This illustrates the habit of bringing together their divinities into one object.

The stories are numerous which celebrate the exploits of these various creatures, but they all convey the idea that they are supernatural beings and to be worshiped as well as feared. There are many dances and religious ceremonies in which the natives cover themselves with blankets and put upon their heads great masks representing the head and jaws of the wolf. This suggests the idea that human beings are sometimes transformed into animals, and reminds us of the transformation which is so common in all parts of the continent, for there were no hard and fast lines between the different animals, or between animals and men. The supposition formerly was that they were designed as the totems of the tribes, but the opinion now is that they embodied the mythologies and represent the villages, as each village was founded by a supernatural being,
who gave power and authority to the chief, or human founder, to represent him; the result was that the different crests were carved into the poles, some of them representing the supernatural being, the bird or fish, or some other animal; also the crest of the village chief, and the crest of the different descendants of the first chief. It is to be noticed that the humanizing tendency was very strong, so that all the birds and animals and creatures of the sea were spoken of as having human attributes; the eye, the symbol of humanity, being placed in all parts of the bodies, whether beasts or birds.

Mr. Hill-Tout says: “The sculptures and paintings were ancestral and not totemistic in character.” The son inherited his father’s rank and property, with all his carvings and crests and emblems, which were largely commemorative in character. There was a tendency among all these people to humanize everything. The raven, the wolf and the bear, and all other animals were humanized, and stories were told about them, as if they were human beings. Conversation is held between men and women and the animals, and even between the heavenly bodies—the sun, moon, and the stars. There were no lines which separated the material from the animal, the animal from the human, the human from the divine or supernatural being. An immense amount of mythology has accumulated in this way, for everything on the earth, in the air, in the sea or sky, whether animal, men and women, or heavenly bodies, are mingled together, intermarry and converse, and their adventures are very numerous.

V. There is a form of religion still existing in the interior of the continent, which well deserves our attention, and we hope to describe it more at length in the future. It is found among the Navajoes, who dwell among the mountains of Utah and Colorado. This religion consists in the worship of the elements, such as the clouds, the sky, the rainbow, the mountains, lakes, hills, and also animals, birds, and other creatures, which inhabited them. The mythology is very beautiful and picturesque, and shows that the love of nature abounded with all this people. There is no mythology that is more beautiful than that which comes to us from the tribes who dwelt in the deep interior of the continent. Their mythology was founded upon their religion, and their religion sprang from the love of nature. We may call it superstition, yet it was a superstition that peopled everything with harmless divinities. Even the serpent, which was generally supposed to be treacherous and hostile and dangerous is represented as a benefactor, and always bestowing gifts upon the people; in fact, the serpent is a symbol of the rain-cloud, which is always a welcome visitor. The people watch the sky closely, for their very existence depends upon having rain.

There is a distinction between the religion of the Navajoes, who were formerly hunters but now are sheperds, and the
RACES AND RELIGIONS IN AMERICA.

Pueblos. The Navajoes were mountaineers, yet they retain the same religion they had when in their wild state. Their mythology is very beautiful and abounds with allusions to all the beautiful things of nature—clouds, sunbeams, sparkling waters, crystals, rocks of the mountains, mosses, twigs of trees, animals which inhabit the caves and rocks, birds among the trees, supernatural beings that are in the clouds, divinities that dwell on the mountain tops; all are mingled together, and the strangest fancies are indulged in, in describing them. There seems to have been, also, a deeper apprehension of the meaning of nature than most people have, certainly much deeper and more varied than anything found among the white population of that region or any other. Everything was shadowy and filled with supernatural creatures.

VI. There was a form of religion which prevailed among the tribes of the Interior, which consisted in the worship of the Nature powers, under the figure of the serpent.

There are occasional figures upon the pottery found in the mounds, and upon the shields and other ornaments found among the Pueblos, which represent winged figures. These can hardly be called totems, for they are more like mythological creatures. They may be regarded as connecting links between totems and a higher form of symbolism. In will be seen in the figure that the serpents have feathered heads and large wings; the body is open, so as to show the heart. The sun symbol is connected with each winged serpent. The figures on the shields have wings, but they also have the serpent below the feet.

These serpents were also regarded as divinities which ruled over the different parts of creation. There was, however, the same superstition that prevailed elsewhere on the continent, that there were supernatural beings everywhere present, in the sky above, in the depths of the earth below, in different directions upon the earth; and that all the elements,—the air,
the earth, fire, and water, were haunted or possessed by unseen creatures. The main difference between this system and that which prevailed farther north, was that the serpent took its place in the sky, instead of a raven, as it was the personification of the cloud and was supposed to bring the rains. This furnishes an explanation for the celebrated snake dance. The people, it appears, were not satisfied with offering their prayers to the cloud divinities, or making symbols of the rain clouds, when they performed their ceremonies, but they must have some live object which they could hold in their hands and mouth, and realize that they had brought it under their power. This was, perhaps, not thought out deliberately, but came to them from their habit of putting all their prayers into sacred dramas and religious ceremonies, and making everything as concrete as possible.

It is to be noticed here that no prayer was effective unless it was symbolized and made substantial by something that could be seen. It was on this account that so many frames, which are called altars, are erected, consisting of painted slats of wood, while in front of them are other figures of the rain-clouds, surrounded by rods, the ears of corn and other objects placed as offerings in front of the altars. This form of religion is, perhaps, more reasonable than that which prevailed in the region of the North, for it consists of sacred dramas in which the prayers of the people are acted out, the ceremonies all proving to be very carefully observed, and there is generally a spirit of reverence among the people. The heavenly bodies are closely watched, especially the sun in its movements through the sky. The superstition is that when it approaches the solstitial point, that there must be a prayer and religious ceremony, or it will never return.
The Pueblos have a mythology which abounds with stories about the various animals, such as the wolf, the bear, the mole, as well as the serpent. The eagle is very prominent in their mythology. They carry with them shields upon which are inscribed or painted in different colors human figures, with turreted caps upon their heads, symbolizing the mountains, a bear standing on either side, a serpent below the feet, thus showing that the close association of animals, human beings, and divinities, all mingled together and surrounded by the elements of nature. The serpent figures vary conspicuously in their mythology. Much can be learned from the study of their religious customs, and especially comparing the myths and ceremonies common among them, with those which prevailed among the wild tribes scattered about them.

VII. We shall next consider the religion of the so-called civilized races, such as the Nahuas, Mayas, and others situated in Mexico and Central America, including the Quichuas in Peru. The religion of the Mayas was fundamentally the same as that of the Nahuas. Most of the gods were deified heroes, though we occasionally find traces of an older sun-worship, and the conjecture is that an original astral worship once prevailed.

This is illustrated by the cuts. One of which represents the frescoes on the walls of a buried temple in Honduras. In these frescoes human forms are covered with animal heads and surrounded by figures representing plumed serpents. Another cut (Fig. 12) represents paintings from Monte Alban in Mexico. In these an animal headed creature seems to be facing a draped altar. The significance of the picture is unknown. Another cut (Fig. 13) represents a row of idols, which has also been
discovered in Honduras. There are no altars in front of these and so they form an exception to the general rule, for in most cases where human images are seen, there are altars in front of them; many of them being in the shape of animals or huge dragons or nondescript creatures.

VIII. There was a form of religion which prevailed in Peru. It consisted mainly in the deifying of the Incas, who were regarded as the sons of the sun, and so, in a measure, divine. The symbols in Peru were, however, mainly images of the sun and moon. These were placed on the walls of the

Fig. 13.—Idols in Honduras.

temples, the best specimens of which were seen by the Spaniards at Quito. It appears that sun-dials were numerous and that from these the Peruvian priests calculated the seasons, and by this means regulated all the affairs of the nation. There were no such carved statues in Peru, as have been discovered in Central America, and no altars which betokened that sacrifices were offered to kings; yet the government of Peru was based on the idea that the Inca was superior to all, and that the Inca race belonged to a different order.
TOTEM TATTOES ON THE NORTHWEST COAST.
PORTRAIT FIGURE FROM GUATEMALA,
The patriarch Jacob, just before his death, called his sons together and prophesied their future destiny and that of the tribes that were to descend from them. In doing so he used certain symbols or emblems which were probably prominent in their tribal escutcheons, and made these the basis of his prophecy. The following is his language: "Judah is a lion's whelp;" "The Scepter shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh come;" "Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens;" "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path;" "Naphtali is a hind let loose;" "Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well;" "Benjamin shall raven as a wolf, in the morning he shall devour the prey and at night divide the spoils."—Genesis, Chapter 48:8, 14, 17, 21, 22, 27. In these expressions, we have a series of word pictures which clearly portray the characteristics of the different tribes, their history, as well as a description of the geographical localities which they occupied. How the patriarch came to use this language is a mystery, but there may have been a kind of picture language prevalent in the patriarchal age which he used to designate the traits of each one of his children, and to show that the history of each one of the tribes which should descend from them, would partake of these traits. It is known that at a very early time significant names and emblems were given to individuals, and that these were transmitted to the children, and as their posterity increased, they became tribal emblems. There were also dreams which were prophetic, and it may be that the patriarch in his dreams saw the emblems which belonged to the different sons, and in them read the history of the tribes which should be raised up from them. Whatever the explanation is, the passages furnish a good illustration of a custom which was common among the uncivilized races, and is still prevalent among the aborigines of America, namely: the custom of giving the names of animals and plants to the children, and making these serve as emblems of the clan or tribe.  

1 Among certain tribes there was a change from matriarchy to patriarchy. In such cases the children took the name of the father's clan and bore the emblem or sign which belonged to the father.
In most of the tribes these names were given by the mother, or rather were taken from the clan to which the mother belonged, and were transmitted by a fixed law, for the children by the law of matriarchy, always belonged to the clan of the mother, and carried the name and emblem of that clan. It was in this way that the clan, tribal and family names first appeared. They were not names which were taken from the employments, occupations, or trades, nor were they names which were descriptive of personal exploits or incidents such as some of the Indians have borne, nor were they arbitrary nick names which were given to describe the characteristics of the individual, but they were ancestral names and resemble in this respect surnames which are now extant. The main difference between the historic and prehistoric surnames was that the latter were always the names of animals which were regarded as ancestors, while in historic times, surnames were derived from occupations, etc.

Occasionally there was a name which was altogether private, and which might be called the dream name for it was the name of some animal which appeared to the individual in a dream. These dreams came after long fasting, and were the result of the hidden exercises of the mind which would naturally occur before the initiation of warriors. When the vision of some animal appeared, the young man felt himself prepared for his initiation as a warrior, and as he presented himself for the rite he would take the skin of the animal or some figure of it as a personal fetich or charm and would join the society which bore the name of the animal that had

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Maj. J. W. Powell holds that matriarchy prevailed among the people who were in the status of savagery but changed to patriarchy when they reached the status of barbarism. See 15th Annual Report of Bu. Ethnology Intro. He also gives the name clan to a group of people reckoning kinship in a female line; the name of gens to a group of people reckoning kinship in the male line. When tribes unite in confederacies, artificial kinship is established as a legal fiction, and the members of one tribe know the members of another tribe by the artificial emblem, which they wear, and address them by kinship terms. Adopted members are given artificial kinship, and have the same rights as those who are born into clans or tribes.
THE DAROTA INDIANS INITIATING THE ALTITUDES OF THE BUFFALOS IN THEIR DANCE.
MYTHOLOGIC AND ANIMAL TOTEMS—FROM CATLIN'S INDIANS.

Catlin says these symbolic writings or totems are found recorded on rocks and trees, also on robes and wigwams, and are very numerous.
TOTEMISM AND MYTHOLOGY. 19

appeared to him. In this way there arose a system of religion which was very wide-spread and very powerful among all the hunter tribes of America which was called totemism. Now it is to this totemism that we shall devote the present chapter.

I. We shall begin with a description of the system and the new kinship introduced by it.

(1) There were two kinds of kinship, the natural and artificial. The natural was that system which led to giving the names and emblems of the mother or father to the children, but the artificial was that which introduced into all the totemistic tribes a new relationship which transcended kinship according to the flesh. According to totemism, every male person must marry outside of his clan. The children which were born belonged to the clan of their mother and took the name of her clan rather than that of the father. There were a few tribes, like the Dakotas for instance, in which the law of matriarchy was changed to patriarchy, and the children in that case took the name of the father but it was generally the mother who gave the name. The name was taken always from some animal, and generally from one that abounded in the region.

(2) This relationship which came from history and from religion, dated back to the time when the different tribes were clans of one tribe, and so were descended from a common ancestor. The power of religion and regard for ancestry, led the people to value the archaic kinship as more binding upon the families than the relationship which then existed.

1 Miss Alice Fletcher says: The Indian's religion is spoken of as a nature and animal worship. Careful inquiry and observation fail to show that the Indian actually worshiped the objects. More faith is put in the ritual, and a careful observance of forms than in any act of self denial in its moral sense, as we understand it. The claim of relationship is used to strengthen the appeal.

3 The name was derived from an Ojibwa word which signifies tribe or family, but brings to view a system which was very wide-spread and very powerful, especially among the hunter tribes. It was in fact the system according to which nearly all aboriginal tribes were organized, and which also embodied their tribal history and regulated their tribal customs, but itself arose out of their mythology and especially out of their cosmic myths. In the east it was called animal worship and the name animal tribe was given to those who practiced it. In America the term totemism is used, for it brings up the thought of the peculiar relationship which was involved, and dismisses the idea of worshiping animals which is very subordinate, if it existed at all. There was a reverence for animals inasmuch as certain animals were regarded as ancestors of the tribes, a few were also regarded as mythologic beings who were both "Culture heroes and Creators." These emblems or figures were very prominent in the "bark records" and picture writings.

2 Mr. J. O. Dorsey says: "The Dakotas have animal names for their gentes and tribal or clan taboos. Each man has his personal taboo and his personal name. The personal names give the color of the animal. Some of their names suggest myths." (See Indian personal names. Amer Anthropologist for July, 1890.)

Walter Fewkes says: "Among the Tusayans names of animals have the preference over plants, there being 46 of the first and 21 of the latter. It is natural that gentes named from horned animals, foxes, coyotes and wolves, should go together. But why the ants should be associated with the horn people is not so clear unless we trace it back to the history of their migration."

Captain Bourke says: "If clan names were originally topographical this does not militate against the idea that to the mind of the American savage the animals have always been gods, and in some vague way connected with the mystery of human creation."
(2) It was a fraternity which ran through the different tribes of a stock or confederacy, and which brought together all of the clans which bore the same animal name and had the same totem, and made them brothers.

To illustrate: The Iroquois, who dwelt in New York, were composed of five tribes, each tribe was divided into ten or twelve clans named after animals — the wolf, bear, beaver, turtle, deer, snipe, heron and hawk. The tribes lived in the different parts of the state, and each tribe had its own council house, head chief, sachems and specific territory. They were named and situated as follows: Beginning at the east, Mohawks, called "The Shield," next the Onondagas, called "Name-Bearer," Onödaga, "The Great Tree," Cayugas, "The Great Pipe," Senecas, "The Door-Keeper," as they were the perpetual keepers of the door of the "long house." 1

A person who belonged to the wolf clan could travel along the trail which led from tribe to tribe, and would find the members of the wolf clan ready to receive him and protect him, and give him a home among them as if he was their own brother, as they were brothers according to an archaic fraternity and bore the same fraternal emblem.

There was also an emblem which every one carried about his person which indicated the clan to which he belonged. This may have consisted in the picture of an animal inscribed upon an amulet or it may have consisted in the fashion of cutting the hair, making the moccasins, or wearing apparel, or of ornamenting the person or tattooing the face. Whatever the emblem was, it was equivalent to a coat of arms, and was a native heraldry. This heraldry was recognized everywhere as significant of a totemistic brotherhood. It was supplemented often times by sign language, for each tribe had a name which could be expressed by signs.

The Pawnee, whose clan totem is the wolf is seen in a plate given by Catlin, holding up the hand and fingers so as to show the wolf's ears. Among the Hurons and Dakotas the manner of cutting the hair was such as to make the head at once suggestive of the animal or bird whose totem the person carried. The tuft over the forehead and back of the head and ears resembling the wings, head and tail of the eagle, showed that the person belonged to the eagle clan. The ridge of hair which was left on the crown, resembling the back of the buffalo, showed that the person belonged to the buffalo clan.

Among the Haidas of the North West Coast the figure of the squid or frog, or cod, or sculpin, the double figure of the wolf tattooed upon the arms, legs, breast, or back or shoulders of the man and woman would indicate the clan or tribe to which they belonged.

This heraldry was equivalent to that which belonged to the royal families of Europe, and with some of the tribes symbolized the genealogy of the family and the exploits and traditional history. It was as much a sign of fraternity as the pins, badges and other symbols which are worn by the members of the

1 Mr. L. H. Morgan says: "All the members of the same gens whether Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas or Senecas were brothers and sisters to each other, in virtue of their descent from the same common ancestor, and were recognized as such. Three of the gentes, wolf, bear and turtle were common to five tribes. The deer, snipe and hawk were common to three tribes." — Ancient Society, p. 133.
TOTEMISM AND MYTHOLOGY.

various secret societies and college fraternities, but introduced a brotherhood which was stronger and more sacred than that which came from these societies.¹

(4) According to Mr. Morgan, there were two changes. First. The change of descent from the female line to the male line. Second. The change of inheritance of the property of the deceased member from the clan or gens in the collective capacity to the agnatic kindred, and finally to the man's children.² Yet there were certain rights and privileges which inhere in the system. These were as follows: (a) The right of electing chiefs. (b) The right of inheritance of the property of deceased members. (c) The right of bestowing names upon members and adopting strangers into the gens. (d) The right of help, defense and redress of injuries. (e) Right to a common burial place and a share in religious ceremonies. (f) Right to a representation in council of the gens. (g) Obligation not to marry in the gens. All these rights and privileges were enjoyed by those who bore the clan emblem. The totem which he carried on his person brought an obligation on the clan which bore the same totem to defend him. They were all brothers, not by kinship, but by religion.

(5) In some tribes the communistic system prevailed. The families and persons which belonged to a particular clan had a share of the food which was to be had, whether it was in his own family or in some other family. The supply was to the clan rather than to the household. This did not always exist, for there were tribes where the family lived separate, and had its provisions separate, but it was very common. In such a case the totem may be said to have brought the provision to each person.

(6) The inheritance of landed property was in the clan. There was no property in severalty among the uncivilized tribes. The property and effects of the mother passed to her children, and in default of them, to her sister's children, but always remained in the clan. This is the case among the Algonquins. Among the Lagunas the land is held in common as the property of the community, but after a person cultivated a lot he had a personal claim to it which he could sell to any one of the community. Among the Iroquois the property was hereditary in the gens. Consequently, children took

¹ Mr. Morgan, who was initiated by the Iroquois, says: "The gens embraced all such persons as trace their descent from a supposed common ancestor through females. The evidence of the fact was the possession of a common gentile name. It does not include all the descendants of a common ancestor, but all who bear the name are entitled to the totem. The gentile organization originated in the period of savagery, endured through the three sub-periods of barbarism, and finally gave way when the tribe attained to civilization and the land and property took the place of kinship.

² See Ancient Society, p. 74.
nothing from their fathers, but inherited their mother's effects.  

(7) The history of the clans is thus given by the totem. It appears that the different tribes grew up together and bore the names of a common ancestry, as the animal names of the clans were repeated in every tribe. This, to be sure, varied in the different tribes, for there were in some of the clans, or gentes, sub-gentes, which took other names. There were also clans which became incorporated in certain tribes, and these introduced certain emblems or totems. Still, even with this confusion the history of the tribe could be traced in the totems. 

(8) The government of the clan was influenced by totemism. The office of sachem or civil chief is hereditary in the gens, but elective among the members. Each gens had the power to depose as well as elect its chiefs.

Carver says of the Dakotas: "The office of sachem, or clan elder, passes from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew. That of war-chief was bestowed as a reward of merit and was not hereditary. The sachem has more immediate management of civil affairs. His assent is necessary to all treaties."  

Among the Winnebagos the sons of a deceased chief were not always eligible, for on the death of a chief his sister's son succeeds him in preference to his own son.  

"A practice was common among certain tribes, such as the Shawnees, Miamis, Sanks and Foxes, of naming children into the gens. This would enable a son to succeed his father in office, and enable the children to inherit the property from the father. The father had no control over the question of naming the children. It was left by the gens to certain persons, most of them matrons, who were to be consulted when children were to be named, with power to determine the name to be given."

Herrera remarks of the Mayas: "They were wont to observe their pedigrees very much, and therefore thought themselves all related and were helpful to one another. They did not marry any that bore the same name as their father. This was looked upon as unlawful."

"The Laguna Pueblo Indians are organized in gentes with descent in the female line. Each town is divided into tribes or families, and each of these groups is named after some animal, bird, herb, tree, plant, or one of the four elements. Some are called bear, deer, rattlesnake, corn, wolf and..."
water. The children are of the same tribe, (gens) as their mother."

There are many other characteristics to the totem system but those which have been spoken of will show how powerful and far-reaching it was.

II. We therefore turn from these to speak of the relation of totemism to the native mythology. Here let us say that there was a native mythology in America which was as varied and interesting as that which prevailed in Scandinavia, India, or even in classic lands.

This mythology had not reached the stage where personal divinities were recognized and myths invented to celebrate their exploits, nor had it reached that stage where the nature powers and heavenly bodies were deified, or at any rate, to no such extent as they were in the Far East, though there were certain myths that celebrated the exploits of the mountain divinities, and others represented the nature powers as humanized divinities. The chief peculiarities of American mythology was that it abounded with animal divinities and rung the changes as to the exploits of these, viewed as personal beings or as humanized animals.

It is interesting to go over the different parts of the continent to see how the animals were deified and made to represent supernatural beings.

It would seem as if the whole sky and earth, and even the waters under the earth were filled with the imaginary beings who bore the animal form and yet had human attributes. This can be accounted for on the ground that totemism was the prevailing religion and the myths were about the animals which were worshipped as totems. It is in this way that the early history of totemism was transmitted and the meaning and object of the totems were made known. This gives to the mythology a very great value, inasmuch as it shows that the origin of totemism was in mythology, and the myths were the chief means of preserving the totems. The following classification of the myths is interesting on this account:

1. There were myths about the animals which were regarded as ancestors which would make those animals very sacred to the clan, for they were repeated at the fireside and in the hearing of the children until they became as household words and the animal ancestors seemed realities.

2. There were creation myths, which also perpetuated the same system, as the great creator or first ancestor, or culture hero, often bore an animal name and was represented under the animal semblance.

3. There were myths also which gave the idea of protection to the people, for they were full of marvelous exploits of the great animal who was regarded as the ancestor of the clan, or tribe, or village, or individual, and these exploits were a pledge of security to those who bore the totem or emblem.

4. There were also
myths which perpetuated the history of a tribe. Sometimes these myths carry the tribe back to their original home or starting place, and show how, when and where they received their first totems and how they changed them during their migration. 5. There were myths which showed the ownership that came from inheritance, as the totem of the individual or family was placed upon every utensil, weapon, keepsake and article of furniture that belonged to the individual, and became a kind of monogram. 6. There were myths perpetuated by the secret societies, which made known the migrations of the tribes and at the same time predicted the future state of the persons who were initiated. Among the Ojibwas, the first degree of the initiation was full of the symbols of creation, but as the candidate went on through the different degrees the different animals which represented the clan totems were found to guard the entrance. The bear spirit guarding the first degree, the wolf the second, etc. The candidate must pray and make offerings of tobacco that the spirits should drive the malevolent spirits away from the opening and that the entrance to the degree might be open to him. Serpent spirits were the evil manitous who opposed progress, but if the prayers and feasts were sufficient the largest serpent raised his body so as to form an arch so that the candidate might pass on his way while the four smaller serpents moved to either side of the path. In the second degree the candidate personated the bear spirit and was identified with the totem. 7. There were also myths concerning the “journey of the soul” among certain tribes. These were very significant, and yet were connected with the totem system.

Illustrations of these different kinds of myths might be given, but we shall content ourselves with a few of the pictographs which have been preserved, and the interpretations of them which have been furnished.

Schoolcraft has spoken of some of the totems of the Dakotas, and has given a plate which is quite significant. On this we see, first, four “gods of the water,” represented under the figure of animals (3, 4, 5 and 6) with lightning darting from their heads, with the principal god near them (7). In the picture the circle represents the sea which surrounds the earth. It has four passages (11) across it, representing the doors through which the gods go out into the world. The dotted line shows the migration route. Another pictograph shows the god of the forest, under the figure of an owl (12) perched upon a tree; at the foot of the tree is the home of the “god;” on either side of him are the eagle and hawk (14), which are his guards or sentinels. One of the gods of thunder (15) is also represented, which is an enemy of the god of the forest. Another pictograph represents the six gods of the thunder, with thunderbolts in one hand and the rain falling from the other. The gods have square heads, with four points or peaks above the square to represent the four quarters of the sky. Another picture represents the “goddess of war,” with battle-ax in one hand and four
rings on the arms. Above the figure is an arch representing the sky. These were the mythologic totems of the Dakotas. Those of the Iroquois can be seen on the "bark records."

An interpretation of certain mythologic totems has also been given by Catlin. There were four articles of great veneration and importance. These were four sacks of water made from a buffalo's skin, sewed together in the form of a large tortoise. These four tortoises contained water from the four quarters of the world. Their principal actors were eight men, with the entire skins of buffalos thrown over their backs, the horns, hoofs and tails remaining on their bodies in a horizontal position, enabling them to imitate the actions of the buffalo, whilst they were looking out of its eyes as through a masque. The bodies of these men were chiefly naked, and all painted in the most extraordinary manner, with the nicest adherence to exact similarity, their limbs, bodies and faces being in every part covered either with black, red or white paint. Each one of these strange characters had also a lock of buffalo's hair tied around his ankles—in his right hand a rattle, and a slender white rod or staff, six feet long, in the other, and carried on his back a bunch of green willow boughs about the usual size of a bundle of straw. These eight men being divided into four pairs, took their positions on the four different sides of the curb or big canoe, representing thereby the four cardinal points; and between each group of them, with the back turned to the big canoe, was another figure, engaged in the same dance, keeping step with them, with a similar staff or wand in one hand and a rattle in the other, and (being four in number) answering again to the four cardinal points. The bodies of these four young men were chiefly naked, with no other dress upon them than a beautiful kilt around the waist, made of eagle quills and ermine, and very splendid head dresses made of the same materials. Two of these figures were painted entirely black, with pounded charcoal and greese, whom they called the "firmament, or night;" and the numerous white spots which were dotted all over their bodies, they called "stars." The other two were painted from head to foot as red as vermilion could make them. These, they said, represented the day, and the white streaks which were painted up and down over their bodies, "ghosts which the morning rays were chasing away."

III. This leads us to take up the classification of the totems. It will be understood that there were several kinds

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1 The plate representing these may be seen in another part of this volume.
26 NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

of totems, all of which are suggestive of mythology, or at least of religious customs and superstitions. The following embraces nearly all classes and a description of the offices which they filled: First. The clan totem. This was generally received from the mother, though in the tribes that had reached the patriarchal age, it was received from the father. Second. The tribal totem, common to all the members of a tribe to the exclusion of other tribes. Third. The individual totem, belonging to an individual and not passing to his descendants. Fourth. The village totem, common to all the residents of the village, generally derived from the chief of the village. Fifth. The phratry totem, common to all the members of a phratry or sub-division of a tribe, and derived from some former tribal division. Sixth. The sub-gens totem, called by Fraser the split totem. Seventh. The mythologic totem.

(1) "The clan totem was reverenced by a body of men and women who called themselves by the name of the totem, believed themselves to be of one blood, descendants of a common ancestor, bound together by common obligations to each other and by a common faith in the totem."

The clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to his totem by dressing in the skin or other part of the totem animal, arranging his hair and mutilating his body so as to resemble the totem, or representing the totem on his body by tattooing or paint. The belief was common among the Indians that they had an animal in their bodies. A clansman affixes a totem mark or signature to treaties and deeds, and paints and carves it on his weapons, canoes and tents. In death the clansman sought to become one with his totem, so he was buried with the clan and had the clan totem placed above his grave. It was an article of faith that the clan sprang from a totem or animal ancestor and that each clan at death rejoined the ancestors, though whether they reassumed the animal shape is a question.

Clan totems were prevalent among all the hunter tribes, and were the symbols or emblems of the clans or gentes which existed among them. They indicated a natural kinship and in a sense perpetuated the ancestral line exactly as the coat of arms in European countries perpetuates the family history and shows the ancestry of the peculiar household. They were not, however, indicative of any individual exploits as the crests and symbols upon the family crests in ordinary heraldy were, but were strictly genealogical. There were symbols...
which were reminders of the individual exploits but these were generally worn upon the person and constituted a part of his dress so that the warrior carried his personal history in his dress and personal ornamentations.¹

(2) The tribal totem is very conspicuous, but it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it from other totems. The following, however, will aid us in this: The clan totem is generally local, and can be identified with the symbols which are held in common with the clans. The dream totem is regarded as sacred, and is known only to the individual. The phratry totem is best known to the members of the phratry, which is an especial brotherhood among the tribes, but the tribal totem is distinctive of the entire tribe, and may be seen throughout the habitat which the tribe fills. The following will illustrate this distinction:

The Creek Indians were divided into twenty clans, all bearing animal names. The panther clan was prohibited from marrying a panther or a wildcat clan. The panther and wildcat clans formed together a phratry. The Choctaws are divided into two phratries each of which consisted of four clans. The Cayugas have two phratries of eight clans. The Moquis had ten phratries and twenty-three totem clans. The Thlinkeets divided into two clans, the raven and the wolf. One thing is noticeable about the naming of the clans. The most of them are named after animals which are numerous in the region where the

¹The symbols which were used to indicate the Gentile descent or kinship, were in the shape of animals and showed that there was a superstition among the Indians which virtually introduced a kinship between the human beings and the animals with which they were familiar, and upon which they subsisted. The totem then was based upon the imaginary ancestry and was a sign of the artificial brotherhood. This artificial brotherhood was a remarkable invention. All the members of a totem fraternity regard each other as kinsmen and brothers. The totem bond is a stronger bond than the bond of blood or family. The sacredness of the new kinship may be shown by the laws of marriage, for persons of the same totem may not marry or have intercourse with each other. This was exogamy. In some tribes the prohibition extended to only a man’s own totem clan. He could marry a woman of any totem but his own. In other tribes the prohibition extended to several clans. An exogamous group of clans within a tribe was called a phratry.
clan lived, or the clan habitat. The clans on the northwest coast bear the names of wolf, bear, eagle, whale, shark, hawk, sea lion, owl, salmon. Those in New York State bear the names of bear, wolf, turtle, heron and hawk; in the Gulf States, tortoise, wildcat, fish, alligator. Those of Arizona have the names of plants, while the Navajoes have the names of mountains, rivers, and very few animal names. Mr. Fraser speaks of split totems. This is only indicative of a division of a clan which had a common name. It was very common among the Omahas, as there were two or three clans which had the buffalo for its totem, one called the black shoulder and the other the bangs.

(3) There were “dream” totems. These belonged to individuals and did not pass to his descendants. They were regarded as very sacred and were not often revealed. These individual totems were carried in a bag, called the “medicine bag.” It might be made of the skin of an animal, and contained various charms, such as precious stones and the heads of birds and animals. It was sometimes worn as an appendage to the wardrobe, sometimes hidden under the dress and was difficult to be found. This “dream” totem was often identical with the initiatory totem, though there was generally something worn about the person which would be indicative of his dream, so that his totemistic kindred could easily recognize him.

The dress of a chief was made up generally of leggings, moccasins, headdress, necklace, shield, bow, quiver, lance, tobacco sack, pipe, robe, belt, medicine bag, each one of which was covered with symbols which were suggestive of the tribe or clan to which he belonged, also, of the society into which he was initiated and especially of the exploits of which he boasted, but the medicine bag was generally emblematic of the animal which appeared in his dreams.

(4) There were also mythologic totems. These have not been generally recognized, yet they are important, for they perpetuate the “foundation” myths of each tribe, and remind us of the amount of mythologic literature which prevailed. They were in fact myth-bearers. They perpetuate the history and genealogy of the tribe. These mythologic totems are widespread, though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish

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1 The clan totem is used in the “winter counts” or tribal lists. “Winter counts” constitute a sort of record of the tribe or clan as they give the prominent events which occurred, in a sort of picture writing. The Ogala, roster, obtained of Rev. S. D. Hinman contains the picture of different individuals with their totem placed over the head, their tattooing or painting on their faces, the pipes and weapons in their hands, the various parts of the dress help to identify the persons as much as if their names and history had been written. The pictorial census prepared under the direction of Red Cloud, chief of the Dakotas, also contains the totems of the persons who held allegiance to him as a chief. See Mallory’s Picture Writings—

2 Miss Alice Fletcher says: “These religious symbols are the most sacred personal possessions. They are rarely inherited, being generally buried with the person. In a few cases a man would inherit the sacred symbol of his progenitor and carry it with his own in his personal bag.” See Report of Peabody Museum, Vol. III., p. 290.

3 An illustration of this has been given by Catlin in connection with the portrait of “Rushing Eagle,” who carried on his spear, shield and headdress, emblems of his own personal history.
them from the clan or tribal totems. As a general thing, we may say that the mythologic totem belongs to a group of tribes, and is prominent among the myths and symbols of nearly all the tribes which inhabit a certain district, and

represents the being who is regarded as the great creator and progenitor of these tribes, as well as their culture hero and chief divinity.

There are many specimens of mythologic totems, some of them found among the Eastern tribes, others among the tribes of the Interior, such as the Pueblos, but they are more numerous.

1 These symbols were discovered by Mr. Lewis F. Gunckel in the valley of the McElmo and near the ancient cliff-dwellings.
among the tribes of the Northwest. Among the Eastern tribes, this "totem" was generally represented by the gigantic rabbit, who was in reality the "Dawn God," but was sometimes by the turtle, which was identical with the earth goddess. Among the tribes of the far West, the mythologic totem was represented by the coyote, who was the great divinity of the California Indians. Among the tribes of the Interior, it was represented by the various animals which were supposed to preside over the "six celestial spaces," such as the bear, wolf, mountain lion, panther, eagle and mole, though among some of the tribes it was the mysterious spider women. Among the mountain tribes, a being having the human form and human attributes, but adorned with ornaments borrowed from the mountains, was the mythologic totem, as well as creator. The tribes of the northwest coast took their mythologic totems from the animals of the sea or the forest near which they dwelt, such as the whale, the wolf and the raven, though they mingled these with their human ancestry.

Illustrations of these mythologic totems may be given from the various tribes. The Lenape or Delaware Indians were descended from their totems, the wolf, the turtle and the turkey. These were their clan totems because they were descended not from a common turtle but from the great original tortoise which bore the world on its back at the time of creation. The story was that, the whole earth was submerged and but a few persons survived. They had taken refuge on the back of a turtle, which had reached so great an age that his shell was mossy; the turtle swam to a place where a spot of dry land was found. There the people settled and re-peopled the land. This is a tale of reconstruction and has been supposed to refer to the deluge. It fitly represents the earth as land distinguished from water. The back of a turtle represents an island surrounded by water.

Sometimes the mythologic totems were taken from the localities in which the tribe had previously dwelt, but they relate to the time when they were created and can be carried back to the "creation myth." Such is the case with the Navajoes, who dwelt among the cliffs. The story is given by Dr. Washington Matthews:

"When the goddess Etsanetlehi went at the bidding of the sun, to live in the western ocean, and the divine brothers, the war gods, went to Thoyetli in the San Juan valley to dwell, Yolkai Estsan, the white shell woman, went alone into the San Juan mountains, and there she wandered around sadly for four days and four nights, constantly mourning her lonely condition, and thinking how people might be created to keep her company. On the morning of the fifth day the god Qustecyalci came to see her along with several other gods. These, after many ceremonies, created a human pair out of two ears of corn. The wind god gave to these the breath of life, the god of the white crystal gave them their minds, the grasshoppers gave them their voices. From these are descended the gens called the 'House of the Dark Cliffs' because the gods brought from these houses the corn from which the first pair was made."
THE EAGLE MAN—A MYTHOLOGIC TOTEM.

Masked dancer dramatizing the eagle man—one of the mythological divinities of the Southern Mound-builders. It shows the manner of wearing the masks and feathers in the war dance.
COPPER EAGLE FROM THE ETOWAH MOUND.
Showing one of the totems of the Southern Mound-builders.
Another version of the same story is as follows:

"The goddess of the west became the wife of the sun, but she determined to make something of the human kind to keep her company. From her left side she made four persons who became the progenitors of one gens Qonagani; from her right side four, from whom came the gens of Kia'ni. In like manner, from her left breast she made the four ancestors of the gens of Co'citcini; from the right breast the ancestors of Bica'ni; from the middle of her chest the ancestors Qackligni, and from the middle of her back between the shoulders, the ancestors of Bicani."¹

The Haidas believe that long ago the raven took a cockle shell from the beach and married it. The cockle gave birth to a female child and from their union the Indians were produced. The California Indians, in whose mythology the coyote is a leading personage, are descended from coyotes. At first they walked on all fours, then they began to have some members of the human body—one finger, one toe, one eye; then two fingers, two toes,
(2) The method of dramatizing the totems in the sacred ceremonies, especially those which took place at the time of initiating the braves into the secret societies; (3) the custom of carving the totem on the grave posts and genealogical trees; (4) the method of writing them in the bark records or tribal lists of names; (5) the custom of erecting effigies of earth near their villages, making them represent their clan totems; (6) the habit of inscribing animal figures on rocks; (7) the habit of representing them on their copper plates, their pottery and pipes; (8) the habit of inscribing animal figures on shell gorgets and burying them in the graves with the dead—the latter custom showing that there was a totemistic relation between the spirit of the dead and the supernatural world; (9) the custom of wearing masks as a sign of transformation; (10) the custom of tattooing.

Illustrations of these different methods are numerous, a few of which are given in the cuts and plates. One of these represents the buffalo dance.
common among the Mandans. Another represents the animal figures seen by Catlin, painted upon the tents. Another represents the pottery vessel found in Arizona, made in the shape of a nondescript creature, partly animal and partly human. Another represents the "effigies" which are common in Wisconsin, another the "rock inscriptions" found near the cliff dwellings. Still another represents the totems gathered about the bed of a Haida chief, as he lay in state in his tent. The plates represent the mythologic totems of the Southern Mound-builders.

Catlin also speaks of wearing masks. He says one of the chief medicine men placed over his body the entire skin of a bear, with the war eagle's quill over his head, taking the lead in the dance, and looking through the skin which formed a masque which hung over his face. Many others in the dance wore masques on their faces, made of the skin from the bear's head; and all, with the motions of their hands, closely imitated the movements of that animal, some representing its motion when running, and others the peculiar attitude and hanging of the paws, when it is sitting up on its hind feet and looking out for the approach of an enemy. This grotesque and amusing masquerade oftentimes is continued at intervals for several days.

Mr. Catlin has given several pictures of the imitative mythologic dances celebrated among the Mandans. They illustrate the point, for in these dances the Indians are represented as assuming the attitudes of the different animals. [See plate.]

In some of these dances, the attitudes of the animals whose totems were worn by the clans were imitated, and the spirits of the animals were supposed to have taken possession of the dancers. In the buffalo dance, the people imitated the various attitudes of the buffalo. In the wolf dance, the society of those who had supernatural communication with wolves were the dancers. They wore wolf skins, and paint the tips of their noses and their bodies, in imitation of the blue wolves, and dance in imitation of the actions of the wolves. In the grizzly bear dance, they pretend to be grizzly bears. Some wear the skins of grizzly bears, pushing their fingers in the claws, some wear necklaces of grizzly bear's claws. The ghost dance was one in which those who had supernatural communication with ghosts could partake. The sun dance has not been practiced by the Omahas, but is very common among the Ponkas.

Illustrations of other methods of representing totems may be given from the various tribes.

We take the Omahas first, for the totems of this tribe have been studied extensively. Mr. J. O. Dorsey is our authority. The Omahas were a branch of the great Siouan stock which at an ancient date journeyed down the Ohio river and scattered over the region west of the Mississippi. The Omahas, Ponkas, Osages and Kansas went up the Missouri river. The Winnebagos, Iowas, Ottos and Missouri belong to the same stock, though these tribes were scattered along the Mississippi river from the Wisconsin to the St. Francis river. The Omaha tribal organization was different from that of many other tribes. The kinship seems to determine the position of the men. Three classes were recognized in civil affairs: the chief, who exercised legislative, executive and judicial functions;
second, the braves who were servants and messengers of the chiefs; third, the young men and common people. The chiefs only had a voice in the tribal assembly, but in this assembly the civil and religious affairs were not separated. Besides the chiefs proper were the seven keepers of the pipe of peace and the three keepers of the sacred tents. The tribal circle of the Omahas was in the form of a horse-shoe. In this circle the gentes took their regular places divided by the road which passed through the center of the circle, five gentes on the right side and five on the left. There were special areas for the gentes and subgentes. The three sacred tents were pitched within the circle on the right side, the war tent was near the gate-way of the circle. The pipes were distributed among the different gentes, the eagles. The following are the names of the gentes and their location, symbols, offices, special missions and characteristics: (a) The elk had their tent pitched at the right side of the gateway at one of the horns of the circle, the sacred tent consecrated to war and the sacred bag which held the feathers and skin of the sacred bird or war eagle, also the tribal war pipe and the tobacco pouch and the sacred clam shell, which was the emblem of the divinity which led the people in their migrations. This clam shell was in ancient days carried on the back of a youth, wrapped in a buffalo hide. It was never placed on the ground but was hung on a cedar stick when the tribe were encamped. Their mission was to give the alarm in case of attack and to hold the sacred pipe toward the sky when the first thunder was heard in the spring and to worship the thunder god. They were not permitted to touch or eat any of the flesh of the elk. Sacred names were given to the boys, names taken from different parts of the horns of the elk. The style of wearing the hair was in imitation of the elk’s horns; the hair near the forehead stood erect, that back of it was brushed forward. (b) The black shoulder gens was next to that of the elk. Their ancestors, the “inke saba,” were buffaloes, and dwelt under the surface of the water. When they came out of the water they snuffed at the four winds and prayed to them. They were accustomed to wrap their dead in a buffalo robe with the hair out, and also to decorate the outside of their tent with a circle in which was painted a buffalo head, and above it a pipe ornamented with eagle feathers. The style of wearing the hair with the boys was to leave two tufts to imitate the horns of the buffalo and a fringe all around the head and to shave the rest of the head. They could not eat the buffalo tongues and were not allowed to touch a buffalo head. There is a myth connected with this custom. One day a principal man was fasting and praying to the sun god, when he saw the ghost of a buffalo rising out of a spring. (c) Next to this was the Hanga gens, which means ancestral. They were called the clear sky makers, and the myth is that they also were buffaloes and dwelt beneath the water, but they used to move along with their heads bowed and their eyes closed, but when they came out of the water they lifted their heads and saw the blue sky for the first time. The sacred pole and two sacred tents belonged to this gens. The decoration of the tents was a cornstalk on each side of the entrance and one at the back of the tent. Within one of the sacred tents was the skin

*The Omahas once dwelt near St. Louis, but accompanied by the Ponkas and the Iow as they migrated in stages through Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota, till they reached the neighborhood of the Red Pipestone quarry. This must have taken many years, as their course was marked by a succession of villages consisting of earth lodges.
of a white buffalo cow. The style of wearing the hair was to imitate the back of the buffalo, a crest of hair about two inches long extending from ear to ear. (d) The fourth place in the tribal circle belonged to the black bear recently called the Katadah gens. The tent was decorated at the top with a circle painted blue to represent the bear's cave. Below this four zigzag lines to represent different kinds of thunders; below this the prints of bear's paws. The style of wearing the hair was to leave four short blocks on the head. A subgens is called "the blackbird people." Their style of wearing the hair is to leave a little hair in front for bill and some at the back of the head for the tail and a block over each ear for the wings. Another subgens called the turtle, cut off all the hair from a boy's head except six blocks, two on each side, one over the forehead and one down the back. The Kansas gens was next in the circle. They were the wind people. They flap their blankets to start a breeze which would drive off mosquitoes. Next to the Kansas are the earth lodge makers, Man cin-ka-gaxe, though they call themselves the wolf people. They carried sacred stones, black, red, yellow, blue, which were the same colors as those of the lightning on the tent of the bear gens. The boys have two blocks of hair left on their heads, one over their foreheads and another on the crown, perhaps to imitate the head and tail of a wolf.

The next is the buffalo tail gens. They wear their hair in a ridge, which stretches from the front to the back of the head, perhaps to imitate a buffalo's back. They cannot touch a buffalo head. Next to this were the deer head gens. They cannot touch any deer skin, or even use moccasins or the fat of a deer, but can eat the flesh of the deer. The keepers of the sacred pipe were a little apart from the rest. There was a ceremony at birth, in which a child's back was marked with red spots in imitation of a fawn, and all the deer head people make spots on their chest about the size of a hand. The next in the circle was the Ingce-jide. They do not eat a buffalo calf, but paint the body of a buffalo calf on each side the entrance to their tents. The Ictasanda gens, the reptile people, were next in the circle. They do not touch worms, snakes, toads, frogs, or any other kind of reptiles. The children were taken to the man who filled the sacred pipes, who would cut off one lock about the length of a finger, and tie it up and put it in a sacred buffalo hide. He would then put the little moccasins on the child, who was to wear them for the first time, turn him around four times, and then say to him, "May your feet rest for a long time on the ground."

We see from this description that the totem system was a very important factor in the clan life of the Omahas. It not only gave the name of animals to the clans, but made the flesh of those animals sacred, or taboo to the clans. It also controlled the position of the tents of each clan, and even the decoration and a part of the furnishing of the tents. It came into the tent and directed the ceremonies at the birth of children, placed its mark upon the body of the child. The cutting of the hair of the child was totemistic, symbolical of the peculiarities of the clan totem. The duty and mission of the clan leaders was to carry the sacred pipes in their tents. These pipes correspond to the "sacred shells" of the Ojibwas, the "sacred bundles" of the Pawnees, and the "sacred boxes" of the Cherokees.
V. A few words as to the survival of the system may be appropriate here.

Animal figures were common among the early nations of Europe, and may have come from a primitive totemism. It is said that the Danes had animal figures painted upon their banners when they invaded England. The Norsemen carried shields with animal semblances inscribed upon them, and the Sea Kings navigated the Northern Ocean in boats, the prow of which was made in the shape of an animal, the serpent or dragon being the most common form. They placed their shields upon the sides of the boats, perhaps to represent the scales. The Chinese bear, to this day, a dragon flag, as the emblem to their national power, and carve its head upon the corners of the roof of their houses. The Japanese take the stork as their favorite ornament or emblem, while the Coreans place the tiger on their national escutcheon. Siam has the white elephant, and the people of Benares, the common elephant, for their "coat of arms."

The ancient nations used animal figures as symbols of power. They are seen upon their coins and upon their seals, and are always significant.

There are animal-headed divinities in Egypt, Assyria and India, which remind us of the totems of America, the connecting link being found in the grotesque figures described by Bartram as being common among the Muscogees and other tribes formerly inhabiting the Gulf States. He says, in describing the "council house" of the Cherokees:

There was a secluded place designed as a sanctuary, dedicated to religion, or rather priestcraft, for here are deposited all the sacred things, such as the "medicine pot" rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs, and other apparatus of conjuration, and likewise the Calumet, the great "pipe of peace," the imperial standard, made of the tail-feathers of the white eagle, hugely formed and displayed like an open fan on a scepter or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war the feathers were painted or tinged with vermillion. The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures, which are supposed to be historic or legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs. They are extremely picturesque, but some are ludicrous, as men in a variety of attitudes have the head of some kind of animal, such as those of the duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, and deer; and again, those kinds of creatures are represented as having human heads. These designs are not ill executed, for the outlines are free, bold, and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front, or piazza of the council house of the square are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents ascending upwards, the Atasses being of the snake family or tribe.

Carvings of the Polynesians also contain animal figures. They

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1 These serpent pillars remind us of the serpent columns which have been described by W. H. Holmes as situated upon the summit of the pyramid, as found at Chichen Itza, in Yucatan, arranged so as to guard the entrance of the temple of the sun, situated upon the summit of the pyramid.
may have borrowed their symbolism from the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific and of the Asiatic coast and so have developed an entirely different type from that which prevailed among the tribes on the eastern side of the mountains. The pillars and columns of the Nahaus do, however, resemble the totem posts or pillars of the Thlinkeets. They are much more elaborate, but are characterized by being built in stories. They have also human forms, which are grotesque and complicated and unique. We are reminded by these characteristics of the many storied towers of India and the grotesque carving of the Chinese.

The hieroglyphics on these pillars or columns are very elaborate. They are not pictures and cannot well be traced back to any picture writing. Their source of development or of growth may probably be traced across the ocean and not back into the interior. We certainly lose the thread when we go to the east. We are not sure that we hold it when we go to the west. We think we see fragments of it at the north, but we are not sure but that these are the ends of two threads and not the fragments of a broken line.

There are, however, three or four grades of symbolism on this western or Pacific coast; the first in Washington Territory, the second in Mexico, the third in Yucatan and possibly a fourth in South America. There is, however, this peculiarity in the symbols of all these localities that animal figures are apparent in all totemism, having been perpetuated through the different grades. There are many symbolic carved sun columns; but they seem to be as closely connected with a primitive animal worship as are the monuments of other regions. They remind us of the fact that totemism was not entirely lost, even if sun worship had come in and overshadowed it. We may say that in this region including all of Central America and Mexico, there was a great mixture of symbolism. Animal figures, human forms, and sun symbols are strangely blended and it is difficult to distinguish the animal totems from the sun symbols. *We notice, also, that animal figures are conspicuous in the Codices, see Plate III. These represent the images which were carried at their festivals and are symbolic of the seasons, yet may be connected with the primitive totemism in the Northern district.

Here carved statues and pillars are called totem posts, but they present more human figures than they do animal. There are here many paintings and drawings which are symbolic and the totems of the tribes are sometimes expressed in these; but the most conspicuous symbols are those which are contained in these ancestor trees. The analysis of these carved posts reveals to us one fact, that the family genealogy is expressed in the human figures, but the clan totem is shown by the animal semblan-

*See, contributions to American Archaeology. Vol. V.
Plate III.—FACSIMILE OF PICTURES ON THE DRESDEN CODEX.
ces. One can easily see that totemism is at the basis of all the symbolic figures which are contained in these columns. We present a few specimens of totem posts from the northwest coast. See Figs. 14, 15, 16 and 17.

Fig. 14.—TOTEM POSTS FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST.

There are many such totem posts in which the thunder bird is conspicuous. Totemism seems to have been modified and mingled with a genealogical record. The bird represents the first great ancestor. The human figures represent the later progenitors. The animals represent the clan, the human figures the
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

family. They call the figure at the top the "thunder bird," but it is not so much a nature divinity as it is a tribal God. If it personifies the thunder or any power of nature it at the same time represents the animal divinity. See Fig.15. The bear is also a totem and this animal is sometimes carved on the totem posts and sometimes painted on boards or woven into blankets.

There is a picture of a chief* lying in state, in which there are blankets with bears woven in them on the bed, the image of a stuffed bear is beside the bed, the same or similar figures are seen ornamenting the walls above the bed and everywhere in the room are animal semblances. These were undoubtedly the symbols which expressed the tribal connection of the chief. They show the clan emblems as well as the personal totem of the chief.

It seems to have been a peculiarity of the people of the northwest coast, that they symbolized their clan history by animal figures, but their family history by human figures. We do not know that they were very different from the other American tribes except in this. It is however probable they were older or at least had continued their tribal existence longer than many of the tribes farther east.

There were certain tribes, such as the Dacotahs, who had almost reached the same stage that these had. It appears from the researches of ethnologists, and notably those of Rev. J.O. Dorsey, that the Dacotahs had not only tribes and clans, but sub-clans, as if they were approximating to the condition where the family would be recognized as constituting a separate line. In these tribes the mother-right had disappeared, and the father had come to take the place of the mother in giving the name and inheritance to the clan. We need only to carry the subject a little further, to see how tribes like those on the northwest coast might set up the family name and genealogy as still more important than the clan name and seek to symbolize this fact by their to-

*See Century Magazine—also West Shore for 1881.
tems. In this way we might suppose that a people would easily pass out from animal worship to ancestor worship, the first having been correlated to the clan, and the last to the family. The totem posts of the northwest coast are suggestive objects for our study on this account. These were always expressive of the family honor and the family history, but they suggested at the same time the clan system, the family name being symbolized by the human figures and the clan by the animal, as we have said.

There is one point further in this connection. These tribes of the northwest coast were undoubtedly descended from the tribes of the northeast coast of Asia. Their totem system is to be studied in connection with the Asiatic tribes. We know that the peculiarity of Mongolian races, and especially of the Chinese is that they were given to ancestor worship. The same is true of the tribes situated north of the Chinese wall, such as the Samoyedes, Tungus, and Ostyaks; ancestor worship was very common among them. We may suppose that the American tribes on the northwest coast derived their system from the same source. We find in the totem posts, not only the record of the tribal history, but we may trace in them hints as to their line of migration. These tribes undoubtedly had passed through the various stages of animal worship, and reached the early stage of ancestor worship. They, however, retained the symbols of both systems in these carved posts, and so we have in them a book which we may read as full of significance.

The cuts which we present will illustrate the point, it will be noticed that quite a difference exists between these totem posts. The smaller figures however represent the posts which were erected inside of the house while the larger figures represent those which are on the outside of the house. In reference to the former Rev. M. Eells says, generally these sticks are posts which are used to support the roof of their feast houses, but sometimes are in private houses, and occasionally are placed near the head of the bed, as protectors. See Figs. 16 and 17. These represent posts which are set on large cross beams to support the ridge pole, in a large communal house, No.16 having been unveiled with great ceremony. (In the engravings the black portions represent red, the horizontal shading blue, and the vertical black. The unshaded portions represent white paint.) Figure 18 was a board in another large house, where several hundred Indians gathered for a week's festival. At this time a few persons gave to their invited
friends several hundred dollars in money and other valuable things and it was said that the spirit which dwelt in it really gave away the presents. The principle of idolatry was in all this superstition but still the sticks were, of such a shape that they could not properly be called idols. I had been here for years before I saw what could be called by this name and have never seen but this one. As I visited them at one of their religious gatherings in 1878 I saw Fig. 19, which represents a post about four feet long, roughly carved, with the face and body of a man, but with no legs or feet, the lower part being set into the ground and around this they performed their incantations. The eyes were silver quarter dollars nailed to it, and at the time it had no clothes on except a necktie of red cloth, white cloth and beaten cedar bark. It is said to have been made by the father of a very old man and was kept secreted in the woods when not wanted. I saw it several times after they were done with their performance, and the Indians willingly allowed me to make a drawing of it. It has since been carried off to the woods again.

There are many such figures among the tribes of the Northwest coast. We present a figure, see Fig. 20, which came from this region. Very little is known concerning it. It is described in one of the Smithsonian Catalogues. It, however, probably represents a totem or a genealogical record of some private person. It will be noticed in this post that the animal totems are quite distinct from the human image. Crocodiles are here the tribal totems, but the knife-feathered image is the totem or emblem of the family.

VI. This leads us to another part of our subject, the modifi-
cation of the totem system. We have traced the growth of the system from the primitive picture-writing, in which animals were conspicuous, and have found that totemism and symbolism began at about the same stage. It was not used by the fishermen but came into vogue among the hunter races; it continued among these races going through the different stages of growth until it finally reached a stage where ancestor worship came in to modify it. It is noticeable, however, that totemism continued among the agricultural tribes, and to a certain extent among the Pueblos or village Indians.

It is probable that a modified form of totemism existed among the civilized races, but the symbols among them became changed. There are, to be sure, many animal figures among these symbols but along with these figures certain symbols which are significant of a primitive stage of sun worship and others which are significant of a primitive ancestor worship and so on until we come to the elaborate and complicated symbols of the civilized races. The modification of the totems is then an important point for us to study because we may find in it a history of the changes through which native society in America passed, and may possibly trace the line of their migrations. This is a task which the Archaeologists must set before themselves. We have said that totemism was characteristic of hunter races mainly, and that it was confined to a certain stage of society, that stage which is represented by the term animal worship. We, however, have taken the position that the totem system was perpetuated in ancestor worship. To reconcile these two points we must consider that there were modifications of the totem system. These modifications may be seen, 1st, In the adornments and decorations which were common among the native tribes, especially at their feasts and religious ceremonies. 2d, In the carved pipes and other figures which prevailed among the Mound Builders. 3d, In the fetishes and prey gods of the Zunis. 4th, In the effigies which we trace in the emblematic mounds. 5th, In the combination of animal figures and human forms, which we have seen in the genealogical trees. 6th, In the various myths and traditions which clustered about the heroes, ancestors and prehistoric divinities. 7th, In the superstitions which prevailed in reference to certain haunted places, especially those where a resemblance to animals was recognized in the forms of nature.

The first modification which we shall consider is that which appeared in the personal adornments, decorations, and habiliments of the natives. It is a remarkable fact that there was not only a symbolism in these adornments, but that the personal names and exploits, and tribal connection, were thus symbolized; in other words, that totemism was embodied in the official costumes.

Animals are frequently seen suspended to the dress or hair of
the chiefs and especially of the medicine men. See Fig. 21. The significance of this is that the totem system was symbolized but in a modified form. *There are many pictures which show how totemism could be expressed in the personal adornments. The picture of the medicine man is familiar. In this picture, how-

*The cuts which we have presented do not fully illustrate the subject; other cuts may be found in the Smithsonian Report for 1881, p. 540, Figs. 9, 10 and 14. Also American Naturalist, July 1885, p. 676, March 1885, p. 281. Lubbock's Origin of Civilization, p. 33, Fig. 5, and page 39, Fig. 11. Second Annual Report of the Ethnological Bureau, p. 12, plate I, p. 16, pl. II, p. 20 pl. III, p. 24, pl IV, p. 26, pl V, p. 27, pl VI, p. 28, pl VII, p. 29, pl VIII, p. 30, pl IX, p. 40, pl X, p. 41, pl XI, p. 60, pl XIV, p. 64, pl XV, pps. 155—163; p. 302. pl. LXXVI; p. 395, Figs. 566–569; p. 596, Figs. 570–572. Author's book on Eblematic Mounds, also Picture Writing. Catlin's North American Indians, p. 40. Fig. 19; p. 128, Fig.
Plate IV.—CARVED PIPES FROM THE MOUNDS.
ever, we have hints as to how animal totems might be used without being strictly tribal emblems. The coat of arms of the tribe seem here to have been worn by one man. The clan emblems hang to this person in great profusion. There was an appeal to the superstition of the people in this manner of dressing himself up. The Medicine Man seems to have represented the great divinity and ancestor of the people, the wolf. He seems to have had a power or control over the other clan divinities, the tortoise, the lizard, the eel, the serpent, the eagle and many other animals. The same Medicine Man would get into his tent and throw out through the roof, emblems of the tribal divinities, he would imitate with his voice the cry of the different animals and would finally end his ceremony by declaring the advent of the chief divinity, imitating the voice of the particular animal, with a tone of triumph, as if the contest between the tribal gods had ended. There was, however, in this ceremony the modification of the totem system for the animals seem to personify the different elements of nature as well as the tribal divinities. It was an object lesson preparing the people for a higher stage of nature worship and yet the animal emblems are all retained.

Another modification is found in pipes and pottery. See Plate IV and V. These were partly totemic and partly decorative, that is they were expressive of the tribal name, but were also creations of fancy and were subject to a great variety of forms. On this point we quote Mr. H. M. Henshaw. He says, with reference to the origin of these animal sculptures: *“Many writers appear inclined to the view that they are purely decorative and ornamental in character, i.e., that they are attempts at close imitations of nature in the sense demanded by high art, and that they owe their origin to the artistic instinct alone. But there is much in their appearance that suggests that they may have been totemic in their origin, and that whatever of ornamental character they may possess is of secondary importance. With perhaps, few exceptions, the North American tribes practiced totemism in one or the other of its various forms, and, although, it by no means follows that all the carving and etchings of birds or animals by these tribes are totems, yet it is undoubtedly true that the-
Plate V.—ZUNI WATER VASES DECORATED WITH ANIMAL FIGURES.
temic idea is traceable in no small majority of their artistic representations, whatever their form. As favoring the idea of the totemic meaning of the carvings, it may be pointed out that a considerable number of recognizable birds and animals are precisely the ones known to have been used as totems by many tribes of Indians. The hawk, heron, woodpecker, crow, beaver, otter, wildcat, squirrel, rattlesnake, and others, have all figured largely in the totemic divisions of our North American Indians.

"Their sacred nature, too, would enable us to understand how naturally pipes would be selected as the medium for totemic representations. It is also known to be a custom among Indian tribes, for individuals to carve out or etch their totems upon weapons and implements of the more important and highly prized class, and a variety of ideas, superstitions and others are associated with the usages, as for instance in the case of weapons of war or implements of the chase, to impart greater efficiency to them. The etching would also serve as a mark of ownership, especially where property of certain kinds was regarded as belonging to the tribe or gens and not the individual. Often, indeed, in the latter case the individual used the totems of his gens instead of the symbol or mark for his own name.

"As a theory to account for the number and character of these animal carvings the totemic theory is perhaps as tenable as any. The origin and significance of the carvings may, however, involve many different and distinct ideas. It is certain that it is a common practice of Indians to endeavor to perpetuate the image of any strange bird or beast, especially when seen away from home, and in order that it may be shown to his friends. What are deemed the marvelous features of the animal are almost always greatly exaggerated. It is in this way that many of the astonishing productions noticeable in savage art have originated.

Another modification of the totem system is that which is found among the Zunis. These remarkable people have a fetichistic religion and at the same time are sun worshippers. The fetiches perpetuate the animal divinities, but their sun worship absorbed and supplanted totemism. The Zunis had many fetiches; these were generally representatives of the operations of nature; they seem to have dominion over the different elements. See Plate VI. The Zunis divided the earth into six regions, the north, west, south, east, the upper region and the lower regions and ascribed a divinity to each one of these regions. These divinities were all animals, but they were animals of different kinds, the wolf being the God of the east, the bear the God of the west, the badger the God of the south, the mountain lion the God of the north, the eagle the God of the upper regions, and the mole the God of the lower regions. They personified the powers of nature but they did this as much by their color and by their peculiar adornments as by their animal form. They were ani-
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

mal divinities; they were not tribal Gods so much as they were nature Gods. They neither represented the tribal names or the tribal history, but they symbolized the divinity which ruled in the different parts of the sky. Each one of these animals was represented by an image, the image however, always had the color which was peculiar to the sky, the God of the north being yellow, that of the west blue, that of the south red, that of the east white, that of the upper regions all colors, and that of the lower regions, black. These colors are used in the pictographs, and in all the mythic symbolism of the Zunis to indicate the regions referred to above. We cannot fail to see in this, clear reference to the natural colors of the regions; the barren north with 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 holes and caves of the earth. Among the Zunis there were different classes of animal divinities, three of them being especially prominent. They are: 1st, the Gods of the six regions referred to above; 2d, the prey Gods or the fetishes of the hunt, and 3d, the Gods of the priesthood of the bow. These were all worshiped and were symbolized with great care, every part of the image or of the painting being expressive of the attributes of the divinity and some particular phase of nature. Sometimes the idols were trigged up with various flint weapons such as arrow-heads and spear-heads or with shell beads, the arrow-heads and beads always having a symbolic significance, the position of the flint, whether on the back or side or belly of the animal being in itself symbolic, and the color of the beads and flints being also expressive. Sometimes the animals were painted on a shield, and the shield was decorated with feathers and covered with various figures. A winged creature is frequently seen on the shield, the wings being attached to a human form, but the animal divinities are always seen accompanying this nondescript figure. Two pictures of the fetishes of the priesthood of the bow are given by Mr F. H. Cushing in his interesting description of the Zuni fetishes. These pictures are in different colors, to represent the earth and sky and water; one of them has a winged human form in its centre, a crooked serpent below the feet, and a moun-
tain lion on either side. *"This curious god is the hero of hundreds of folk-lore tales and the tutelar divinity of several of the societies of Zuni. He is represented as possessing a human form, furnished with two flint knives, feathered pinions and a knife-feathered tail. His dress consists of the conventional terraced cap representative of his dwelling place among the clouds, and the ornaments, badges and garments of the Ka-Ka. 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 Zunis, although now secondary in the order of man, to the two children of the Sun mentioned." See Fig. 21. "These fetiches are constantly carried by the warriors when abroad, in pouches like those of the hunters, and in a similar manner. The perfect fetich of this order differs but little from those of the Hunters save that it is more elaborate and is sometimes supplied with a minute heart of turquois bound to the side of the figure with sinew of the Mountain Lion, with which, also the arrow-point is probably attached, usually to the back or belly.

"The arrow point when placed on the back of the fetich is emblematic of the Knife of War, (Sa-wa-'ni-k'ia a-tchi-en-ne,) and is supposed, through the power of Sa-wa-ni-k'ia or the "magic medicine of war" to protect the wearer from the enemy from behind or from other unexpected quarters. When placed "under the feet" or belly, it is through the same power, considered capable of effacing the tracks of the warrior that his trail may not be followed by the enemy."

The other picture is that of a shield with an eagle in the centre, the serpents below the eagle with a white bear above. This is the great white bear. The three beings which constitute the prey-Gods of the priesthood of the bow are the Mountain Lion, the great white bear and the knife-feathered monster. These are the war gods, as the others are the hunter gods.

In reference to the worship of animals it naturally follows from the Zuni philosophy of life that his worship, while directed to the more mysterious and remote powers of nature, or as he regards their existence, should relate more especially to the animals; that in fact, the animals, as more nearly related to himself than are these powers, should be frequently made to serve as mediators between them and him.

The color of the stone was symbolic as well as the shape, the four parts of the sky were supposed to have different colors; the north was yellow; the east, white; the south, red; the west,
blue; the upper regions, many colored; the lower regions, black, accordingly the divinities which presided over these regions had colors which corresponded: See Plate VI.*

In this plate we have Fig. 1, Mountain Lion, God of the north—(yellow). Fig. 2, the Coyote, which is the God of the west—(blue). Fig. 3, the Wildcat, which is the God of the south—(red). Fig. 4, The Eagle, which is the God of the upper regions—(spotted). Fig. 5, The Mole, which is the God of the lower regions—(black).

The ornaments or equipments in the fetiches are also symbolic. Ordinarially the Gods of the hunt, that is, those which presided over hunters and were supposed to direct them to the game, were furnished with the arrow heads, while the prey Gods, which represented the game which was to be slain and consumed, were frequently without the arrow heads. It was supposed that the animals of prey had a magical influence over the animals they preyed upon, and breathed upon them whether near or far and never failed to overcome them, piercing their hearts and causing their limbs to stiffen, and the animals to lose their strength.

*In this plate we have the different fetiches, but the color is not represented in the printing.

CHAPTER III.

THE SERPENT SYMBOL IN AMERICA.

One of the most interesting and suggestive topics for archaeologists to consider is the serpent symbol. The interest is owing to the fact that it prevails so extensively. No symbol is more common in oriental countries and few symbols are more prominent in this country. The study of it, however, is attended with some difficulties. The very fact that it prevails so extensively gives rise to many enquiries. The student is quite likely to be diverted from the careful investigation by the number of enquiries which arise as he progresses with the subject. The problems become so numerous and difficult that he feels almost burdened with the importance of the subject. The fact that so much curiosity is awakened and so many enquirers wait upon him for results, has however a tendency to urge him forward.

The serpent is as conspicuous in prehistoric as in historic times, and the task before us is to explain how and why this was the case. We find the form of the serpent a prominent object in primitive art, and the earliest forms of religion, prevailing extensively in native traditions, and as a symbol proving to be widespread. The question is, whether its appearance in historic times, is the result of its prevalence in the prehistoric.

The serpent symbol in America is especially interesting. Here it is free from historic associations, has few of the accumulations of civilized art, is unattended with the customs which have clustered about it in the East. There may be, to be sure, discussions in connection with it, and some may be inclined to trace the symbol to scripture lands and ascribe it to the scripture narrative, yet the fact that it is found in regions so remote makes it uncertain. The value of the study of the symbol in America will be seen from this circumstance. We may be able to solve important problems by the means.

We propose to consider the serpent symbol in America.

I. Its origin. Here there arise a number of enquiries. 1st, The
appearance of the symbol in the East. 2d, The connection between the tradition in the East, and the traditions of the West. 3rd, The correspondence between the tradition and the symbol everywhere. 4th, The mingling of the serpent symbol and the sun symbol. 5th, The enquiry is, whether serpent worship was a widespread cult, or was something which was local. 6th, Did the symbol originate in this country? 7th, Can the serpent symbol in this country be said to be derived from the scripture narrative. This last is perhaps the chief enquiry. It is a well known fact that the symbol prevails in oriental countries, and that the tradition of the serpent is common in the mythology of all lands. The fact that the serpent appears in the traditions of this country makes this enquiry all the more interesting. 8th, The appearance of the serpent amid the ornamentations of the palaces and idol pillars of Central America suggests that the symbol was highly developed, and by following the stages up to this point we might learn why and how the serpent became so prominent in Greek Art. 9th, Still further the connection between the serpent worship and the phallic symbol is a fruitful theme and might engage our attention throughout the whole of this paper. We are controlled, however, by our limitations and must only touch upon a few points and then pass on.

I. Lenormant, the French historian and archaeologist, explains the "Serpent in Eden" as follows: He says that the tradition of the serpent, was seized upon by the sacred writer and embodied in the narrative, but the origin of it was in pre-historic times. He maintains that the symbolism of the garden of Eden was derived from the serpent worship which had prevailed, and under this symbolism an actual fact was made known. A new explanation of the fall of man is given. It was a fall from potential holiness, and not from actual holiness. The conscience of the first man was designed to keep him in the true worship, and to teach him about the true God, but disobeying this he fell away into the various systems of nature worship and became ruined by the fall. Serpent worship was a native faith, one of the varieties of nature worship, but it was a very degenerate form of the faith; the serpent itself became at length the embodiment of evil, and the source of degeneracy.

On this point there might be a difference of opinion, and yet if we take the association of the serpent with the phallic symbol, we can easily see how man would degenerate, and this form of religion become the cause of his degeneracy or fall. Serpent worship in the East is certainly a source of evil, and whatever we may say about its age and origin we must acknowledge that there is a great contrast between it and the worship taught by the scriptures. In reference to the question whether the serpent symbol in America can be traced to the traditions of the East, and whether there is any connection between the scrip-
ture narrative and this symbol a few words are appropriate.
The serpent symbol certainly abounded in the prehistoric period in this country. If it was derived from the scripture it must have been transmitted at a very early date. The symbol of the serpent is here very rude, so rude as to almost convince us that it originated on this soil. It might, to be sure, have undergone a degenerating process in its transmission, and yet the fact that there is so much rudeness to the symbol and so many different types manifested by it, would almost preclude this. The picture given to us by the sacred word, of the serpent and the tree, is attended with the idea of temptation to evil, but the tradition in America has no such moral distinction.

The serpent symbol in America is not like the serpent in the garden. It is not even like the sacred tree of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians though it has much more in common with that symbol than with any picture of the fall. There are, to be sure, a few relics which by some are claimed to be genuine, which transmit the symbol exactly as it is given in the scriptures.* Mr. Ignatius Donnelly, in his volume called "Atlantis," has given a cut which illustrates this, but the specimen can hardly be called a genuine prehistoric relic. It is more likely to have been left by some Spanish explorer than by any native.

The tradition and the worship of the serpent in oriental countries might have come from the scriptures, and in a degenerate form may have been transmitted, carrying the symbols with them. This country however is very remote and the tradition can hardly be traced back to the sacred record. It would be easier to explain the scripture account of the serpent as the result of a primitive system such as we find here, than it would to trace the symbol in America to scripture lands and say that it was the degenerate form of this sacred story, symbolized by the natives in their relics. Still the prevalence of the tradition and the symbol may possibly be owing to the vague and shadowy myth which may have been transmitted from the earliest time. The myth would naturally become conformed to the superstitious notions and customs of the natives. The imagery would become American, the very conception would be savage, and the original story would be lost. The contrast between the symbol in the East and the West can at least be thus explained.

2. The correspondence between the traditions of this country and those of Europe and the lands of the East will perhaps be a better point. This correspondence has been explained. Dr. D. G. Brinton thinks that all the stories about the creation, the deluge, the first ancestor, the Culture-Heroes, and even some of the migration legends, can be traced to nature worship. He makes them all to be mere variations of a primitive mythology. Even the heroes which are so well known to history and which have

*See Atlantis, page 445.
appeared conspicuously in literature and poetry, Hiawatha, Montezuma, the "Fair God" of the Toltecs, Quetzacoatl and the Peruvian Viracocha, are but personifications of the powers of nature, with a small amount of actual history as a basis for their celebrity.* On the other hand, Charles Leland maintains that there was a close connection between these traditions and those which have been preserved in the Younger Edda.

Mr. Leland quotes Henry Schoolcraft as holding a contrary opinion, but thinks the traditions of the Wabanaki are exceptional. Mr. Schoolcraft's language is as follows:†

"Where analogies are so general there is a constant liability to mistakes. Of these foreign analogies of myth-lore, the least tangible, it is believed, is that which has been suggested with the Scandinavian mythology. That mythology is of so marked and peculiar a character that it has not been distinctly traced out of the great circle of tribes of the Indo-Germanic family. Odin and his terrific pantheon of war gods and social deities could only exist in the dreary latitudes of storms and fire which produce a Hecla and a Maelstrom. These latitudes have invariably produced nations whose influence has been felt in an elevating power over the world. From such a source the Indian could have derived none of his vague symbolisms and mental idiosyncrasies which have left him as he is found to-day, without a government and without a god." Mr. Leland says:‡

"This is all perfectly true of the myths of Hiawatha-Manobozho. Nothing on earth could be more unlike the Norse legends than the Indian Eddas of the Chippewas and Ottawas. But it was not known to this writer that there already existed in Northeastern America a stupendous mythology, derived from a land of storms and fire, more terrible and wonderful than Iceland; nay, so terrible that Icelanders themselves were appalled by it. Here indeed there existed all the time, a code of mythological legends such as he declared Indians incapable of producing; but strangest of all, this American mythology of the north, which has been the very last to become known to American readers, is literally so like the Edda itself that, as this work fully proves, there is hardly a song in the Norse collection which does not contain an incident found in the Indian poem legends, while in several there are many such coincidences." * *

"It made, in short, a mythology such as would be perfectly congenial to any one who had read and understood the Edda, Beowulf, and the Kalavala, with the wildest and oldest Norse Sagas. The Wabanaki mythology, which was that which gave a fairy, an elf, a naiad, or a hero to every rock and river and ancient hill in New England, is just the one of all others which is least known to the New Englanders."

* See Myths of the New World, pps 34, 49, 58, 61, 111, 117, 123, 177, 183, 197, 195, 209 and 225.
‡Algonquin Legends, Introduction, pp. 4 and 5.
Fig. 23.—GREAT SERPENT IN ADAMS COUNTY, O.
"It may very naturally be asked by many, how it came to pass that the Indians of Maine and of the farther north have so much of the Edda in their sagas; or, if it was derived through the Eskimo tribes, how these got it from the Norsemen who were professedly Christians. I do not think the time has come for fully answering the first question. There is some great mystery of mythology, a yet unsolved, regarding the origin of the Edda and its relations with the faiths and folk-lore of the older Shiamanic beliefs, such as Lapp, Finn, Samoyed, Eskimo, and Tartar. This was the world's first religion; it is found in the so called Accadian-Turanian beginning of Babylon, whence it possibly came from the West. But what we have here to consider is whether the Norsemen did directly influence the Eskimo and Indians."

3. The appearance of the serpent in American tradition is not confined to the northeast coast or to the Algonquin race, but is, in fact, found among all the different tribes. Mr. Schoolcraft has referred to it in his interesting volume called "Algonquin Researches." Dr. Brinton has also spoken of it in his volume, "Myths of the New World." Mr. R. M. Dorman in his "Origin of Primitive Superstitions," Mr. E. G. Squier in his volume called "Serpent worship," Mr. H. H. Bancroft in his "Native Races," and many other writers.

Mr. Dorman says: *"The worship paid to the rattle-snake was universal among all the tribes, but not conferred exclusively upon this serpent. All the snakes enjoyed a share of it though in a less degree. The Winnebagos revered and never killed the rattle-snake. The Indians of Florida venerated the rattle-snake and would not kill one for fear its spirit would incite its kindred to revenge its death. The Cherokees worshipped the rattle-snake. In Brazil, in a large town of 8,000 cabins, Don Alvarez found a tower which contained a serpent 27 feet long, with a very large head. The Indians worshipped this as a divinity and fed it with human flesh. The Peruvians worshipped adders. Many images of serpents were found in South America before which the inhabitants knelt in adoration."

The Iroquois have a tradition about Niagara Falls, that a serpent poisoned the waters, but Ileno, the thunderer, who dwelt under the sheet of water, discharged upon him a mighty thunderbolt which slew him. The Senecas still point to a place in the creek where the banks were shelved out in a semi-circular form which was done by the serpent when he turned to escape. His body floated down the stream and lodged upon the verge of the Cataract, stretching nearly across the river. The raging waters, thus dammed up, broke through the rocks behind, and thus the whole verge of the fall upon which the body rested, was precipi-

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* Dorman's Origin of Primitive Superstitions, pp 265.
THE SERPENT SYMBOL.

Dr. Brinton says that the serpent seems to be associated in its winding course to rivers. The Kennebec, a stream in Maine, in the Algonquin means "snake," and the Antietam, in Iroquois, has the same signification. There is a tradition that a vast serpent lived in the Mississippi near Fox (Illinois) River, but he finally took a notion to visit the Great Lakes, and the trail he made passing thither, is the basin of that stream.†

It has, by an association of ideas, become connected with the lightning. The Algonquins thought that the lightning was an immense serpent. The Shawnees called thunder, the hissing of the Great Snake, and Tlaloc, the Toltec Thunder god, is always represented with the snake twisted about his body. In the Ojibway mythology the serpent robs the Thunder-bird's nest.

It has also a strange mysterious relation to the spirit land. In one tradition the serpent forms a bridge on which the soul must cross the great stream which separates this world from the spirit world.

"Who is a Manito?" asked the mystic media chant of the Algonquins. "He, who walketh with a serpent, walking on the ground." is the reply, "He is a Manito."‡

The cloud serpent, Mixcoatl, the white or gleaming cloud serpent, is said to have been the only divinity of the ancient Chichimeces.§

It is said of Quetzacoatl, the great Mexican divinity, when he departed from the land, that he entered his wizard skiff made of serpent skins and embarked upon the sea, after bestowing his blessing upon the young men who accompanied him.||

In some localities the serpent seemed to be considered as the embodiment of evil. The Apaches hold that every serpent contains the soul of a bad man.¶

The Piutes of Nevada have a demon deity in the form of a serpent, still supposed to exist in the waters of Pyramid Lake and this Devil Snake causes the water to boil like a pot, in time of a storm.¶

It was described to Whipple and to Mollhausen as possessing power over the sea, lakes, rivers and rain. It was, among the Pueblo cities of the Pecos, supposed to be sacred and according to some accounts was fed with the flesh of his devotees.²

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†"The Iroquois, or the Bright Side of Indian Character," by Minnie Myrtle, p. 133.
‡Dorman's Primitive Superstitions, p. 315, quoted from Schoolcraft, p. 682.
¶Brinton's Myths, p. 171.
||Dorman's Prim, Sup.-p. 94.—Short,—259.—Prescott,—Vol. I-38.
¶¶Whipple, Ewbank and Turner's Report, p. 38.
These traditions prove nothing as to the origin of the symbol and yet they show how prominent the serpent was in native American mythology. Perhaps the most interesting tradition of the serpent is one which has been preserved in the celebrated Red Score Record of the Delawares or Lenni Lenapes, called the Walum Olum. Of this, a new translation has been made by Dr. D. G. Brinton and we take pleasure in quoting from his book. The reader will notice the correspondence between this tradition and the scripture record, but will see that it has been adapted to the new circumstances, the memory of the people not going back further than the migration. The following is the general synopsis:

I. The formation of the universe by the Great Manito, is described. In the primal fog and watery waste, he formed land and sky and the heavens cleared. He then created men and animals. These lived in peace and joy until a certain evil manito came and sowed discord and misery."

II. "The Evil Manito, who now appears under the guise of a gigantic serpent, determines to destroy the human race, and for that purpose brings upon them a flood of water. Many perish, but a certain number escape to the turtle, that is, solid land, and are there protected by Nanabush (Manibozho or Michabo.) They pray to him for assistance, and he caused the water to disappear, and the serpent to depart."

III. "The waters having disappeared, the home of the tribe is described as in a cold and northern clime. This they concluded to leave in search of warmer lands. Having divided their people into a warrior and a peaceful class, they journeyed southward, toward what is called the 'Snake land.'"

IV. "The first sixteen verses record the gradual conquest of most of the snake land. It seems to have required the successive efforts of six or seven head chiefs, one after another, to bring this about, probably but a small portion at a time yielding to the attacks of these enemies. Its position is described as being to the southwest, and in the interior of the country. Here they first learned to cultivate maize."

V. "Having conquered the Talegas, the Lenape possessed their land and that of the Snake people and for a certain time enjoyed peace and abundance. Then occurred a division of their people, some as Nanticokes and Shawnees, going to the south, others to the west, and later, the majority toward the east, arriving finally at the Salt sea, the Atlantic ocean."*

We call attention to this record of the Delawares, for it connects the archaeology of this country with the traditionary lore of Europe and Central Asia. The record is evidently genuine and has no more signs of being modified to suit missionary influence than all the traditions. There is a very remarkable cor-

*The Lenape and their Legends, by Dr. D. G. Brinton, pp. 167-68.
respondence between the tradition as thus recorded and some of the symbolic structures which have been found in the eastern portion of the Ohio Valley. The Red Score shows that is possible to convey thought by symbols, and we are not sure but that this was the object with some of the symbolic earth-works.

4. We have maintained that the serpent symbol was very prevalent among the mounds of Ohio; so prevalent as to give rise to the idea that the totem or ruling divinity of the people was the

![Fig. 24—GREAT SERPENT IN ADAMS COUNTY.](image)

serpent. We do not say that the whole region was occupied by this people, for there are other districts where the alligator or lizard seems to be the totem; but the place where the great serpent may be seen and where the serpent symbol prevails; is a district which is situated south of that in which the alligator appears and which extends along the Ohio River on both sides from Adams to Scioto county, or from the mouth of the Little Miami to that of the Scioto River. Corresponding to this district is another where the Mound Builders erected their most notable works. This is situated a little farther to the east in the vicinity of Marietta. We ask the question whether this was not the habitat of the two races spoken of in the Walum Olum, the "Snake" race and the Telegewhi.

We take it as very suggestive that the tradition of the Lenni Lenapes so correspond with the archaeology and especially that of the eastern portion of the Ohio Valley. Here were situated, according to all accounts, the far famed race called the Telleghe-wi or Alleghewi. The Mound Builders of Ohio have been identified with this traditionary people; identified not only by the missionaries such as Heckwelder, Zeisberger, and others, but by archaeologists. Here were situated, according to the interpretation
which we ourselves have given to the earth works of Ohio, the celebrated "Snake tribe or nation" which is spoken of in this tradition.

On this point we quote Mr. Horatio Hale, who says: *"Every known fact favors the view that during a period which may be roughly estimated between 1,000 and 2,000 years ago, the Ohio valley was occupied by an industrious population of some Indian stock which had attained a grade of civilization similar to that now held by the Village Indians of New Mexico and Arizona; that their population was assailed from the North by less civilized and more warlike tribes of Algonkins and Hurons acting in a temporary league similar to those alliances which Pontiac and Tecumseh afterwards rallied against the white colonist; that after a long and wasting war the assailants were victorious; the conquered people were in great part exterminated; the survivors were either incorporated with the conquering tribes or fled southward and found a refuge among the nations which possessed the region lying between the Ohio Valley and the Gulf of Mexico; and that this mixture of races has largely modified the language, character and usages of the Cherokee and Choctaw nations."*

Dr. Brinton also has pointed out the fact that the tribes of the Chahta, Muskoki, comprising the Creeks, Chickasaws and Choctaws were mound builders in recent times, but he thinks that the Mound Builders of the Ohio were in part their progenitors. The remarkable work of the Tuscarora chief Cusick is evidence also. He describes the conflicts which were carried on between the northern confederacy and the southern emperor who dwelt at the "Golden City," but who also built forts throughout his dominions and almost penetrated to Lake Erie. "Long bloody wars ensued, which probably lasted about 100 years. The people of the north were too skillful in the use of bows and arrows, and could endure hardships which proved fatal to a foreign people. At last the northern people gained the conquest and all the towns and forts were totally destroyed and left a heap of ruins;"† According to Heckewelder, "hundreds of the slain Tallegewi were buried under mounds near the Great River." Mr. Hale says "there could be no reasonable doubt that the Allighewi, or Tellegewi who have given their name to the Alleghany river and mountains, were the Mound Builders." He says "the Dakota stock had its oldest branch east of the Alleghanies;" he thinks that the migration of the tribe was from the Northeast. Prof. W. A. Williamson, the son of the missionary among the Dakotas, says that they have a tradition that their ancestors came from the Northeast, and that they formerly dwelt on the Ohio River, and built the mounds in that vicinity. It is supposed by some that

*See Amer. Antq. Vol. V, No 2, p. 120.
the Dakotas and the Cherokees were different branches of the same race. We speak of these traditions for they seem to confirm the point which we have made, that the mounds on the Ohio River were built by this people, which were called the "Snakes."

5. We now turn to the archaeological evidence. There are mounds on the Ohio River which are in the shape of serpents. The great Serpent Mound in Adams Co. is well known. It needs no description. The discussion has, to be sure, been going on lately, whether this mound is really a serpent or not. According to the survey of Squier & Davis, there is no doubt as to the serpent effigy. Fig. 23. Those authors also thought they recognized in the effigy, the ancient tradition of the serpent and the egg which is so prominent in the cosmogony of the *Hindoos. Rev. J. P. McLean, however, has explored the region and makes out a different figure, the figure of a serpent and a frog; and thinks that the old interpretation cannot be maintained. Fig. 24. There is this to be said however, about the effigy, that its very size and prominence on the summit of the hill, convey the idea that it was a very important symbol, and quite likely to have represented the chief totem or divinity of the tribe dwelling in the region. From it we judge that the name of the tribe would be the "Snake Indians."

Mr. W. H. Holmes thinks that it was a serpent symbol, but suggests that the circle with the altar in the center of it symbolized the heart of the serpent.

There is a circle or earth work near Chillicothe which is in the shape of a serpent. In this case the serpent is not a mere effigy resting upon the summit of a hill, (Fig. 25,) as in Adams county, but the wall to the enclosure, or rather two serpents, the heads forming the gateway. This is a very remarkable work. The situation is in the midst of an extensive series of earth works on Paint Creek, where were many village enclosures and other signs of habitation. This work is described by Squier & Davis as follows: "The body of the work is elliptical in shape, the diameter being 170 ft., transverse 250 feet. There is a single opening or gateway 50 feet wide on the south, where the walls curve outwards and lap back upon themselves for the space of 60 ft. The most remarkable feature of this singular work consists of the five walls starting within 10 ft. of the enclos-

*Anc. Mon., p. 96.
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

ure and extending northward slightly converging, for the distance of 100 ft. See Fig. 25. These walls are 20 ft. broad at the ends nearest the enclosure and 10 ft. apart. They diminish gradually as they recede to 10 feet at their outer extremities. The purposes of this strange work are entirely inexplicable. The small size precludes the idea of a defensive origin. It is the only structure of the kind which has been found in the valleys and is totally unlike those found on the hills. The Great Stone Fort on Paint Creek is but two miles distant and overlooks this work.*

Our explanation of this structure is that it represents two serpents with the bodies joined, but with the heads turned back in such a way as to make the opening or gateway to the enclosure between them. The long stone walls which seem to Squier & Da-

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*Anc. Mon. p. 4, pl. III.
is no such completed line of earthworks and no structures that
correspond to the rattles. Squier & Davis’ description of this
is as follows: “The ends of the wall curve inwardly as they ap-
proach each other upon a radius of 75 ft., forming a true circle.
Within the space thus formed is another circle 100 ft. in diameter
which seems to protect the gateway. Outside of this circle and
overlooking the bluff is a mound 40 ft. in diameter and 5 ft. high.
The passage between the circle and the embankment is only
about 6 ft.” Fig. 26.

Another enclosure resembling this has been described by
Squier & Davis. It is in Butler County. The peculiarity of the

![Diagram of Colerain, Ohio]

work is that every avenue is strongly guarded and the entrances
resemble the gateway just described. The ends of the walls
overlap each other in the form of semi-circles having a common
centre. The coincidence between the guarded entrances of this
and similar works throughout the west, and those of the Mexi-
can entrances, is singularly striking.*

Still another work which has the symbol of the serpent as a
guard to the entrance way is found near Colerain, Hamilton Co.,
Ohio, on the bank of the great Miami.† Fig. 27.

In this case the tails of the serpent guard the entrance way rather
than the heads; although there is another gateway where the
peculiar circular entrance is seen, but it is closed up and the gate
way where the tails are seen is the principal entrance.

Fort Ancient is another work where the serpent symbol may

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*Ac Mon., Squier & Davis, p. 21, pl. VIII, No. 1.
be seen. (Fig. 28.) The walls of this enclosure are singularly tortuous and resemble massive serpent's winding along the edge of the bluffs. The place where the serpent symbol is most manifest is where the large mounds guard the entrance to the lower enclosure at the neck of land which joins the two enclosures. Here the wall is not only tortuous but rises and falls very much as if two massive serpents were rolling their bodies along. There is also in the larger enclosure a singular earth work which has the form of a crescent. From its position inside of the enclosure we should say that it was designed as a moon symbol, yet it may have been built in that form merely as a matter of defense. We do not state positively that the serpent symbol is contained in the Ft. Ancient, for it may be that the tortuous shape of the walls was owing merely to the nature of the ground, as the bluff is exceedingly broken. The walls, in following the summit of the bluffs would naturally be serpentine. And yet if the serpent symbol is found in other earth works we should conclude that it was contained in this, for the resemblance is very striking, when one conceives the idea, and looks at the wall with this point in mind.

Another place where the serpent symbol is supposed to be contained in an earth work, is at Portsmouth. Here we have an extensive series of works consisting of walled enclosures, parallel or covered ways, curved lines, horseshoe symbols, mounds enclosed in circles, and a remarkable symbolic structure which might be considered as representing the symbol of the sun and the four quarters of the sky, or the four winds, and along with the other structures, the serpent symbol. This is one of the most remarkable series of works found in the world. It is composed of three groups; one on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Scioto, about two miles below the city of Portsmouth; another which occupies the ground on the north side of the Ohio to the east of the Scioto; it runs up and across the two terraces and has its main works on the third terrace overlooking the city below. The third group is on the Kentucky shore but several miles further up the river than the first group. The total length of the parallels now traceable may be estimated at 8 miles, giving 16 miles of embankment to the parallels alone, and computing the walls around the enclosures and the circles which surround the horseshoe symbols with the circles which surround the sun symbol, we have a grand total of upwards of 20 miles of earth walls. The city of Portsmouth is now built upon the ground where the largest group formerly existed. But the wall were fortunately visited and described before they were destroyed. Squier & Davis say, "the avenues, or covered ways extending from one group to the other, have induced many to assign them a military origin, built with a design to protect communication between the different works or enclosures; but it is very certain that we must seek for some other ex-
plation of their purposes. It is a singular fact that this entire series of works has a resemblance to the great circle at Avebury, England. There is the same prevalence of the horse-shoe symbol, and of circular enclosures, the different works being connected here by earth walls as there by standing stones.*

II. We now turn to the explanation of the serpent symbol in America. Various theories have been advanced to account for its presence on the continent, but none of them are very satisfactory. One class maintain that it was like all other symbols, wholly indigenous; but another class hold that it was brought in from some other continent, and is to be connected with serpent worship elsewhere. We shall not undertake to defend either of these theories, but shall speak of the possible explanations and ask various questions.

1. Was it a symbol which arose out of the system of animism which prevailed among the rude tribes, the shape of the ground and the locality suggesting that the spot was haunted by the great serpent spirit? 2. Was it another form of tribal worship or totemism, the tribe which dwelt here having made the serpent their local divinity or tribal god, and so exalting it above all the other divinities and worshiping it as the chief divinity? 3. Was it merely a symbol of the nature powers—the lightning, the fire, the sun, the water, making one orallof them objects of worship? 4. Was it a symbol which had been adopted by some secret society and which had become prominent among the sacred mysteries and ceremonies, but had now been made public and placed before the people to increase its power? 5. Was it the result of an intruded cultus, thus showing contact with other countries in prehistoric times? 6. Was there a general cult which embodied itself in both the effigies and the relics, and which spread over the entire continent? or was it a mere local cult, the result of some tribal myth or custom? These questions suggest the different explanations which might be given, and all of them furnish interesting lines of study.

1. The animistic conception may have been embodied in the effigies, for they are all of them situated in wild places, where it would be perfectly natural to imagine that the spirit of the serpent would resort, and the shape of the cliffs or bluffs upon which they are erected would naturally suggest the thought. It is very common for primitive people to ascribe supernatural spirits to the various objects of nature and to trees, rocks, caves, streams, springs, lakes, mountains, islands, imagine that certain places were haunted by certain animal spirits, which become local divinities. It was in this way that the Island of Mackinaw was regarded as sacred to the turtle. The Hot Springs and Spirit lake in Arizona were regarded by the Moquis as sacred to

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*Dr. Stukely considered the works at Avebury to be a druidical place of sacrifice, the avenues connecting the sun circles being in the shape of a massive serpent.
the great serpent. The Niagara Falls and St. Anthony's Falls were both supposed to be formed by the body of the great serpent which floated down the stream and lodged upon the rocks.

The Pawnees had a story that the soul of a young brave who had been killed was carried to the houses of the animal divinities, Nahurac. It was also a common superstition that the souls of the dead were confined to certain places, called houses. One of them was called Pahuk, "hill island," was opposite the town of Fremont, Nebraska; another called La-la-wa-koh-ti-to, "dark island," was in the Platt river; another called Ah-ha-wit-akol, "white bank," on the Loup fork, opposite Cedar river; another was called Pahowuwa, "water on the bank," on the Solomon river; another was called Pahur, it is a rock in Kansas which sticks out of the ground, called "guide rock." At the top of the mound is a round hole and water is in it. The Indians throw offerings into this hole to Tirawa, their great divinity. They were accustomed to make a sacrifice of a captive every year, by burning the body after they had shot arrows into it. They believed that there were giants at first, and these giants were rebellious against Tirawa, but they were destroyed.

2. The region in Ohio where the serpent effigies are the most prominent was once the dwelling place of a tribe of hunters who are known to have migrated from their original seats east of the Alleghenies, following the buffalo in their retreat westward, namely, the Dakotas or Sioux, and it is quite likely that the name of the snake people, which tradition has preserved, was the one which was given to them. One plausible explanation is that this people erected the most of the effigies in this region, and that they built the earliest or oldest of the two forts which are now to be seen upon the summit of the hill at Fort Ancient, the one whose walls are supposed to have been in the shape of tortuous and rolling serpents, its gateway guarded by their heads. Confirmatory of this is the fact that the serpent effigies are found all along the track taken by the Dakotas in their migration westward to their present seats. One was discovered by the writer on the bluff near Quincy, Illinois, another on the bluff near Cassville, Wisconsin, another on the ridge near Lake Wingra, near Madison, Wisconsin, another near Mayville, Wisconsin, still another, discovered by Prof. J. A. Todd, on the bluff called Dakota. And the fact that carved animal pipes, resembling those in Ohio, have been found in the mounds in Illinois and Iowa, the most interesting of which has the serpent coiled around the bowl exactly as the one found in the fort called Clarks works.

3. Another explanation is interesting. There is, in Ohio, an effigy of a bird which is very much like the birds which have been inscribed on the rocks in Dakota. These are supposed to represent the thunder bird, a nature power divinity among the
SERPENT GORGETS FROM TENNESSEE.
SHELL GORGETS FROM TENNESSEE.
Dakotas, and which had its abode near the pipe stone quarry in Minnesota. This remarkable figure was situated upon a hilltop near the east branch of the Miami river. The effigy is contained within a square enclosure, the walls of which conform to the shape of the bluff and are very crooked. The entrances to the enclosure are guarded by fragmentary walls, which are placed within the gateway. The figure itself has not been heretofore recognized as an effigy, but on examining it closely we discover in it the head and tail and outspread wings of a bird, the wings having been formed in such a way as to represent long, drooping feathers, the very features which symbolize the rain. These various facts, which have recently come to light, render it very probable that the Dakota effigy-builders were all of them, before they migrated westward, serpent worshipers, and that wherever they had a location they erected shrines to this serpent divinity and made their offerings to it.

4. A fourth explanation is the one suggested by the serpent effigy discovered in Adams county, Illinois. Here the serpent is situated upon the summit of a hill which overlooks the bottom land of the Mississippi river for many miles, making it a conspicuous object. Here, too, the effigy is conformed to the shape of the bluff, as it is in Ohio. The sinistral turn of the effigies has been recognized in both places. The fact that there were fire beds and the evidences of cremation of bodies in the bottom of the mound, which formed the prominent object in the centre of the body of the serpent, is another point of interest. The fire was an emblem of sun worship and was sacred to the sun. The phallic symbol was also discovered here. The bodies were placed upon their backs, the face turned upward to the sun, the hands folded over the thighs; the skeletons of two snakes were found coiled up between the hands near the secret parts of the body. The number four was also observed here. This is a common symbol among the sun worshipers. There were four large mounds in the centre of the effigy; there were four burial places in the top of one of the mounds, the points of the compass having been observed in the burials. What is most singular about the whole find was that the altar or fire bed was placed upon the summit of a deposit of black soil, constituted a circular or saucer-like depression in the deposit, but all the soil which was placed above the altar and made the rest of the mound was of a strong contrast, as it was a light colored sand. A white streak of burned lime and a red streak of bark or some other substance, a gray streak of ashes intervening between the two layers. Here then we have the symbols which were common in the east and which were so expressive of the nature powers, the contest between light and darkness, the cardinal points, the number four, the several colors, the sinistral turn, the fire, the cremated bodies, and the serpent effigy itself all being symbols
of sun worship. We imagine that these symbols may have been introduced in connection with "sacred mysteries," and were preserved by some secret society or unknown organization and that the rites practiced were a part of the sacred ceremonies which were observed. The situation is to be noticed. They were situated in the wildest places and were often on the summits of hills where their form could be seen at a great distance. They were, perhaps, shrines and places of sacrifice. The altars and fire beds are found in connection with them. They were calculated to inspire terror in the minds of superstitious people and yet were in harmony with the scenes of nature about them. The fires that were lighted upon them sent out their glare through the darkness and covered the whole region with lurid light. They were not merely shrines or places of worship, but were also places of sacrifice where human bodies were cremated and mystic ceremonies were practiced. We can not look upon these serpent effigies in the same way that we do upon the animal figures, for they were strange contortions and outhre shapes; and ghastly scenes were connected with them.

Here then we have different explanations of the serpent symbol, each of them furnishing a different answer to the various questions which have been asked, one pointing to the animistic conception, another to the totemistic idea, a third to the tutelar divinity, a fourth favoring the thought that a secret society superintended the erection of the effigies, all of them doing away with the necessity of an intruded cultus to account for them and favoring the theory of an indigenous origin.

5. The argument for a transmitted symbolism is one which comes from the mingling of the symbols of sun worship with those of serpent worship in the region where the effigies are so prominent, and from the striking resemblance which these effigies have to others which are found in Great Britain, Europe and in oriental countries. How do we explain this remarkable combination? Shall we say that there was a class of persons who by some means were able to cross the ocean and make their way to this remote region and there introduce the various symbols which were used upon the other side of the water and which belonged to the ancient historic races of the east?

Let us consider this point further and examine the evidence on both sides. We take the evidence of Mr. F. W. Putnam, who has made a special study of the great serpent in Adams county, Ohio. He has described this effigy as the figure of the serpent slowly uncoiling itself and creeping stealthily along the crest of the hill, as if about to seize the oval figure in its extended jaws. He says its position east and west indicates a belief in the great sun god, whose first rays fall on the altar in the center of the oval. He quotes the words of Dr. J. W. Phène, who discovered a remarkable serpent effigy in Great Britain. "The tail of the
serpent rests near the shore of Loch Nell. The ground gradually rises seventeen to eighteen feet in height, and forms a double curve. The head forms a circular cairn, on which there still remains the trace of an altar. The ridge was also modified by art, so that the whole length should form a spine of the serpent. Large stones were set like the vertebrae and smaller stones sloping off the ridge were suggestive of ribs." It is said that the worshipers standing at the altar would look eastward along the whole length of the reptile, toward the triple peaks of Ben Cruachan. See Fig. 31. Prof. Putnam draws the comparison between this effigy and the one in Ohio. He says: "Each has the head pointing west, each terminates with a circular enclosure, containing an altar, from which, looking along the most prominent part of the serpent, the rising sun may be seen. In the oval embankment, with its central pile of burnt stones, we find the Lingam un Yoni of India, the reciprocal principle of nature, guarded by the serpent." This interpretation of the great serpent is the same as that given by the first authors who described it, Squier and Davis, who say that the serpent in combination with the circle, egg or globe has been a prominent symbol among many primitive nations, and prevailed in Greece, Egypt and Assyria, and entered into the superstitions of the Celts, Hindoos and Chinese; and even penetrated into America. These authors speak of the altars in the oval enclosure of the great serpent near the alligator mound at Granville, and the cross at Tarleton, Ohio, all of which were on "high places." We are aware that there is another interpretation of these different effigies which would make them altogether indigenous, and which would deny any connection between symbols found in them and those found in other continents.*

6. The correspondence between the structures and the relics is to be noticed here. We find that animal worship or totemism was embodied in the emblematic mounds, or animal effigies, and the carved pipes. Mythologic divinities were portrayed by the rock inscriptions and rock cutlines, as well as by the smaller images found in the mounds. The sun symbol was also con-

*W. H. Holmes thinks that the oval represented the body of the serpent, the altar the heart, the nose of the serpent was the end of the cliff. Everything about the effigy was purely aboriginal. The resemblances of the cliff to the serpent having led to the erection of the effigy.
tained in the earth-works of Ohio and the shell gorgets of Tennessee, the correspondence between them showing that there was a religious cult which prevailed among all these tribes situated in the Mississippi valley. This, of course, does not prove that any cult was introduced from any other continent, but it at least shows that serpent worship was not altogether a local cult. This correspondence will be seen if we take specific localities for illustration and draw the analogies between the earth-works and the relics which contain these symbols of the region, but it will be seen even more clearly if we take the earth-works or effigies of one district and compare them with the relics of another district, for by this means we see that the symbols were not local but general.

In the earth-works, the concentric circles surround a central mound, which has been regarded as a symbol of the sun, and an altar to the sun has frequently been found in the mound. In the gorgets, the concentric circles surround a central disk, which is supposed to be a symbol of the sun. There are earth-works in Ohio which contain the symbol of the cross, whose sides correspond with the cardinal points. There are gorgets in Tennessee which contain the cross enclosed within a circle, evidently designed as a weather symbol. The effigy of the bird is frequently seen in the earth-works. One of these effigies has been described as being in the center of a great circle at Newark. It contained an altar, and was evidently a symbol of the sun. The effigy of the bird on the East fork of the Miami river, referred to above, was, it is probable, the thunder bird.† There is a square enclosure surrounding it, whose gateways are guarded by crescent walls. The situation of the enclosure is remarkable. It is on an eminence, and is visible from

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*The following are the symbols which have been recognized: 1. The circle. 2. The cross. 3. The bird. 4. The square. 5. The crescent. 6. The Jew's-harp. 7. The horse-shoe.

†Compare Fig. 32 with Fig. 6, p. 383.
all directions. The bird effigy nearly fills the entire enclosure. In its shape it reminds us of the various bird effigies found in the gorgets. It has been suggested that the structures were devoted to rites analogous to those attending the primitive hill or grove worship of the east.

The square enclosures in Ohio are, many of them, orientated, have gateways in the sides and corners. There are square figures on the gorgets in Tennessee which have loops at the corners and birds' heads at the sides. Both of these are supposed to be symbols of the different quarters of the sky. There are many crescents among the mounds of Ohio which are associated with circles and with squares. The gorgets contain crescents enclosed in circles.

Now these different figures show that nature worship prevailed over the different parts of the Mound-builders' territory, but the serpent symbol seems to have been very prominent in it. This may be seen from the following facts. Many relics in the shape of serpents have been found in the mounds. These were evidently devoted to sun worship, and were in fact placed upon altars as offerings to the sun.

The association of the serpent gorgets with what might be called the bird gorgets is to be noticed here. Mr. W. H. Holmes has described several of these and shown that the bird, the loop, the square, the circle, the sun with rays, and the cross were sometimes combined in one complicated symbol. His description is as follows:

"A square framework of four continuous parallel lines looped at the corners, the inner line touching the tips of the starlike rays. Outside of this are the four symbolic birds, placed against the side of the square opposite the arms of the cross. These birds' heads are carefully drawn. The mouth is open, the eyes represented by a circle, and a crest springs from the back of the head and neck. The crest is striated and pointed, and the two lines extend from the eye down to the neck. The bird resembles the ivory-billed woodpecker more than any other species." This makes the bird effigy which we have described all the more significant, for the square enclosure there contains the bird which is in the shape of a cross, but in its curved walls may be said to present the loops.

Gen. Gates P. Thruston has described specimens which have been taken from mounds at Seerville, McMahon and the Harpeth cemetery, near Nashville, as well as from Carthage, Alabama, which were evidently ancient. These show that the cult was widespread among the southern Mound-builders. The association of these shell gorgets with serpents on them, with the gorgets containing symbols of the sun and moon and stars, is another proof. These shell gorgets have been found at Nashville. One of them contains three crescents, which have a
sinistral turn around a central disk. Outside of these are nine disks, with dots interspersed between them; outside of these are fourteen other disks, which are carved in relief, so as to make scallops to the gorget.

In Mound City we find crescents which were found in mounds which were surrounded by a circular earth-work, the symbolism being contained in the entire burial place, but the passage to the burial place was across the water from a circular earth-work, where was the village of the sun worshipers, the details of the symbolism having been retained here with as much care in the earth-works as it was in other localities in the relics themselves.

It is to be noted that the shape of the double-headed serpent surrounding the enclosure on Paint creek is that of a Jew's-harp, which is a common symbol in the east. The same symbol is
seen inscribed upon the rock in Pennsylvania called "Bald Friar's Rock." Here the head of the serpent is associated with various animal figures, but it has the same shape as many other symbolic figures in Europe and India, the Jew's-harp or the Mahadeo. See Fig. 33.*

There are tablets which contain the horseshoe symbol, which may be compared to the so-called horseshoes in the Portsmouth works. One such was found near the great mound Cahokia. It contains, on one side, birds' heads, on the other, two human faces. In front of the faces are objects resembling serpents, which are suspended from the head dress, and fall across the mouth. In the mouth is a symbol which resembles the horseshoe. The heads are divided from one another by parallel lines, which constitute a cross; in the cross are circles. Here then we have the symbols of the cross, the serpent, the horseshoe, and the circle. There was another gorget in the Illinois collection in Chicago which contains the figure of a person with a crown on his head, holding up a huge bird by the neck. This person has his mouth open and head turned back, while the same symbol of the horse-shoe is in his mouth and the same serpent figure in front of the face.

In certain gorgets we see concentric circles surrounding a central disk, exactly as we find in Ohio; four circular walls surrounding the central mounds, which may be regarded as the symbol of the sun; and what is more, this central mound often contained an altar with fire which was sacred to the sun. In other gorgets we find the crescents which represent the moon, while in Ohio the crescents made from sheets of mica surrounded the central altars which contained the fire. The four concentric circles were probably designed to symbolize the circuit of the sky, the crescents, to symbolize the revolution of the sun, the disks to symbolize the sun and stars, all of them astronomical symbols.

7. The solitary character of some of the effigies is an interesting feature. A solitary stone was used by the Iroquois as a tribal totem, called the Onondaga stone, but here in Ohio there were several solitary effigies, such as the thunder bird, the eagle, the alligator, the three-legged effigy at Portsmouth, a bear or

*This figure of the Jew's-harp is not brought out in the plate as plainly as it should be, but it is plainly seen on the rock.
elephant, and the double-headed snake near Chillicothe, as well as the serpent. These were probably tribal totems, but they were the totems of a race of sun-worshipers, for they overlook the circular or sacred enclosures, which evidently were built by sun-worshipers, one at Portsmouth being connected with the group which was especially devoted to the sacrifices of the sun.

This solitary effigy or totem was apparently connected by a "covered way" with the central group, suggesting that the effigy-builders had received the impress of the cult which was so prevalent in Great Britain,* for in this group we find nearly all of the symbols which were embodied in the standing stones, as the concentric circle, the horseshoe cove enclosed within a series of circles, the avenues which cross the river in a southwest and southeast direction. A large mound enclosed in a circle may be seen to the east of the group; though whether it may be said to correspond to the "Friars' Heel" of the Avebury works is uncertain. Each of these is near a group of village enclosures. The alligator mound near the villages at Newark;

[Image: Serpent Tablet from Clark's Works, Ohio.]

the double-headed serpent near the villages at Bourneville; the thunder bird near villages on the Miami; but the great serpent seems to be remote from any such village enclosures; it may have belonged to a preceding tribe.

III. The distribution of the serpent symbol throughout the continent is another important point. This distribution is mainly in the line of relics which contain the serpent figure, though there are as we have seen many effigies in earthworks and occasionally an effigy carved out of stone, the two serpents' heads which were seen at the base of the pyramid at Chichen Itza, Yucatan, being the best specimens of the latter type. The inscriptions which contain the serpent effigy, and the codices of the Mayas, present the symbol under the same general form, but the details show that there were conventional elements connected with it which were as widespread as the serpent figure.

*The reader will find a number of articles in Science for August, 1893, on the standing stones of Great Britain by Mr. A. L. Lewis, the result of recent explorations. Mr. Lewis arrives at about the same conclusions as the old writers, such as Stukely, Aberry and others, but he finds that there were several localities where connected groups of circles and avenues have about the same general characteristics, showing a stereotyped symbolism in them all. The question arises, did the serpent-worshipers in their migrations bring their sun-worship to America, or were the sun-worshipers a different tribe from the serpent-worshipers. The serpent is found among the relics of the sun-worshipers.
THE SERPENT SYMBOL.

Itself. These elements consist in the division of the body into four parts; in the use of the concentric circles for the eye; in the presence of the feather ornament over the head; in the presence of the horse-shoe in the mouth, sometimes divided into four parts; in the presence of the loop or noose, or coil, and many other conventional symbols of the nature power. See Fig. 34.

(1.) The tablets from the North fork of Paint creek, enveloped in sheets of copper, represents the snake as coiled up so as to make three folds, the folds reminding us of those seen in the great serpent effigy itself. This tablet was about six and a quarter inches long and one and three-eighths inches broad. The snake is carved very delicately upon it. Squier and Davis say of the pipes and tablets that the circumstances under which they were discovered render it likely that they had a superstitious origin, and were objects of high regard and perhaps of worship. The feather-headed rattlesnake was, in Mexico, the symbol of Tezcatlippoca otherwise symbolized as the sun. Fig. 35.

(2.) A pipe was found in the vicinity of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and is now in the possession of William S. Beebe. The bowl is carved to represent an eagle's head and back. Along the stem four rattle-snakes are stretched in life-like attitudes. On the back and sides of the pipe are liliputian figures of men, carved in relief. This pipe seems to contain the myth of the serpent and the bird, and at the same time represents the superstition of the serpent possessing everything which has the shape. The four serpents represent the superstition about the four quarters of the sky. See Fig. 36.

(3.) The pipe which has been described by Squier and Davis, which represents a serpent coiled around the bowl, has been supposed by some to embody the East India symbol of the mahadeo, but by others as embodying the native American tradition of the serpent and the stump, or Manibozho and the pine tree. This pipe was found in an altar, and had evidently been offered to the sun, as it was cracked and smoked.*

*Squier and Davis say that other sculptures of the serpent coiled, in like manner, round the bowls of pipes have been found. One represents a variety not recognized. It had a broad, flat head, and the body is singularly marked. See Chap. XV., Figs. 3 and 4.
There is a relic which was found on the banks of Paint creek, on which the face of a Mound-builder is carved, and around the neck a large serpent is folded, the head and tail resting together on the breast of the figure. The head is surmounted by a knot, resembling the scalp-lock of the Indians, but the face has markings upon it, as if to imitate the painting or tattooing common with the natives. This relic is a pipe, and yet it has a close relationship to certain stone idols which are common in this region. Thus we have the idols connected with the serpent symbol and the sun symbol in the same region, showing a combination of cults. It is carved in red sandstone, and is six inches in length and five inches in height. See Fig. 37.

A pipe found in Kentucky, now in the Canadian Institute at Toronto, represents the serpent coiled around the neck of a person, a tree growing by the side of the face. This at first sight seems to embody the myth of the serpent and the tree, but was plainly designed to embody the myth about Manibozho and the pine tree attacked by the great serpent, his enemy.

On the old crater, a few miles southwest of Managua, in Nicaragua, five hundred feet above Lake Nijapa, are numerous figures painted in red. Among these is the coiled feathered serpent shown in the cut. It is three feet in diameter across the coil, forty feet up the perpendicular side of the precipice. This would seem to be identical with the Aztec Quetzaticoatl, or the Quiche Gucumatz, both of which names signify "plumed serpent." See Fig. 38.

The most numerous and suggestive class of relics is that which has been described by W. H. Holmes. They consist of a series of shell gorgets which contain the images of serpents upon them. The majority of these were found in east Tennessee, others in Georgia, others from Knoxville, Tennessee. Some of these are now in the Peabody Museum, others in the Natural History Museum in New York, others in the National Collection in Washington. Mr. Holmes says of them: "From a very early date in mound explorations, these gorgets have been brought to light, but the coiled serpent engraved upon their concave surfaces is so highly conventionalized that it was not at once recognized. Professor Wyman appears to have been the first to point out the fact that the rattle-snake was represented. Others have since
made brief allusion to this fact. Among the thirty or forty specimens which I have examined, the engraving of the serpent is, with one exception, placed upon the concave side of the disks, which is, as usual, cut from the most distended part of the *Busycon perversum*, or some similar shell. The great uniformity of these designs is a matter of much surprise. At the same time, however, there is no exact duplication. There are always differences in position, detail or number of parts. The serpent is always coiled, the head occupying the center of the disks. With a very few exceptions, the coil is sinistral. The head is so placed that when the gorget is suspended it has an erect position, the mouth opening toward the right hand. To one who examines this design for the first time it seems a most inexplicable puzzle, a meaningless grouping of straight and curved lines, dots and perforations. We notice, however, a remarkable similarity of the designs, the idea being radically the same in all specimens, and the conclusion is soon reached that there is nothing hap-hazard in the arrangement of the parts, and that every line must have its place and purpose.” See Plate.

These serpent figures were evidently designed to symbolize the nature powers. In them we have the concentric circles, to represent the sun. We find also the rotation of the sun represented by the coil of the serpents. The coil is uniformly from left to right. The serpents are divided into four parts, to represent the four seasons, or the four quarters of the sky. The neck of the serpent is covered by a conventional figure in the form of a loop, with dots along the side of the loop, possibly to represent stars. The eye is formed by concentric circles, which
again is a sun symbol. The lines below the mouth are in the form of squares, and were designed to be symbols.

These gorgets were buried with the bodies, showing that they were very sacred, and were evidently symbols of their religion, perhaps were used as charms. Very few of these gorgets have been found in the mounds of Ohio, where the serpent effigies and sun symbols were so numerous in the earth-works, but the fact that serpent effigies and serpent pipes are so numerous there, would show that the same cult prevailed in both regions. See Plate.

Here we discover the various symbols, such as the suastika, triskelis, the phallic symbol, and that which corresponds to the caduceus, and a vast number of symbols which seem to be esoteric allusions to the planetary system and solar conceptions of the remotest antiquity. There are no such symbols as the "chatra or umbrella," or the "taurines or oxheads," or "cervines or stag-heads," or "nagas or serpent heads" or "stupas or steelyard," but there are occasionally symbolic trees, crosses, and that which resembles the mahadeo and spectacle ornament, and the scepter, which is a rod bent like the letter Z. with ornamental ends. The solar wheel may also be recognized, though generally it is a wheel without the hub; the dot in the circle being noticeable, though the spokes are generally four in number. The crux-ansata, or Nile key, is sometimes recognized. The sun, as a round boss surrounded by rays, which forms a prominent ornament in the east, and is also found in these shell gorgets, but there is no rosette known in this country. The union of the sun and moon is a very natural one, either astronomically or mythologically, hence we find this symbol is used. We conclude from the examination of the figures which are inscribed upon the shell gorgets, that there was a system of nature worship in the different parts of the continent, which embraced a knowledge of the heavenly bodies, such as the sun, moon, stars, four quarters of the sky, which possibly was designed to identify the revolutions of those bodies and perhaps to symbolize time, though the lack of uniformity in the number of circles on the sun gorgets and of the dots in the serpent gorgets renders it doubtful whether there was any calendar contained in them.
CHAPTER IV.

THE SERPENT SYMBOL IN AMERICA.

CONTINUED.

In a previous paper we have considered the Serpent Symbol especially in regard to its prevalence in the Mississippi Valley. We found that it was prominent in the traditions of this region, that the mounds and earth works embodied the tradition and the symbol, and that many Archaeological relics contain the Serpent form.

We propose to take it up now in its more extensive and wide spread appearance and shall consider the specimens of the serpent symbol which are found in the various parts of the Continent.

The origin of the symbol is the especial point and the subject of inquiry will be whether it was derived from extraneous sources or was the result of a nature worship which had its growth upon this continent. The symbol appears among the civilized races as well as the uncivilized, but it is here very elaborate. There seems also to be a progress from the simple to the complicated, from the rude to the highly finished ornament. This would indicate that it had its growth, and development upon the continent. But there are, on the other hand, certain peculiarities about the symbol which would indicate that it was the embodiment of a world wide tradition, and that there was a common source to the symbol as found in this and in other continents. There are at least two sides to the subject and if we would arrive at intelligent conclusions, we must consider the arguments on both sides, and ignore or reject nothing which may be a hint in either direction.

We have said that there are grades of development in this serpent symbol in America, but it is worthy of notice that no connected line of growth has yet been traced, but merely different stages. This, then, is to be our method, taking the lower stages first we are to study analogies as we advance and base our conjectures on the law of development. There is, to be sure, always an
uncertainty attending this idea of development, especially
development in separate localities, for the connecting links
can seldom be traced and other factors may come in which
would constitute the real source rather than those which we are
able to present. The law of development might, indeed, account
for the symbol but there are questions of migration and of an in-
truded culture which might seriously interfere.

It should be said, however, at the outset that the symbol may
have sprung from several different sources as follows: 1st. From
the totem system which was so prevalent among the native tribes.
2nd. The system of nature worship and the personification of nat-
ure powers. 3rd. From the traditionary lore which may have
either been handed down from an aboriginal ancestry or trans-
mited in various lines from people upon other Continents. These
three sources must be taken into the account as we follow up the
subject. Still we shall consider the Serpent symbol as found in
different locations and shall follow geographical divisions in our
treatment of it.

The symbol appears on the two sides of the American Conti-
nent. On the eastern coast it is very rude and primitive. On the
western coast, or rather at the south-west, it is much more elab-
orate. It has been held that there was an analogy between the
symbol as found in the Mississippi Valley and Great Britain, and
it has been conjectured that there was an historic connection be-
tween the two. It is however noticeable that there are many
striking analogies between the symbol as found in Mexico and
Central America and in the Buddhists' temples of the island of
Java, and the inquiry arises whether there was not a connection
between the western part of this continent and the Asiatic coast.
It has been a favorite theory that the serpent symbol had a sep-
erate growth on this continent and that there are three centers
where its development has appeared. These analogies, however,
must be considered even if the theory falls.

We proceed then, to consider the serpent symbol as it is found
in America with special regard to its origin. We shall first con-
sider the symbol as found in the Mississippi Valley, next, as it is
furnished to us by the tribes of the Great West; and lastly as
it is seen among the complicated and elaborate works of the civ-
ilized races of Mexico and Central America. We have in this
case a succession of stages which rise above one another in the
line of culture; and a succession of steps in which the symbol
seems to come up to a higher grade, though it is a question
whether the law of development can account for all the phenom-
ena presented.

I. The serpent symbol prevailed as we have already shown,
in the Mississippi Valley. The question is, did it spring from
an original nature worship, or was it brought in by extraneous tradition.

1. Our first inquiry will be as to the origin of the symbol among the Mound Builders. Was it a universal symbol or did it appear mainly among some particular tribe or race. The extent of the symbol is worthy of notice. The symbol is said to prevail in the State of New York. It certainly does exist to a certain extent in Ohio and we shall leave it for our readers to say whether it does not exist in various States further west. The author has found the serpent in many of the effigies of Wisconsin. In one locality near Mayville, a natural ridge had been modified by art so as to resemble a huge serpent. The ridge is nearly a thousand feet long, fifty feet wide, and twenty feet high. The sides had been excavated so that it looked like a tortuous serpent with the head just resting upon the brow of the bluff. What is more the mound-builders had placed a large series of garden beds on the low land in the angle between the ridge or effigy and the bluff, as if the design was to make the serpent serve for protection to the garden plats.

Another place where the serpent effigy has been noticed, is at Green Lake. Here the serpent is found in two or three different shapes. In one place two serpents were found on the border of a very tortuous stream, the folds of the serpent and the bends of the streams seeming to correspond. See Fig. 46.

These serpents are composed in part of a natural ridge which has been modified by art and a ridge which was altogether artificial, the two blending together to bring out the semblance in a very striking manner. The ridge is very tortuous, and is severed by the stream. The two parts of the ridge thus divided were taken as serpent effigies, but were modified so that the serpents should seem to have their heads rest near the stream but their tails, which were altogether artificial run back, parallel with the stream. These are remarkable effigies, as they show that nature worship or animism, had much to do with serpent worship, and suggests one method in

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Fig. 46.—SERPENT EFFIGIES NEAR RIPON, WIS,

which it could have originated.

It was evidently a freak of nature which suggested the symbol, as the stream and the broken ridge which formed its borders both resemble the serpent in their tortuosity, but the artificial part brings out this semblance very clearly, the folds of the serpent, and even the rattles being plainly seen in the earth-mold.

There are many effigies in the immediate vicinity, representing panthers, buffaloes, wild-geese, squirrels, etc., one, that of a wild
cat, having been placed on a natural rise of ground, in close proximity of the serpent effigies. This wild cat is a massive effigy and so covers the knoll as to be almost blended with the earth, but transforms the isolated hill into an immense animal, the hill itself is made to assume the attitude of the animal and to be possessed with life and activity, by the presence of the effigy upon summit.

Another specimen of the serpent symbol is found in the same locality. Fig. 47. The serpent here is not a mere symbol, but is made to serve a practical purpose as well. There are two enclosures on two separate hills, between which rises a mineral spring. The enclosures both have openings toward the spring. One of them contains the serpent symbol, as the wall is in the shape of a serpent, and the opening or gateway is placed between the head of the serpent and the tail, as if there was a charm in the effigy itself which would give a double protection. The enclosure is a small one, only sixty feet by one hundred and twenty feet in diameter, but the serpent is plainly seen in the wall surrounding it. In measuring the wall it was found that the folds of the serpent were uniform throughout the whole, the mean distance between each fold being exactly the same measure which is found to be very common in the breadth of the effigies, twenty-two feet, the outside being twenty-three feet, inside about twenty-one feet and the distance across fifteen feet and the opening for the gateway being about seventeen feet.

A correspondence was noticed between the folds of this serpent effigy, and the tortuous line of the bluff on which the enclosure is placed. The bluff is about thirty feet high, and the enclosure surmounts its summit, but overlooks the stream beneath the bluff.

The effigy resembles in some respects, the serpent ring which was discovered on the walls of the gymnasium, so called, at Chichen Itza, but differs from it in that it is but a single serpent and yet the enclosure upon the corresponding bluff may have contained the companion to this, as the serpent effigies beside the stream below were companions to one another. It has been said that venomous serpents like the rattlesnake always go in pairs and it is noticeable that the symbols of the serpent frequently contain two, a male and female. Such is the case at least in the serpent ring just referred to. We have noticed also that the mounds in
Ohio present the symbol in its double capacity, the walls surrounding the enclosure being made in the shape of two massive serpents, either joined at the tail and with an opening between the heads, or joined at the heads with an opening between the tails. In this case, however, the effigy is a single serpent, and the opening is between the head and the tail.

2. These effigies found in the earth-works of Wisconsin are interesting as they show the manner in which the Mound Builders borrowed the serpent symbol from objects of nature. The serpent in this case was not a totem or clan symbol, for the clan emblem of the region was a different animal, but it was a fetich which was suggested by the shape of the ground. This was a common practice with the Mound Builders. There are many places where the objects of nature would suggest the serpent effigy, and where the symbol was embodied in artificial structures. It is possible that some of the serpent effigies may have been the embodiment of tradition which prevailed but those to which we have referred were only animistic or fetichistic and were not mythological. Mr. W. Pidgeon has referred to a serpent 1,000 feet long with a tortoise in his mouth as existing in Dakota, and has made out that many of the effigies were but embodiments of certain myths. Those which have been described by reliable authors are, however, not mythological, or at least they have no such shape as would suggest that they were the embodiment of a myth, but on the contrary are so conformed to the ground as to show that they were animistic or fetichistic and not mythological. Yet the two might possibly be combined.

Prof. J. E. Todd has described certain effigies as existing in Dakota under the title of “Boulder Mosaics.” The effigies are formed out of standing stones resembling in this respect the lines of standing stones which exist at Avebury, England, and other places. The Dakotas have a tradition that they came from the far East. Some have maintained that they brought into this country the symbolism which formerly prevailed in Great Britain and that on this account the resemblances between the works at Portsmouth and those at Avebury are very significant. The works at Portsmouth, however, are mounds and ridges and not standing stones. The description given by Prof. Todd, is as follows:

“A typical example, and the first to come to the writer's knowledge, was found on the summit of Key Kapop, or Turtle point, three miles north of Wessington springs in Jerauld county. The point is a high promontory-like hill, standing out on the western edge of the James River valley, above which it rises nearly 500 feet. It is the northern end of a high ridge of drift constituting a well washed interlobular portion of the principal moraine. A view of Turtle point, and a portion of the ridge from the northwest is shown in Plate I. Upon the highest portion of the point is a low wood mound built of earth, perhaps fifty feet in diameter
and three or four feet high. It does not differ materially from many that are found on the summit of bluffs along the James and Wisconsin. Its chief attraction is the gigantic figure of a turtle upon its southern slope, as is shown in Plate VII. This figure is formed of boulders, four to six inches in diameter, quite closely and regularly set, so as to describe its outline. The head, legs and tail are extended. Its general appearance, position and structure are shown in No. 3."

"This work, interesting as it is, sinks into insignificance when compared with a similar work upon Paha Wakan, or Medicine hill, near Blunt, in Hughes county. This hill is also a high interlobular portion of the principal moraine, and presents the same general features as Turtle point, as will be seen in a sketch of it, from the east, in No. 6. It rises above the surrounding plain about 200 feet, and nearly 400 feet above the adjoining valley of Medicine creek. Its summit is flat and includes many acres. Granite and limestone boulders abound in profusion. Tepee rings, i.e., circles of boulders which were used in holding down the covering of the conical tents used by the Dakotas, are very abundant upon the summit. A few mounds of ordinary size, are scattered in no apparent order. Near the northwestern angle of the summit platform is the gigantic serpent represented in No. 4. Its length measured roughly along its central line, following the crooks, is 120 paces. The general form, with length, breadth and number and shape of crooks, are as faithfully represented, as a hasty sketch could give. The boulders comprising it are from six to twelve inches in length, and are laid much less closely than in the turtle. The direction of its northern half is N. 18° W. The presence of the mound at its side seems to be accidental. The head is more carefully represented in No. 5, where an attempt is made to express the shape, size and position, of the boulders composing it. The eyes are much more expressive, than it would at first seem possible; to make them with such material. They have literally "a stony stare." They are formed of two oblong boulders nearly a foot in length. The angular head and heavy body, suggest the rattlesnake as the designer's model, but there is no clear representation of the rattles. Perhaps that was beyond the artist's inventive power. At C, in No. 4, the boulders have evidently been displaced, probably by water or frost, action, as that portion is on an inclined surface.

This gigantic serpent was in good condition when seen in 1883. Mr. Todd further says: "Though this completes the list of "boulder mosaics," it may not be out of place to speak of a somewhat related work noted by the writer, in 1881, in Brown County a few miles northwest of Westport. On the right bank of Elm River were two quite conspicuous mounds, 270 paces apart, upon two symmetrical knolls. Beginning at the top of the northwestern one, a line of bones extended over the center of the other, and
Plate VII.—STANDING STONES IN DAKOTA.
146 paces beyond, where it ended in a small pile of boulders. The bones were mostly the leg bones of buffalo, set up in the ground like stakes. That was before the land was in market."

3. We have given this description because it illustrates how the superstition of the natives was connected with the serpent symbol. We hardly think that any historical tradition or any formal or inherited serpent worship was here symbolized though the proximity of the serpent to the turtle does suggest a myth which was common. We ascribe the effigy to that peculiar form of superstition which was ready to seize upon any object in nature which might resemble an animal and then to make a divinity out of it, the idea being that the Great Serpent or the Great Turtle Spirit dwelt in the hill, and was to be worshiped as a divinity which haunted the place. The same superstition prevailed in Ohio and embodied itself in the Great Serpent there. A description of the Great Serpent Mound has already been given, (see Chap. III,) but as a new exploration has been made by W. H. Holmes, and a new interpretation offered, we here furnish the description and the plates given by Mr. Holmes. "The valley of Brush Creek is bordered by an extremely rugged country abounding in high hills which reach an elevation of 600 feet above the bed of the Creek." The Great Serpent is upon one of these hills which extends out as a narrow spur, crescent shaped, into the gulch which borders the stream. "This spur narrows up and terminates in an abrupt promontory, around the base of which a small branch from the gulch turns making the end of the promontory in the midst of the valley isolated and distinct. Along the rounded grassy crest of this ridge we can detect the obscure serpentine coils of the earth work, and descending a little to the left, and almost to the brink of the cliff, we reach the tail of the serpent. Beginning with a small pit at the terminal point, we follow the unfolding coil for two full turns and then advance along the body to its highest point upon the ridge. The curves are strong and even, and the body increases gradually in height and width as we advance. Upon the crest of the ridge we find ourselves at the beginning of three great double folds. Following these, we descend into a slight sag in the ridge caused by the encroachment of opposing drainage, and ascend again slightly to a point where the body straightens out along the ridge. Beyond this we reach the curious enlargement with its triangular and oval enclosures. Here the body embankment is divided into two parts, which respectively pass to the right and left of the enclosures. At the sides they descend slightly upon the slopes of the ridge, and at the widest part of the oval are somewhat obscure on account either of original conformation or of subsequent erosion. Beyond these breaks they continue, closing entirely around the oval embankment within. From the point of junction the body continues for a short distance, perhaps forty feet, and then terminates in a rounded and slightly
Plate VIII.—SERPENT EFFIGY, HOLMES' SURVEY.
widened point. This terminal elevation is entirely omitted by Squier and Davis, but is noticed by more recent writers; and on account of the supposed presence of obscure auxiliary ridges of earth extending down the slopes to the right and left, it is likened to the body of a frog by Mr. McLean. These auxiliary ridges, and the minor appended features recognized by Squier and Davis and by some recent visitors, are too obscure to be identified with absolute certainty, and I consider it unsafe to introduce them into my illustration; but the entire body of the serpent, and the peculiar features of the enlarged portion, are all distinctly traceable as shown approximately in the accompanying map, and leave no doubt in the mind as to their artificial character."

"I wish now to call attention to a few points bearing upon the origin and significance of the work and its possible relation to the topography of the site. The use of the serpent by our aboriginal races has been well nigh universal, so that we need not hesitate to class this specimen with other products of their religion, and we should naturally expect to find the counterpart of each feature in other representations, ancient and modern. Most of the attempts to throw light upon the more extraordinary features of the work have been made through the medium of oriental philosophy; but it is manifestly wrong to go thus out of our way to seek a symbolism for the oval enclosure as do Squier and Davis, who liken it to the symbolic egg of old world philosophy; nor need we make a serious effort to combat the idea that the terminal portion is a frog as suggested by Mr. McLean. It would not seem unreasonable that the former feature should be simply the eye of the effigy; but we have another explanation more in
accord, perhaps, with the analogies of native ceremonial art. The heart, which represents the life, is made a prominent feature in all superstitious, delineations of living creatures as shown by a multitude of examples. When we restore the neck and head of the reptile, omitted by Squier and Davis and misinterpreted by others, the strange oval takes the position of the heart and in all probability marks the site of the ceremonies that must have been connected with this work. This leads to a consideration of the proper identification of the head of the effigy, and the relations of the natural to the artificial features of the site. From the point of view of my second illustration we have a comprehensive view of the serpent ridge. Having the idea of a great serpent in the mind, one is at once struck with the remarkable contour of the bluff, and especially of the exposure of rock which readily assumes the appearance of a colossal reptile lifting its front from the bed of the stream. The head is the point of rock, the dark lip-like edge is the muzzle, the light-colored under side is the white neck, the caves are the eyes, and the projecting masses to the right are the protruding coils of the body. The varying effects of light must greatly increase the vividness of the impressions, and nothing could be more natural than that the Sylvan prophet, secluding himself in this retired part of the wilderness, should recognize this likeness and should at once regard the promontory as a great manito. His people would be led to regard it as such and the celebration of feasts upon the point would readily follow. With a mound-building people, this would result in the erection of suitable enclosures and in the elaboration of the reptile, that it might be the more real. The natural and artificial features must all have related to one and the same conception. The point of naked rock was probably at first and always recognized as the head of both the natural and the modified body. It was to the Indian the real head of the great serpent manito."

3. In reference to this interpretation we would quote from Mr. E. G. Squier's work on "Serpent Symbol." He says: "We may expect to find the strongest signs of affinity in religious beliefs, and conceptions, in traditions, and in such customs as are arbitrary, and not the spontaneous or the natural growth of a peculiar condition of things. Upon the plains of the West, nature's grand pasture ground, we find the roving hunter, chasing the buffalo, from one extremity of its vast range to the other, and in his habits and equipments exhibiting an entire harmony with his condition and circumstances. His necessities require fleetness, and all accommodating nature has bestowed upon him a form of proper muscular development, and capable of the requisite endurance. The skins of the buffalo he has slain, form the covering of his lodge, his bed, and his robe; its flesh sustains him, and from its hoofs, horns, and bones, he fashions his implements of the chase, his ornaments and domestic utensils. Its white skull, bleaching
on the open plain, has become his "medicine;" shadowy buffaloes fill his wild legends; and the black bull is an emblem of evil and malignant portent, while the white cow is a token of auspicious significance."

"In the gloom of the "medicine lodge," are taught the mysteries of the Wabeno, and the potency of the mnemonic signs by which the supreme powers may be successfully invoked, and their traditional songs perpetuated." . . .

"As the result of a pretty extended investigation of the subject, it may be affirmed that the predominant religious conceptions of America have found their expression in some modification of what is usually denominated "Sun Worship," (nature worship) but which might, with more propriety be defined to be an adoration of the Powers of Nature. This seems to have been, throughout the globe, the earliest form of human superstition, dating back far beyond the historical, and even beyond the traditionary period of man's existence. It seems to lie at the basis of all the primitive mythological systems with which we are acquainted, and may still be found under a complications of later engraftments and refinements, derivative and otherwise in all the religious of Asia. It may be traced, in America, from its simplest or least clearly defined form, among the roving hunters and squalid Esquimaux of the North, through every intermediate stage of development, to the imposing systems of Mexico and Peru, where it took a form nearly corresponding with that which it at one time sustained on the banks of the Ganges, and on the plains of Assyria." . . .

"In the absence of a written language, or of forms of expression capable of conveying abstract ideas, we can readily comprehend the necessity, among a primitive people, of a symbolic system. That symbolism in a great degree resulted from this necessity, is very obvious; and that, associated with man's primitive religious systems, it was afterwards continued, when in the advanced stage of the human mind the previous necessity no longer existed, is equally undoubted. It thus came to constitute a kind of sacred language, and became invested with an esoteric significance, understood only by the few."

This view of Mr. E. G. Squier is worthy of notice as it shows how the serpent symbol may have arisen in America. Still, the interpretation of the effigy and the generalization of Mr. Squier do not necessarily preclude the idea which we have advanced elsewhere that there may have been an historic connection between some of the serpent symbols in Ohio and those in other countries. Mr. Squier himself has advanced this idea and in the same work from which we have quoted, refers to the analogy between the works at Portsmouth and those at Avebury in Great Britain.

II. The prevalence of the serpent worship among the tribes of the far West will next engage our attention. We have here very few archaeological tokens but we have the traditions of the
people and the customs which perpetuate the system. It is hardly known from what source these strange customs came but they seem to be sacredly observed. The Moquis have the most remarkable forms of serpent worship. They are not alone for there are other tribes which have modified forms of the same superstition and these are taken as the best representatives.

The description of the Moqui snake dance, has been given by a writer in *Science*. It is as follows: "There were two costumes, that of the Antelope gens, under whose auspices the dance was performed, and that of the Snake order, the performer. The legend of this dance is the legend of the first arrival of the Moquis, at their present habitat. The Antelope gens, were the first to arrive, and were guided to their present location by the snake woman. The snake order was instituted to commemorate this event, each performer, both the antelopes and the snakes, wore two or more strings of shell beads around his neck, and suspended from them a brilliant, haliotis shell. The breasts and upper arms, were decorated in pink clay, with the conventional snake design, in its zigzag line. Suspended from the back of the sash, hung a coyote skin, with a tail which just reached the ground. At the knee they wore the regular garter, and just below the knee a rattle consisting of a tortoise shell, with attached antelope hoofs. The dance itself was very weird. Each dancer held a live snake in his mouth, while a companion followed with a feather wand in his hand, distracting the attention of the snake. "The low chant of the antelopes, the dismal though rythmical clack of the rattles, the peculiar motions of the dancers, the breathless attention of the spectators, all gave this part of the performance a weird character." At the close of the dance, the snakes were dropped in a circle and then seized and carried out, and down to the foot of the Mesa, and there released. The object of this part of the ceremony, was that they might find a raingod, whose form is that of a gigantic serpent. The snakes which were released at the four quarters of the earth, and were supposed to act as messengers to the raingod. The part of the heavens from which rain came indicated the region where the god was at the time, that he received the message. One part of the performance was to draw in the form of a circle with sacred meal and two diameters in the form of a cross, representing the cardinal points, and another oblique line to represent the zenith and nadir."

The underlying ideas which have given rise to this dance are unknown, but in the minds of the Moqui Indians, it is simply an invocation, a ceremony having for its sole purpose, the procuring of rain, yet the fact that there is an esoteric idea connected with it, seems to point to another and a deeper signification. The rites connected with serpent worship, have always been secret, and, while it has been so widely distributed in one form or another, that there is hardly a nation or tribe, which does not carry traces
of it in its history, but little is known about its details or origin. The worship of the serpent has been associated with the strangest conceptions of the barbarous, and semi-civilized minds, as for example the principles of reproduction, among the Hindoos, and with the idea of divine wisdom among the Egyptians. There is some evidence that these ideas were held as a part of the esoteric system, which has been so secret, and which has not yet been penetrated, so as to be explained. The singular part of the symbol, and the myth is that there is so much of the primitive nature worship, which seems to be indigenous to the soil and at the same time so much similarity to the sacred mysteries, which prevailed in historic countries. It would seem from this that a double system existed, one part of it,—that part which is best known,—being conformed to the superstitious notions of the common people among which it prevailed, but a part of it, and that the most, elaborate and complicated, being still held, by the priests or "medicine men," in great secrecy, as an inherited legacy which can possibly be traced to historic countries. It is well known that the Eleusinian mysteries contain much that was derived from a primitive nature worship, and it is supposed that the druidical rites were derived from the same source. We do not know that the rites or symbols, which we have described as so common in various parts of America, can be traced to either the Druids or the Hindoos, but there are points of resemblance, which suggest an historic origin. The progress of thought, and the growth of religion may however account for these, and the parallel development may be the important subject to study rather than the historic connection, yet we cannot deny the fact, that the civilization of America, was influenced by the symbolism of other countries. Until we have accounted for these remarkable resemblances, by the theory just proposed, denial can be practiced in one direction as well as in another, at the same time one hypothesis is as good as another."

"That the serpent was intimately connected with Sabæism, cannot be doubted, for the prevailing emblem of the solar god was the serpent; and wherever the sabæan idolatry was the religion, the serpent was the sacred symbol."

"But the universality of serpent worship, and the strong traces which it has left in astronomical mythology, seem to attest an origin, coeval with idolatry itself."* "It entered into the mythology of every nation, it consecrated almost every temple, it symbolized almost every deity, was imagined in the heavens, stamped on the earth, and ruled in the realms of everlasting sorrow."† "When the Egyptians would represent the universe, they delineated a serpent, bespeckled with variegated scales, devouring the emblem of the sun. The dragon was also used as a symbol of the

*See Science article on the Snake Dance.
†See Deane's Serpent Worship, page 39.
same form of worship. The three symbols, the sun, the phallus, and the serpent are sometimes combined. All of these facts go to show that there was at least a common conception at the basis of the symbol, even if a common historical origin cannot be discovered. It would seem from the snake dance that nature worship was the source of the symbol. The same idea is conveyed by the traditions and myths prevalent among the wild tribes. The Shoshoni philosopher believes that a monster serpent god supports the sky with his back. But the sky itself is ice, as it bears the color of ice, which the serpent abraids with his scales and causes the ice dust to fall upon the earth. In the winter time it falls as snow but in the summer time it melts and falls as rain. The form of this serpent is seen in the rainbow of colors, it is then the serpent of the storm."

This conception of the serpent is, however, not confined to the Shoshonis, it is a common belief that the lightning is a serpent. This symbol is frequently used to signify the rain god or the storm god. The gesture sign for rain is made by holding the hands before the shoulders with the fingers pendant as if to represent the drops; but for lightning the forefinger points upward and is brought down with great rapidity with a sinuous undulating motion. This sign was common among the Apaches, Shoshonis, and other Indians of the West. There are, also, pictures which contain the serpent as a symbol for lightning much more distinctly than this gesture language. Pictures were discovered by Mr. N. H. Jackson on the decorated walls of an estufa in the Pueblo de Jemez which symbolized lightning; one of them as an arrow shooting from the sky, but the other as a crooked feather headed serpent, both of them shooting from two semi-circles which were symbolical of the sky or cloud. The inscribed rocks of Colorado contain pictures of the serpent associated with human and animal figures, though it is unknown whether these were designed to symbolize nature powers, or whether they were the representatives of the totems of the tribes, or were the records of the people, or mere figures which were drawn by the fancy of the people. * [See Fig. 49.] The pictographs discovered by Lieut. Whipple of the Pacific Railroad survey on the Rocky Dell Creek in the Stake Plains, [See Fig. 50.] contain a figure of a nondescript animal. It was interpreted by the Pueblo Indians as the great water snake created by Montezuma to give rain and preserve the lives of those who should pray to him. They described the snake as being as large around as a man's body and of exceeding great length, slowly gliding upon the water. They say they smoke and pray to the sun. The moon is the younger sister of the sun; the stars are their children; all are worshiped. Besides these is the great snake to whom they are to look for life. Rattlesnakes,

*See N. H. Holmes' account of Rock Inscriptions, Hayden's Survey, 1876, p. 402, Pl. XLIII, Ncs. 2 and 3.
frogs, and all animals living near the water are sacred among the Pueblos because of their association with the water which is regarded as a great blessing. Apaches, however, do not regard these animals as sacred but they pay particular veneration to bears.† The Zunis have the serpent as a common symbol.†

III. We now turn to the serpent symbol as found in Mexico and Central America. Serpent worship seemed to prevail throughout this entire region and was common both among the Nahua and Maya races. It is well known that there were two great centres of population in prehistoric times, and two parallel lines of history and civilization, namely, in Mexico and Central America. It is remarkable, however, that as we examine the monuments in both sections, we find the serpent symbol very prominent. It is supposed that the Toltecs were the more ancient people and

†See Report upon the Indian Tribes by Lieut. Whipple, p. 38.
that the Maya history and civilization preceded that of the Nahua, but in both the serpent symbol appeared, and, so far as we can ascertain, had the same general significance. We do not, to be sure, find the serpent as conspicuous in the architecture of the northern city of Mexico as in the more ancient cities of the South, such as Uxmal, Palenque, Chichen Itza, but we find it very promi-

![Fig. 51.—HUMAN FIGURES ENVELOPED WITH THE SERPENT SYMBOL.](image)

nent in the relics of art such as the calendar stones, the vases, and vessels of pottery and other sculptured stone relics. The manuscripts or codices which have been transmitted through the hands of the Nahua scribes have the serpent symbol in great profusion. But on the other hand the bas-relief stucco ornaments and hieroglyphic tablets of the southern kingdom have the symbol very prominently represented. It would seem from this that the serpent worship was very prominent in both races and was transmitted from one race to the other, or was drawn either from primitive customs and superstitions and developed in parallel lines.

[1.] We propose to describe the various specimens of ancient art, which contain the serpent symbol, and shall give a number of cuts to illustrate the point. There are many relics in Mexico which contain the serpent symbol. Dr. Rau says of these relics: "the particular attention paid to snakes by the inhabitants of Anahuac is exemplified in the collection by a number of mouldings and relics in clay representing those reptiles in various atti-
Native American Symbolism.

Several specimens show a snake coiled on the back of a turtle and in the act of biting its head. In some of these representations the lower part of the neck of the turtle exhibits a human face. This curious group is quite typical and probably refers to some tradition or to a religious conception of the Aztecs. A coiled snake with uplifted head is likewise frequently met among the Mexican terra-cottas, and a number of productions of their character can be seen in the National Museum. He says “one of the most elaborate Mexican figures of the collection represents a man seated with the hands resting on the knees and bearing on his back another human figure is so placed that its head surmounts that of the first, while its hands press against the forehead and its feet rest on the shoulders of the lower figure. The most conspicuous feature consists in two serpents which, descending from the head-dress of the upper figure, encompass the group on both sides and rest their heads beneath the feet of the upper figure.” [See Fig. 51.]

A still more admirable specimen of Mexican pottery, and as far as the general outline is concerned, might readily be taken for a vessel of Etruscan or Greek origin. The peculiar ornamentation, however, stamps it at once as a Mexican product of art. The vessel may be compared to a pitcher with two handles standing opposite to each other, and with two mouths projecting between them. Each handle is formed by two snakes crossing their tails and resting their heads on the rim, and the flat base of the vessel is moulded in the shape of a coiled serpent. Another beautiful Mexican vase [See Fig. 52.] of somewhat globular shape is remarkable for its elaborate raised ornamentation which consists of four entwined snakes and four masks placed at
equal distances from each other. The vessel stands on three feet, presenting beautifully executed eagle's heads.

There are many other specimens of art adornments besides these. Bancroft speaks of the specimens of art at Tezcuco, the ancient rival of Mexico, in the northwest part of the town. He says: "Mayer found a shapeless heap of bricks, adobes and pottery. In the top were several large basaltic slabs. The rectangular stone basin with sculptured sides shown in the cut, was found in connection with this heap and preserved in the Penasco collection in Mexico." [See Fig. 53.]

**Fig. 53.—WATER TROUGH WITH SERPENT ORNAMENT.**

This has been described as representing a conflict between a serpent and a bird, and attention has been called to the cross as a symbol of nature worship. The serpent was a symbol of the lightning, the bird of the winds, and the cross of the point of the compass, and it is possible that this was what was intended.*

Bradford states that lying directly under the gate-way an idol has been preserved nearly perfect and representing a rattlesnake painted in bright colors, and Dupaix mentions the following specimens. At Xochicalco, on the western shore of the lake is a coiled serpent in red porphyry 1 ½ feet in diameter, and 9 feet long if uncoiled. A serpent cup, or a cup in the shape of a coiled serpent with the head projecting for a handle, was found at Santa Catolina; the material of black porous volcanic stone, and a rattle-snake, 8 ½ feet long and 8 inches in diameter near Atlixco sculptured in high relief on the flat surface of a hard brown stone. In the cloisters behind the Dominican Convent is a noble specimen of the great idol, almost perfect and of fine workmanship. This monstrous divinity is represented as swallowing a human victim which is seen crushed in its horrid jaws." "The corner stone of the Lottery Office is described as the head of the serpent idol, not less than 70 feet long when entire." "A house on the

*See Prehistoric World, p. 153.
street corner on the south-east side of the Plaza rested on an altar of black bay salt, ornamented with the tail and claws of a reptile." Mayer dug up in the court yard of the University two feathered serpents of which he gives cuts as well as several other relics found within the city limits. Senior Gondra gives plates from nine Mexican musical instruments, one of which is of very peculiar construction; the top, shaped like a coiled serpent, is of burnt clay resting on the image of a tortoise carved from wood, and that on a base of tortoise shell. These various specimens of art in Mexico illustrate one point. The myth of the serpent and the tortoise was evidently familiar to the Nahua races.

Besides these, may be mentioned the Aztec calendar stone, which always had a serpent around its edge, and generally a face representing the sun in the center, and various figures and hieroglyphics the division of time. There are many specimens of calendars in Mexico, the chief of which is the one which has been so often described, situated at present in the National Museum in Mexico. A simpler calendar than this has been found and described. We furnish a cut Fig. 54, taken from Biart's "History of the Aztecs," and kindly loaned to us by A. C. McClurg & Co., The author says "the Aztec cycle was represented by a circle with a picture of the sun in the center; around this circle from

Fig. 54.—AZTEC CALENDAR STONE.
right to left there were representations of the four symbolic signs of the year. The first year was called Tochtli, the rabbit; the second, Acatl, the reed; the third Tecpatl, the flint; the fourth, Calli, the house. It will be noticed that the folds of the serpent which surrounds the cycle, divide it into four periods of thirteen years, and that these rings at the same time mark the cardinal points. This is a very remarkable figure. It shows how the serpent symbolized the cycle of time. It seems to have come a conventional use, and to have been taken out from the range of the nature powers. Yet the serpent, and the sun are almost always associated together in the calendars; as if the powers of nature were to be symbolized by them as well as the divisions of time.

This brings up the suggestion that much of mythology was embodied in the calendar stone. The cosmic serpent has been extensively symbolized in various parts of the world, and the question is whether the same conception and myth were embodied in these calendars.

Fig. 55.—Serpent ornament on facade at Palenque.

[II.] We next take up the line of Architecture. “One peculiarity of the serpent symbol is noticeable here. The serpent is represented in relief as a prominent ornament. This is the case in the facade of the so-called ‘’House of the Nuns,’’ at Uxmal. [See Fig. 55.] We quote from Bancroft who says: “Two serpents each with a monstrous head, between the open jaws of which a human face appears, and the tail of a rattle-snake placed near and above the head of either end of the building, almost entirely surround the front above the lower cornice, dividing the front surface, by folds and interlacing of their bodies, into square panels, that is, it seems to have been the aim of the builders to form these panels by the folds of these two mighty serpents, and the work
is so described by all visitors; but it appears from an examination of the folds, that the serpent whose head and tail are shown on the right only encloses really the first panel, and that each other panel is surround by the endless body of a serpent without head or tail. The scales or feathers on the serpent's body are somewhat more clearly defined than indicated in the engraving, as is proved by Charnay's photograph. "They are put together by small blocks of stone exquisitely worked and arranged with the nicest skill and precision. The heads of the serpents are adorned with pluming feathers and tassels." At Chichen-Itza there is a pyramid which has a stairway whose balustrade is formed by a pair of immense serpents; its base is 197 by 202 ft., its height 75 ft., and its summit platform 61 by 64 ft. A stairway leads up the northern slope 44 ft. wide containing 90 steps, having solid balustrades which terminate at the bottom in two immense serpent's heads 10 ft. long, with open mouths and protruding tongues. Near this pyramid is the building which is called by Stephens the Gymnasium. It consists of two parallel walls 30 by 274 ft., 26 ft. high and 120 ft. apart. The inner walls facing each other present a plain, undecorated surface; but in the center of each, about 20 ft. from the ground, is a stone ring 4 ft. in diameter and 13 in. thick with a hole 19 in. in diameter through the center; surrounded by two sculptured serpents as in the above cut. [See Fig. 56.] This structure is very similar to the one at Uxmal, which was covered with sculptured decorations, including two entwined serpents, while from
the center of each of the façades projected a stone ring fixed in
the wall by means of a tenon.

It may be a mere coincidence yet it is worthy of notice that
serpents are arranged in pairs in many places. The calendar
stone of Mexico contains two serpents which form the outer cir-
cle of the stone and which surround the complicated symbols in
the center of which is the face, supposed to be the face of the sun.
These serpents are regarded by some as the symbol of the great
cycle of time and the ornaments or symbols enclosed by them
are supposed to represent the years in the cycle, the days of the
year, the number of days in the month, and the week days. There
are, however, many places where the serpent is single, and again
in other places it is four fold, so that we cannot press this point
too closely. And yet in the architecture the double serpent is
noticeable.

2. Another peculiarity of the architecture of this region is that
the serpent symbol is frequently found connected with temples
and religious edifices. Bancroft says in reference to the Gym-
nasium and the building at Uxmal where the serpent ring
was found, "it is easy to imagine that the grand promenade be-
tween the northern and southern palaces or temples was along
a line between these walls, and that these sculptured fronts and
rings were important in connection with religious rites and pro-
cessions of priests."

There was in Mexico also a famous temple dedicated to the
god of war. Of this Acosta says: "it had a very great circuite,
and within a faire court. It was built of great stones, and in
fashion of snakes tied one to another." Solace describes the tem-
ple: "The top of the truncated pyramid on which the idols of
Huitzilopochtli, the god of war, and Tlaloc, the god of rain, were
placed, and was 40 ft. square, and reached by a stair way of 120
steps. On this was the chapel wherein, behind curtains, sat
Huitzilopochtli on a throne supported by a blue globe. From
this, supposed to represent the heavens, projected four staves
with serpent's heads by which the priests carried the god when
he was brought before the public. The image bore on its head
a bird of wrought plumes whose head and beak were of burnished
gold. Its right hand leaned upon a staff. His body was girt
with a large golden snake and adorned with various lesser fig-
ures of animals made of gold and precious stones, which orna-
ments and insignia have each their peculiar meaning. One of
the names of Quetzalcoatl, the chief god of the Mexicans, was
the feathered snake. The entrance to his round temple in Mexico
represented the jaws of a tremendous snake. Quetzalcoatl disap-
peared in Goatzacoalco, the snake corner; and a ship of snakes
brought him to Tlapalla. The driving away of Quetzalcoatl by
Tezcatlipoca, his enemy, was symbolized by the figure of the
god cutting up a snake. This may have been intended to rep-
resent the conflict between the sun god, or the god of light, and the night god, or the god of darkness. Or the other snake may be the symbol of moisture and the god of death and drought, fights the snake, as the symbol of the plant life. Dr. Brinton and Mr. Edward Tylor maintain that Quetzalcoatl was the sun, and that the history of the god was designed only as personifications of the sun and its various qualities. Bancroft seems to think that both of the divinities of the Aztecs, Quetzalcoatl the sun god, and the god of war, had a nature basis, and as Mars was regarded as the god of Spring, so the Aztec god of war was associated with the rain god, and was the source of the yearly life of the plant world.

If the snake signifies in one place time, in another world, in one other instance water or rain, the yearly rejuvenation of germs and blossoms, the eternal circle of nature, domination, soothsaying, it is quite proper that all these qualities are found united in one god. Just as the snake changes its skin every year, so does Huitzilopochtli whose mother Flora, is a snake goddess, the idea of the yearly renewal of nature being also connected with that of time forever young, and the Aztecs therefore encircle their cycle with the snake as the emblem of time.

[III.] We turn now to the hieroglyphics which contain the serpent symbol.

The serpent in Mexico was used to symbolize three things: 1st. The cycle of time. 2nd. The Lightning as one of nature's powers. 3rd. The attribute of a divinity and the name of an ancestry.

In its first use it often appeared in the codices. In some cases four serpents were coiled so as to form the sides of a square. Four squares were brought together, possibly to represent the four quarters of the globe, or four great divisions of time. In the midst of the figure was the face of the sun; the eye, protruding tongue and fiery rays emanating from the face, all of them being significant of the nature powers. Dr. Thomas thinks that the serpents represented the four divisions and counts 13 rings on the body of each serpent, making 52 years out of the combined figure. The position of the four serpents might, however, be designed to represent the four quarters of the sky, and the whole figure might be considered a constellation, the sun being the central object, the two purposes being combined, namely, to symbolize the divisions of the celestial regions and to enumerate the years of the calendar. Astronomy and chronology were connected in the oriental countries and we may suppose that they were in this country. The calendar stone in Mexico has been the subject of much study. [See Fig. 57.] Dr. Philip Valenti

regards it as a symbol of chronology. The four figures in the center surrounding the face signifies the four periods of time. The animal heads in the second circle give the names of the months, twenty in number. The dots in the next circle and the grain of corn in the
fourth circle, together make the days of the year. The figures in the fifth circle between the towers and the pointers, he thinks signify the 52 years of the cycle, and the two serpents surrounding the whole signify that it was a calendar, the serpent being a symbol of the great cycle. In this respect the calendar stone and the Dresden codex would agree, both being significant of divisions of time, and the serpents in both cases signifying the great cycle. There are codices, however, which differ from this one and yet they contain the serpent symbol.

We present a cut from the manuscript Troano. [See Plate IX.] This is supposed to be a record of feasts, a sort of priest's calendar, and the symbol on the plate would seem to indicate that such was the case. It was the custom at the feast to bear certain images around the city or the courts of the temple and to deposit them at the different gates. We have in this plate the figure of a man with a grotesque face and head bearing an image on his back. Below this we have a priest sitting in the door of a house apparently depositing certain offerings before an altar; the house being indicated by the flat roof and the altar by tongues of fire, and the offerings by the round objects before the priest. The serpent figure is found in the lower division. It seems to be twined around a column. It has four tails and a plumed head.
THE SERPENT SYMBOL.

The priest stands before the serpent holding a decapitated bird in his hand. Between the priest and the serpent are several figures which are difficult to make out.

Dr. Thomas makes all of these figures symbols of time. He says: "I think it probable that these are cinerary urns given as symbolic indications of the idea that the years have closed; as the ashes of the dead rest in the urns, so the ashes of the years may be said to rest in these vessels. The idea seems to be borne out by the fact that the vessel in the middle division of another plate,* has on it the figure of a cross-bones, on top of which are placed three other symbols. Possibly they may represent ears of maize or tortillas cast into the vessels. A vessel in the same division on this plate IX contains fruits or goards, and a fish with bread seems to be offered to the serpent. Dr. Thomas's essay is so obscure as to be difficult to make out and yet it is possible that the interpretation of the figures as symbols of time may be the correct one. The serpent at any rate may represent the great Divinity as it does in the Idols and in the calendars.

[IV.] We turn now to the Mexican idols and the symbols which they contain. 1. We would first call attention to the resemblance between the idols in Mexico and the culture heroes of the Iroquois. Both were represented as covered with snakes. The hair and shoulders of Atotarho bristled with snake heads as that of Medusa did. The idols of Mexico were wreathed with snake heads, but the hair and face of the divinity are not so manifestly human as in the case of the culture hero. It would seem, however, that the superstition fastened itself upon the form of divinity everywhere, and made the serpent the symbol of the supernatural power both with the culture hero and the war god. It would seem as if there was a progress in nature worship, and that the same symbol, which among the Iroquois was so expressive, became among the Mexicans very complicated and still more significant.

The first idol which we shall describe is one found in connection with the goddess of death in Mexico. [Plate X.] This is described by Bancroft as follows: "The idol was first brought to light in grading the Plaza in August, 1790. It is an immense block of bluish grey porphyry, about 10 ft. high, 6 ft. wide and thick, sculptured on front, rear, top and bottom in a most complicated and horrible combination of human, animal and ideal forms. Vasco de Gama first expressed the opinion in which other authors coincide, that the front shown in the cut represents the goddess of death, Teoyaomiqui, whose duty it was to bear the souls of dead warriors to the house of the sun. The rear view of the idol represents Huitzilopochtll, god of war, and husband of the female divinity whose emblems are carved on the front. The bottom of the monument bears various sculptured designs not shown in the cut, which are thought to represent

*See Plate XXVIII Dresden Codex contributions to N. A. Ethnology, Vol. V.
Plate X—MEXICAN GODDESS OF DEATH.
Mictlantecutli, god of the infernal regions, the last of this cheerful trinity; goddess of death, god of war, and god of hell, three distinct deities united in one idol according to the Aztec catechism. The idol was removed to the University and until 1821 was kept buried in the courtyard, that it might not kindle anew the aboriginal superstitions.

The analysis of this idol and the examination of its different parts will bring out the following remarkable features. 1. The shape of the idol is that of the cross. 2. It is a combination of a human figure and a serpent form; no other animal is represented. 3. There is a combination of kingly drapery and serpent folds. 4. There are four hands plainly visible with the palms extended and turned out, with figures of rattles between the hands. 5. There seem to be two heads, the serpent head above and the human head below; the serpent head having teeth and fangs visible; the human head being a death head. The eyes are made with rings around them the same as Tlalocte the god of rain always has. 7. The serpent head consists of massive folds bound together and fringed, but with cross hatchings to represent the serpent's skin. 8. The shoulders of the idol or the arms of the cross are adorned with the teeth of a serpent and the forked tongue below the teeth. 9. The fringe which forms a skirt to the idol, contains serpents' heads covered with a cross-hatching which represents a serpent's skin. Between the serpents' heads, tails all of them containing rattles. 10. Below these horrid tassels, is a serpent with its four folds covered with cross hatchings which are dotted like that on the serpent's heads above, the eyes and teeth and forked tongue resembling those in the shoulders and head above. 11. On either side of this serpent head are figures that look like claws, though they may be intended for serpent's eggs.

Mr. E. S. Holden has drawn the comparison between this Mexican idol and others found in Yucatan. He discovers a similar combination of serpent's heads and tails with human faces, arms and limbs, but with the addition of crotalus jaws and many other symbols, and thinks that there are so many striking duplications and corroborative resemblances that the Yucatec figures and the Mexican idols may be supposed to represent the same personage, Huitzilipochtli, the god of death. The identification of the Yucatec and Mexican or Aztec religions seem to be quite complete. See plate XI.

On this point we quote from Mr. Edward Tylor. He says: "In the Old World the tortoise myth belongs especially to India, and the idea is developed there in a variety of forms.
Plate XI—IDOL PILLAR WITH SERPENT SYMBOLS.
The tortoise that upholds the earth is called in the Sanskrit Kūrmārāja, King of the Tortoises, and the Hindoos believe to this day that the earth rests upon its back. Sometimes the snake Sesha bears the world on its head, or an elephant carries it upon its back, and both snake and elephant are themselves supported by the great tortoise. The earth, rescued from the deluge which destroys mankind, is set up with the snake that bears it resting on the floating tortoise, and a deluge is again to pour over the face of the earth when the world-tortoise, sinking under its load, goes down into the great waters."

"According to Varaha-Mihira, the Indians represented to themselves the inhabited part of the world under the form of a tortoise floating upon the water; it is in this sense that they call the world Kaurma-chakra; that is to say, "the wheel of the tortoise."

"The striking analogy between the tortoise myth of North America and India is by no means a matter of new observation; it was indeed remarked upon by Father Lafitaun early a century and a half ago. Three great features of the Asiatic stories are found among the North American Indians in the fullest and clearest development. The earth is supported on the back of a huge floating tortoise, the tortoise sinks under water and causes a deluge, and the tortoise is considered as being itself the earth floating upon the face of the deep. In the last century, Loskiel, the Moravian missionary remarked of the North American Indians that "some of them imagine that the earth swims in the sea, or that an enormous tortoise carries the world on its back."

Schoolcraft, an unrivalled authority on Indian mythology within his own district, remarks that the turtle is an object held in great respect in all Indian reminiscence. It is believed to be in all cases, a symbol of the earth and is addressed as a mother." . . .

"Among the Mandans, Catlin found a legend which brings in the same notion of the world-tortoise, but shows that by difference of the accessory circumstances that it was not in America a mere part of a particular story, but a mythological conception which might be worked into an unlimited variety of myths. The tale that the Mandan doctor told Catlin, was that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried dirt upon its back, and that a tribe of people who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in the ground to catch badgers. The myth of the world-tortoise is one of those which have this great value in the comparison of Asiatic and American mythology, that it leaves not the least opening for the supposition of its having been carried by modern Europeans from the Old to the New World." The Scandanavian myth is that the serpent encompassed the globe. In Mexico, the serpent is frequently seen encompassing the signs of the zodiac, and we cannot help connecting the symbols on the calendar stones with myths which prevailed in the Old World. The same is true of the ornamen-
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

tation of the pottery. The serpent and the tortoise seem to embody the myth which, according to Mr. Tylor is so wide spread. The serpent symbol in the south-west portion of the continent is more complicated and conventional than elsewhere.

We close this article by referring to the mythological record of the creation as contained in the tablets of the creation series found in Nineveh, and described by Geo. Smith in his "Chaldean Genesis." The subject was the fight between Tiamat and the god Marduk. Tiamat, the personification of darkness, chaos, disorder, and so of the powers of evil, is the prototype of the serpent of Genesis. Marduk, chosen by the gods for the conflict, and armed with sword and bow, engages in fierce fight with Tiamat, and eventually dashes out the brains of the dragon, a particular which at once calls to recollection "the bruising of the serpent's head," as described in Genesis. There is, however, this noteworthy difference between the Babylonian and the Chaldean accounts. Tiamat is a sea-monster, the sea being regarded apparently as a great hostile power, and so associated with darkness and evil. Tiamat is, moreover, a dragon, a composite creature, not a serpent. The conflict, however, both in the cuneiform text and as depicted on Babylonian seals, always takes place on the land. And it may be observed that this same conflict, portrayed on a large scale, may be seen on a projecting part of the wall in the Assyrian Gallery of the Museum. Here the dragon Tiamat is seen retreating, but still threatening, with claws and her wide-opened mouth. Tiamat has a pair of wings and a scale-covered body. Marduk is advancing to the attack. He has two pairs of wings, and is armed with cimeter, and is brandishing a pair double tridents, which possibly represent lightning. On the seals he is represented either equipped and ready for the conflict, or attacking the dragon with bow and cimeter. On one seal, however, the dragon is represented as a serpent, as in the biblical story, and pursued by Marduk. It will seem from this that the serpent in oriental countries was representative of a nature power and that is was attended with symbols of the lightning, and other processes of nature. Our conclusion is: whether there was any connection between the two continents, the serpent symbol in both hemispheres was associated with nature worship, yet there were traditions associated with it which have very striking analogies. The serpent evidently represented a nature power, but it was more than this. It is possible that we shall find the oriental tradition still connected with the American Symbol.
CHAPTER V.

ANIMAL WORSHIP AND SUN WORSHIP COMPARED.

The prevalence of sun worship throughout the different parts of the globe is impressed upon us as soon as we enter upon the subject of primitive religions. The early historic records show that it existed extensively at a very ancient date. Traditions and mythology are full of allusions to it, showing that it prevailed before historic times. Language seems to have been affected by it. The very form of letters and the phonetic signs in certain languages contain tokens of it. The earliest forms of art were also impressed and influenced by it. The symbols on coins are frequently symbols of the sun, as well as of the serpent and the tree. Ancient architecture exhibits sun worship as prevalent. The very forms of the temples were constructed so as to make the worship of the sun more impressive. The symbol of the sun is also found in the clothing of the priest and in the furniture of the temples, as well as in the adornments of the idols. Hieroglyphics are everywhere full of the same kind of symbolism. All of these tokens convince us that it was a most extensive system and one out of which other religious systems have grown.

This sun worship may have been preceded by more primitive systems, viz.: animal worship, fetishism, animism, shamanism, etc., but it seems to have been more powerful and more extensive than any of these, and therefore is worthy of especial study.

We may regard it as a form of universal religion, a form which reached the stage of universality before historic times. We may also consider it as a connecting link between the historic and prehistoric ages; a system which survived into historic times, but grew out of a prehistoric cult, the product of the highest stage which had been reached, but at the same time the blossom out of which the fruit grew for the next stage of culture.

How long sun worship may have continued during prehistoric
times no one knows, but there are so many grades of it that we may conclude that it had continued for a long time. The change from sun worship to anthropomorphific systems was evidently slow. In some countries it took centuries to reach the first stage of idolatry, the animal figure changing slowly to the idol as a human semblance. Animal worship and sun worship were, however closely associated in prehistoric times, and these were perpetuated in parallel lines even long after history began. The human semblance seemed to have been a late conception, and yet we can trace in this country the idolatry which contains the human semblance back into prehistoric times. It is probable that all three of these types of nature worship were even in the East quite prevalent before the historic period.

I. We turn now to consider the connection between animal worship and sun worship. Why are animal figures and sun symbols so closely associated?

In answering this question we shall compare the symbols of the East and the West, but begin with those of the East.

The symbols of Egypt are first to be considered:

Let us consider the different animals which were sacred to the sun. (1) The phoenix. This was a bird of the sun. Its general appearance was similar to the eagle. It had a gold collar about the neck, the breast was purple, its tail blue varied with red feathers, its head richly feathered with a tuft at the top. According to the fable there is only one on the whole globe. It lives 660 years. When it grows old it builds a nest and dies. A worm is produced from its bones which, having become a young bird, takes the nest and carries it to the city of the sun and deposits it on the altar. (2) The bull was a sacred animal and received divine honors as representing a divinity. His prolific character was considered a divine attribute. The bull was sacred to the sun and carried the globe on its head between its horns. The bull was a symbol of Aapis, one of the chief divinities of Egypt. The ox-headed divinity Sarapis (Osiris Aapis) was also a great divinity; the personal and the animal nature of the god being represented both by the name Sarapis and the idol, which was a human form with an ox-head. (3) The hawk was a symbol of the sun in Egypt. The god Ra was usually represented with a hawk’s head surmounted by a globe or disk of the sun from which the asp issued. The hawk was a symbol because it was able to look into the face of the sun.

(4). Lions were considered solar animals. Ra, the hawk-headed divinity, was sometimes supported on the back of lions. We shall hereafter speak of the lions whose bodies formed a throne. Sometimes these lions were separated and were represented as lying down with their heads in opposite directions, the disk of the sun between them. The lion represented strength and so was a symbol of the sun.
ANIMAL WORSHIP AND SUN WORSHIP.

(5) The scarabeus or beetle was in Egypt a symbol of the sun. Some suppose this was owing to the habit of the beetle of rolling the ball of dirt or dung to its nest. Others say that the scarabeus, with its many claws, symbolized a month, thirty claws for thirty days. The scarabeus was worn on the head of Ptah, the Egyptian Vulcan, or Hephaestus. A symbol for Ptah is given by a combined figure, viz.: a man kneeling and supporting the four-armed symbol or emblem of stability on his head. Above this emblem is a beetle with wings spread, holding up in its claws a globe or sun. The scarabeus was the commonest ornament in Egypt, and shows how prevalent sun worship was there. (6) The frog was used as a symbol of the sun. There are divinities having frog heads, but generally the heads are surmounted by a scarabeus. Ka, father of the fathers of the gods, is a frog-headed deity. The frog-headed divinity was probably the ruler of the water. Horopollo tells us that “Man in embryo was represented by a frog.” Diodorus Siculus says that “man was created out of the mud.” The frog was the father of the gods and men. (7) The goose was a symbol of the sun. Set, the great cackler, was one of the divinities of Egypt. He is identified with the earth. There is a myth that the sun is discharged from the earth as an egg from the goose. (8) The cow was worshiped in Egypt. Athor was a cow. She is represented by a cow’s head bearing the disk of the sun between her horns. Her eyes were supposed to be symbolic. Her right eye represented the sun; her left eye the moon. Symbolic eyes were common in Egypt. They were used as ornaments or amulets, very much as beetles and lions were. Ear-rings, bracelets and necklaces having eyes in them were worn as ornaments. (9) The vulture was a symbol of the sun. The body of the vulture was worn by the goddess Nephthys, “daughter of the sun,” “lady of heaven.” The vulture with the wings spread was placed over the heads of queens to denote generative power, motherhood. Besides these animals, the ram, the fox, the jackal, the dog, the hippopotamus, the goat, the eagle, the crocodile, were sacred in Egypt and most of them were symbols of the sun. The elephant, the buffalo, the camel were sacred in India, but not in Egypt. The stag, the panther and the lion were sacred among the Hittites, but not among the Hindoos. The leopard, the lion, the dolphin, were sacred in Assyria. The vulture and eagle were very ancient symbols in Babylonia.

II. We ask the question here, how about the history of animal worship and sun worship in the old world? We come back to the new world for the answer. It is a singular fact that animal worship and sun worship in America passed through many stages, but in these stages we see a constant association of symbols. One thing is noticeable about this association in America; the animals are first made rulers of the sky before the sun divinity is, or at least the animal fetiches are supposed to
rule the different quarters of the sky in a more primitive stage of religion than are the sun divinities.

Animal worship was in the ascendancy among all the uncivilized tribes, but sun worship was prevalent among the civilized and a combination of the two may be also discovered among certain barbaric tribes. The primordial germs of the two systems are found in America. We propose to consider the association of animals with sun symbols as they are found in America. 1. This association is found in the mounds. We have already in previous articles shown the prevalence of animal worship. We propose to show now the prevalence of sun worship. It is well known that the sun symbol is found in the mounds. The shell gorgets which have been taken from mounds in Tennessee and other states have been described by W. H. Holmes and others. These contain four concentric rings. In the outer ring are found circles to represent the sun, numbering from ten to twelve, corresponding to the months. In the second ring are found four or five other circles, corresponding, perhaps, to the seasons. In the inner circle are three crescents to represent the moon, and at the center is a circle which represents the sun. There is no doubt that these gorgets were sun symbols. There are no animal figures upon these, but there are other gorgets in which birds and sun symbols do appear. We give cuts of these to illustrate the points. It will be noticed that the birds' heads are attached to a four sided figure which has loops in the corners. These possibly may have symbolized the four quarters of the sky or the four seasons. See Plate I. Within the four-sided figure is a symbol of the sun, which in one case is a single circle with a dot in the center; in another case four rings to symbolize four suns; in another case a ring with four dark spots surrounded by a ring with eight radiating points; another with birds' heads, and one figure has no birds' heads or sun symbol. The number four seems to have been sacred, as it symbolized the four quarters of the sky, but it is in every case attended with the symbol of the sun. These gorgets were taken from a mound in Tennessee. They show that sun worship had reached a very considerable height among the Mound builders.

2. The association of animal figures with sun symbols is found on the northwest coast. Here we have totem posts surmounted by the thunder bird. Below this are bears' heads to represent the totem of the person who erected the post. Along with the bears' heads are human faces and parts of the human form to represent the ancestors. The sun symbol is not found here, but the human form is found. A primitive form of animal worship as the embodiment of nature powers is seen in the thunder bird. We give a cut to illustrate this. See Fig. 1. Here the thunder bird is a guardian divinity to a house; it hovers over the door. This was a form of worship which pre-
Plate I. Shell Gorgets containing Sun Symbols.
vailed in the forests. It was not the worship of the sun, but of the elements. The bird which personified the lightning hovers darkly over the forest. It shows how animal divinities began to rule over the sky, and were transferred to the heavens. If we would see the sun symbol and animal figures and the human form combined we must turn to the Zunis. Here we find on the shield of the Priesthood of the Bow a winged human figure with an animal on either side and a curved body above the figure with a crooked serpent below; the serpent to represent the lightning; the body represents the rainbow; the shield itself represents the sun; the wings represent the clouds, and the bears the presiding fetiches or animal divinities. See Fig. 2.

3. A better illustration of the manner in which animals came to symbolize the sun and sun symbols came to be associated with animals is found among the Zunis. Here we find that different animals presided over the different parts of the sky. Plate II. The mountain lion (1) was the guardian of the north; (2) the black bear, master of the west; (3) the badger, master of the south; (4) the white wolf, master of the east; (5) the bald eagle, master of the upper regions; (6) the mole, master of the lower regions. These different animals had colors which corresponded to the natural colors of the regions over which they presided. The mountain lion yellow to correspond with the
auroral hues; the black bear had a black coat to represent the color of the land of night; the badger was black and white and corresponded to the land of summer; the coat of the wolf was white and gray, the color of the day and dawn; the eagle was speckled like the clouds; the mole was black, the color of the caves of the earth. The figures or fetiches of these animals were kept very sacred. They were wrought out of different kinds of stone; and were painted to represent the colors of the sky. Sometimes different varieties or species of the same animal were supposed to be the masters of the different parts of the sky, but in that case they were wrought out of different kinds of stone to show the part of the sky over which they ruled. One mountain lion was made of yellow lime stone to represent the north; another of white lime stone to represent the east; another of serpentine nodules, which were blue, to represent the west, the color of the ocean. The spotted lion was made from a white and blue arragonite to represent the sky, and the fetich of the lower regions, made of gypsum, was painted black. This use of colors along with the animal fetiches is very significant. In Egypt the animals and idols are of different colors. Each color was significant not so much of the quarter of the sky as of the character of the divinity, and yet it possibly may have come from the same source.

4. Mexico furnishes another stage of animal worship and sun worship combined. We have now the four quarters of the sky symbolized, but in a different way. There is a dragon which rules. The days are also taken into account. Every day has an animal divinity. The months are named after animals and so are the years. There is a constant round of animal symbols. There is a complicated way of counting time. The days of the month change names. A new symbol is given to every day of the month as it passes, but most of them animal names; 1, fish; 2, wind; 3, house; 4, lizard; 5, serpent; 6, death; 7, deer; 8, rabbit; 9, water; 10, dog; 11, monkey; 12, hay; 13, reed; 14, tiger; 15, eagle; 16, bird; 17, the sun; 18, flint; 19, rain; 20, the flower month. See Fig. 3. We have also in Mexico colors—south, yellow; east, red; north, white; west, black. We have the elements, earth, water, air, fire. We have the chief divinities, Quetzatloatl, Huitzilopuchtil, Tezcatlipoca, Tlaloc, corresponding to the elements and to the colors as well as to the gods of the skies and a most elaborate system of symbolism to express chronology and to mark out the sacred feasts. The symbolism of Mexico and Central America is very elaborate and shows a great advance upon the symbolism of New Mexico, the Aztecs and Toltecs having been much more civilized than the Zunis and other Pueblo tribes, but sun worship was the religion of all three districts. Animal figures are also used as symbols in all of the above mentioned regions.
5. There are many figures of animals in Mexico and Central America which are evidently used as symbols of the sun. M. Habel has described the figures which he found in the Cosumalhuapa. These are very remarkable figures. We shall describe only two. The main feature of one is a bird with huge wings in a very contorted attitude. The bird wears on his breast a flaming sun, but carries in his beak a human body in a very contorted shape. Two serpents hang below the head. The whole figure conveys the idea of violence. Its significance is unknown, but it is purely American. It is tinged by the savage thought of America and yet it reminds us of the Asiatic figures. It has probably represented the thunder bird as presiding over or carrying the sun symbol. There is another figure which also reminds us of the Asiatic symbols. A face shines out from the sky, a symbol of the sun. Flames issue from the face to represent the heat of the sun. Behind the face are massive wings, perhaps to represent the clouds. Below the wings are arms with bird claws for hands. Below the hands is a circle with flames issuing from it. A serpent is intertwined through the circle. Below the circle is a suppliant with his hands held up in adoration to the winged figure. Here we have also the component parts of the sun symbol; the human
face, the sun circle, the overshadowing wings, the intertwined serpent, but we have also animal figures associated with it.

The Aztec cycle* was represented with a circle with a picture of the sun in the center. See Fig. 4. There were symbols for the months around this sun circle, as follows: 1, water; 2, tent; 3, bird; 4, tower; 5, face; 6, vase; 7, flower; etc.

6. This furnishes another point of comparison. There were in Egypt four suns: the rising sun, the mid-day sun, the setting sun, and the sun at rest or the night sun. A divinity was assigned to each of these portions of time and a different animal represented each divinity or typified each sun. These are as we remember them, the lion for the rising sun, the ox for the mid-day sun, the hawk for the setting sun, and the cow for the night sun or the sun at rest. We find in Egypt also animals presiding over different parts of the country: Anubis, or the jackal, over the south; Sebo, the ram, over the north; Buto, or the winged asp, over the west; Apis and Osiris over the east. We have also animals and gods which preside over specific towns—Thebes, Memphis, Dendera, etc.—others over two countries. We have animal gods which preside over feasts and and funerals, etc. This, to a degree, is common in America.

*For names of the months and the divisions of the year and days see "The Aztecs, by Lucien Biart, pages 62 and 63." We are indebted to A. C. McClurg & Co., for the use of these cuts.
There were different kinds of suns and different animals to typify those suns. The points of compass were also typified by different animals and different colors were given to the animals to signify the parts of the sky over which they ruled. There were different districts and different animal divinities which presided over those districts, the same as in Egypt and Assyria.

III. We are to consider next the significance of the animal forms which are found in the symbols of the east and west. It has been maintained that the animal heads and other parts of the animal form which are associated with human bodies and faces in the gods of Egypt, Assyria and Farther India were but the symbols of divine attributes. This may be so, and yet there is another view which may be taken of them. In America animal worship preceded sun worship and was perpetuated after sun worship came into vogue, and so we have the means of interpreting the system, which others do not have.

We do not, however, learn that the animal forms which are combined with human semblances in America had anything to do with the attributes of the divinity, but we do learn that they were, in a measure, Totemic, that is, they symbolized the relation of guardian which was contained in divinity and at the same time expressed the personification of nature powers.

1. It is noticeable that the different parts of the human form in America symbolized nature powers. The eye of Tlaloc, the Mexican god, shows that he was a rain god, the tongue and face of Quetzacoatl show that he was a sun god, while the dress and ornaments of Huitzapochtli show that he was the god of war and death. This use of ornaments and the parts of the costume
and head-dress to symbolize the elements over which a divinity ruled was very common. It is well known that the serpent and the cross were symbols in Mexico and in Central America. There were, however, weather symbols, the one signifying the lightning and the other the winds or the points of the compass. There is evidence that the tree is used as a symbol in America, but singularly enough the branches of the tree are frequently made to represent the cross, and so the tree becomes a weather symbol. The cross and the tree is generally surmounted by the thunder bird and is sometimes decorated with a mask and medallion, and with spiral ornaments, each part of the cross and its decoration having a significance and the whole being symbolic of the sun and of nature worship. See Fig. 5.

None of the American symbols represent personal attributes, but they do represent the office of the divinity, and in this they differ from the Egyptian and Asiatic symbols. In Egypt the animals symbolized the attributes of the divinity, in America they symbolized the office. In Asia they symbolized the person, but in America the elements or nature power. This distinction is worthy of notice, because it shows that in America the religion was mere nature worship and was less advanced than in Egypt.

We give a cut to illustrate this point. Plate III. It is a picture of the bas relief on the inside of the adoratorio discovered by J. L. Stephens at Copan. This adoratorio was a shrine or altar devoted to the worship of the sun. Inside of the shrine a mask, which represented the face of the sun, was suspended upon two cross sticks or poles, while beneath the cross was an elaborately carved beam supported by crouching human figures. The whole temple or shrine symbolized sun worship, each separate part and article of furniture and ornament having a significance. The sun was symbolized by the face, the eye, tongue and lips of the face being distorted to make it expressive. It was situated in front of the door of the shrine, so that it might catch the rays of the sun, and was supported by the cross bars, which symbolized the points of the compass. It was suspended above the heavy beam, on which was the skull, which symbolized the rain, and that was supported by figures which also symbolized the different nature powers. On the facade of the shrine were two figures, one of which is represented in Plate IV. This was Tlaloc, the god of rain. It will be noticed that this god has a peculiarly bulging eye resembling a huge rain drop; that he has on his head a head dress made up in part of the beak of a bird, in part of a branch of leaves and cones, and in part of spiral lines or vine stalks; that he is blowing through a tube, and that spiral lines issue from the tube. A crooked serpent is intertwined between his legs, but with the tail and head both bent upward, while tassels hang from the neck of the serpent. Thus the divinity is surrounded by the
symbols of his power—the eye to signify the rain, the serpent to represent the lightning, the spiral lines to signify the winds, the thunder bird to signify the sky, the leaves to signify the vegetation, and other ornaments, to signify the nature powers, over which he ruled. The picture is suggestive. It is not certain whether the form represents the god Tlaloc, or his priest, for priests were frequently clothed with the same kind of garments on their person and had in their faces the same symbols that the god himself did. It will be noticed that the figure has a tiger skin resting upon his shoulders. This was in Egypt the official dress of the priest of the sun, and the fashion seems to have prevailed in America. We do not find in the adoratorio many figures of animals, but the tiger skin, the thunder bird, and the serpent are animal symbols. We have also plants represented, and so the three kingdoms were drawn upon for symbols. Nature worship in America combined the solar symbol with animal symbols, and made many of the elements symbolic.

2. Another point is brought out by this comparison of the symbols. In the old world the animals which were worshiped were domestic, while in America they were wild. This shows that the symbolism in America either originated among the races when they were in the wild state or was borrowed from civilized people and accommodated to a wild condition. Animal worship in Asia continued long after the people reached a civilized condition and was evidently modified by civilization. Animal worship in America found its highest development among the wild hunter tribes, but it remained among the civilized races. Sun worship was incorporated with animal worship among the American Indians. The Mound-builders had a kind of nature worship. It was rude and primitive, and yet it was attended with sun symbols. Some of the mound relics evidently present the tokens of a combined animal and sun worship, and some even of combined sun worship and idol worship. The thought contained within these systems we are not familiar with, but we judge from the symbols. The progress in America was from shamanism to fetichism, and from fetichism to animal worship, and from animal worship to sun worship, and from sun worship to anthropomorphic figures. The symbols, however, represented the elements and were symbols of the nature powers.

In Asiatic countries local animals were used for symbols and represented the attributes of the divinity. The animals differed in different countries, but they were the animals which abounded in those countries. In Egypt the animals used for symbols were the ox and the cat and dog; in Assyria, the ox, the eagle, the lion; in India, the ox, the elephant, and the horse; in Arabia, the ass, the ostrich, and the elan; in America, the wolf, the bear, the panther. There are also certain animals
ANIMAL WORSHIP AND SUN WORSHIP.

which are everywhere found, as the hare, the deer, the stag, the eagle, and the hawk, but this is because these animals abound in all countries. In the same country the animals differ according to locality; the crocodile and hippopotamus in Egypt; the lion and the deer in Syria among the Hittites; the fish and the hawk in Assyria; the elephant in India. This is the case in America: on the northwest coast the whale; on the southwest coast the monkey; on the gulf coast the crocodile; in the interior the panther.

3. The use of compound figures is significant. Composite animals are discovered among the emblematic mounds of Wisconsin. The ancestor posts of the northwest coast are

remarkable specimens of composite figures. They are made up of the beaks of hawks, the bodies of bears, human faces and many other shapes, each part being significant of the ancestry and of the divinities which the family regarded as sacred, the totems of the family for many generations being carved into a single pillar. Compound figures were common among the mounds.

There are gorgetstaken from mounds in Missouri, which contain the figures of a spider (which was the divinity of water) with a circle (the symbol of the sun) upon its back, and a cross within this circle to symbolize the points of the compass. This reminds us of the beetle in Egypt whose claws symbolized the days of the month and was a symbol of the sun. It is quite wonderful that the Mound-builders should reach so high a stage of symbolic development. See fig. 6.
There is a temple built on the banks of the Ganges in Casi, Hindoostan, the body of which is built in the shape of St. Andrew's cross, with a very high cupola in the center. At the extremity of every one of the four arms of the cross is a tower, probably a symbol of the sun. Inside the temple is an altar, and on the right side of the altar is a strange figure, a compound of the different parts of an elephant, a horse and a mule. This shows that the elements or the attributes were symbolized by domestic animals.

4. The use of masks is significant. It is noticeable that masks are worn in all parts of the world, in America, Africa, and in Asia. A hideous mask is worn by the priest of Thibet. It represents a human face with horns and other animal parts attached to it. Huge masks are carried by the Chinese in the feast of lanterns. Masks are very common on the northwest coast of America. They are worn in the dances and symbolize the mythical history of the dances and of the divinities in whose honor the dances are held. We do not know as any of the masks referred to have any connection with sun worship, but they are suggestive as they convey a thought in reference to mythology and history. The heads of animals which appear on the bodies of men in Egypt and Assyria symbolize animal divinities and the ornaments upon them symbolize the sun divinity, but they resemble masks.

It is probable that the attributes of the divinity were represented by these animal heads. In America the animals themselves were regarded as divinities.

IV. The progress of the people in prehistoric times in religious culture is our next point. The transition of animal worship into sun worship and from sun worship into a reverence for the personal attributes is the thought now before us. The figures of wild animals are found among the emblematic mounds of Wisconsin protecting villages, guarding caches, forming game drives, marking burial places, and showing where the clans and tribes lived, and to what points their tribal bounds extended.

We have here the first stage, that is, the totem system, which consisted in the worship of animals. We have second, the sun worship, which prevailed extensively among the Mound-builders and the Pueblos of Central America. We have also the ancestor worship, which prevailed on the northwest coasts with about as much force as it does now in China. We have also the anthropomorphic system, which prevailed in Mexico and Central America with almost the force it prevailed in Egypt, Greece and Assyria.

All the systems are exhibited by the symbolism of America. We have also mysteries and magic arts, and secret societies which remind us of the east. The progress of the totem system into the magic arts was manifest in the new world as well as the old. The "magician" and the "medicine man" were
similar or had similar offices. The Eleusinian mysteries and
the mysteries of the Priesthood of the Bow have many points
of resemblance. Both came out of an elaborate system of sun
worship, and both were expressive of the operations of nature.

We take sun worship everywhere as the keystone of an
arch, the animal figures found in America to represent totems
forming one side of the arch and animal figures in Egypt to
represent attributes forming the other side. We learn a lesson
from the comparison. In the first place it is probable that ani-
mal worship preceded sun worship in all parts of the world.
Second, the progress of religion from a low stage to a high and
still higher stage is manifest by this comparison. Animal wor-
ship, sun worship and the worship of idols bearing human names
and having human attributes, were the different grades in the
progress. Third, the personification of nature powers led to
much of the symbolism of the civilized races, the sun being often
represented as a person having personal attributes. Fourth, the
question is as to monotheism. Here scholars divide. Some of
them maintain that this is the latest product of a continuous
series of advancing thought, while others maintain that the
thought of God is latent in all minds and it is the earliest of all
religions. Fifth, the point which we set out to illustrate is that
totemism and animal worship were the sources of very much of
the symbolism in the old world as well as in the new. We do
not know as we have proved it, but the subject is certainly sug-
gestive.

We begin in America, far back in the superstitions about ani-
mals, but we end in a very high stage of symbolism in which
personal attributes are represented by the combined figures. A
system almost equal to the heraldry of the East prevailed here.

The primitive heraldry and the introduction of magic are
known in America. The totem system is nothing but a modified
heraldry. Shamanism was the beginning of magic. These
are anterior to sun worship and various degrees of religious
culture intervene between them. Sun worship is the first stage
apparent in Egypt; after that there is an anthropomorphic ten-
dency. There is an esoteric significance to the gods in Egypt.
Isis and Osiris and Horus present an esoteric system. They
were different from Ra and Set and Neph, as different as the
intellectual is from the physical. The story of Isis, Osiris and
Horus is allegorical.

This cult prevailed in the palmy days of Egypt; still there
was a progress in religion, even though there was a decline in
power. The hieroglyphics, tablets and disks, which belong to
a later stage of history, show that there was a progress; still
animal forms and sun symbols were perpetuated in Egypt not-
withstanding the changes that came over history. This is
seen in the Hypocephali; an animal-headed divinity stands in
the boat in which the soul is ferried over to the land of spirits;
the boat contains an ark which reminds us of the ark in Jerusalem. The boat or ark is always in the center of the sphere or disk. The soul is conveyed in the ark to the land of the setting sun. Here is a psychological idea, and yet the symbolism of the old mythology is perpetuated. We might speak of the survivals of the symbols of the old mythologic system. The form of the disk and its divisions and hemispheres are survivals from sun worship. The animal heads upon human forms in the divinities are survivals of animal worship.

Another illustration of progress and perpetuity may be found in the animal myths which prevail throughout the whole world. It is remarkable that the hare and the owl are everywhere regarded as mythologic creatures. Some make these animals to be symbolic of the various movements of the sun. We read in the proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology that "this was owing to the ambiguous use of the word hare." We doubt whether this is the case. The Egyptian word for hare may have several different significations: to "start up," to "open," to "transgress," "overleap," etc.; but what has the Egyptian word to do with American symbolism? The historic connection between different countries is not sufficient to account for the universality of this myth about the rabbit or the hare. It is only because this animal is everywhere found and is taken as either a tribal totem in all countries or because it fitly symbolizes or represents a nature power. The progress of thought may be recognized in the history of this single animal myth, for the hare itself has passed through all the stages from the simple totemism up to the psychological symbolism, and is the best instance of a "survival of the fittest" which we have on record.

If we take the seals and cylinders discovered at Babylonia by Dr. W. H. Ward and compare them with the Hypocephali discovered in Egypt recently we shall see the contrasts. Many of the seals and cylinders are very ancient, but the Hypocephali are comparatively recent; the first dating back as far as 2200 B. C.; the last having dates as recent as the twenty-sixth dynasty. The interpretations of the cylinders given by Dr. W. H. Ward and Prof. A. L. Frothingham in the Journal of Archaeology and in Scribner's Magazine, as well as in The Sunday School Times, are very interesting. The interpretation of the Hypocephali are found in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" for 1885 and 1886. As connecting links between these two extremes we have also the symbols and inscribed animal figures which have been found at Jerabis and at Sindjirli. These are supposed to be Hittite and stand between the Assyrian and Egyptian symbols. Two things are noticeable in all of these symbols, whether ancient or comparatively modern, viz.: the sun symbol is everywhere present, but it is attended by animal figures. This is the main point of our paper. Sun worship and animal worship appear at the very
introduction of history in a combined capacity, and the symbol-
ism of both is prominent in the most ancient tokens. Sun
worship and animal worship continued long after the early em-
pires had run their race. History and mythology make a record
of these, but not so complete a record as archaeology does. We
are discovering more about the symbolism of the east and finding
that these two systems of worship were very powerful. There
are several stages of progress which might be marked out, but
we have not time to dwell upon them.

We have then first the Totem system with animals as the
symbols; second, sun worship, with rude figures of the sun for
symbols; third, we have the combination of the two, animal
figures and sun symbols being combined; fourth, we have the
nature powers introduced as an adjunct to sun worship, the
nature powers being symbolized by animals; fifth, we have the
personification of the sun, the sun being symbolized by an idol
in human shape, but the nature powers surrounding the human
form symbolized in various ways. These views in reference to
the growth of idolatry in America are not altogether speculative.
We regard them as suggestive of the source of idolatry in all
countries. The Totem system was the first source in all coun-
tries. The Totem system in America was generally limited to
the hunter races, and did not go beyond the stage of savagery
and barbarism. We would not expect to find the Totem system
in historic countries. Still there are hints of it even there.
Lenormant says that "the cherubim of the scriptures and the
flaming sword in the garden of Eden were symbols derived
from prehistoric times. They are the remains of the primitive
sun worship. There are those who ascribe the symbols which
were placed on the escutcheons of the tribes of Israel to a prim-
itive animal worship. The lion was the animal symbol for Judah,
the ass for Issachar, the wolf for Benjamin, the serpent
for Dan, the hind for Gad. Certain writers think that the word
Elohim originally represented nature powers, and that the word
Jehovah represented the personal god or national divinity. They
would thus make the Jewish worship to originally have sprung
from sun worship, being the result of the last stage of
development. The idea of one God, however, appears in the
very first chapter of Genesis, and it is probable that this was as
eyearly as sun worship.

V. Some would argue from this a possible development upon
the two continents. There is considerable plausibility to it, but
we call attention to the resemblances in detail. The case of the
Peruvians is cited as proof. They thought that there was not
a beast or bird on the earth whose shape or image did not shine
in the sky. They seem to transfer the animals to the sky
and worshiped them there, making constellations of them which
remind us of the constellations which originated in the east.
They considered that the luminaries and the constellations were
guardian divinities. The sons of the moon and the sons of the panther stood in a similar relation. This is significant.

They worshiped both beings and regarded them both as ancestors and put the symbols of both into one divinity. The signs of the Zodiac came in this way. The stars were combined into constellations which represented animals. In Asia animals were mere mythologic creatures, fabled monsters. And yet, it is probable that they were originally nature powers and possibly may have symbolized Totems. There are myths concerning the Pleiades in America, and we believe that other myths will be found which were derived from the old world, but we in America may learn how these myths and constellations and astronomical divinities arose.

The serpent is to be considered in this connection. Serpent worship and sun worship are everywhere associated. In America the serpent is a very common symbol, and a symbol very frequently connected with sun worship. The serpent was a sign of kingly power as well as a symbol of the sun. In Egypt the head of the serpent issues from the orb, which is worn upon the head of certain divinities. In Assyria the serpent forms a circle in which the king or the divinity seems to stand. The king has a crown upon his head, while he holds a small serpent circle in his hand. In some of these figures the wings of a bird issue from either side of the circle and the tail of the bird is below the circle. The caduceus, or emblem of Mercury was a double serpent twined around a staff. The caduceus with two wings at the head of the staff overshadowing the serpents was a symbol of royalty with the Romans. Thus we have the survival of the serpent symbol late in history.

The winged globe is another symbol which shows a system of progression. The winged globe in Egypt was a symbol of the sun. The winged globe is found in America. In Egypt the winged orb was a symbol of the kingly office and was frequently placed over the head of the king. In Assyria the king was placed in the circle of the sun with a crown where the head of the bird should be, but below him is the spread fan-shaped tail of the bird. In America there is no king in the circle, but the bow is seen spread across the face of the circle just beneath the spread wings and so made significant of the warrior office. The golden egg is to be considered in connection with this symbol of the globe. Mr. Renouf says that "the golden egg has undergone considerable change, but in its earliest form the god of the golden egg is only a name for Savatari, the sun," and here the Hindoo and the Egyptian myths agree. We do not know whether the cosmogonic egg was ever introduced as a symbol into America.

We will refer next to the bird on a Proto-Ionic capital found in Messopotamia. Prof. Frothingham says: "This bird is evi-
dently the symbol of the seated divinity. Toward these approach two worshipers, each with a hand raised in adoration. Behind them are two animals, a hare and a kangaroo (we should say ibex). The seated divinity in dress and type takes us back to the Babylonian cylinders of 2000 and 3000 B.C." Notice the dates ascribed to this cylinder and the figures upon it. Prof. Frothingham says "kangaroo." It looks to us more like a mountain goat or ibex. We have taken the position that some of the earliest inscriptions indicate that animal worship prevailed before the first ancestors migrated from their early home among the mountains of Thibet to the plains of Shinar; that they had a Totem system similar to that of the North American Indians before they migrated. The hare and the ibex on this cylinder seem to confirm our position. The bird reminds us of the thunder bird of the Thlinkits and of the Aztecs; but it may have been a mere sign of royalty. The question is whether the symbols on these early seals and cylinders had reached the stage where heraldry was adopted and understood. We think that the Totem system would account for them and yet they may be ascribed to a system of heraldry. There is another seal or cylinder in the De Clerq collection in which a bird with spread wings is represented as in the air three times repeated with the symbols of the sun and moon beneath, and seated divinities facing these symbols. Here we have heraldry, for the bird with the spread wings may have been the ensigns of power, and yet we have mythology, for the sun and moon are there, and evidently were objects of worship. Layard says that "sacred birds belong to the Babylonian and Assyrian religion and were connected with sun worship."

It would seem from these facts that there had been a progress from a primitive animal worship and sun worship to the various systems of heraldry and a formal religious symbolism in all countries. We may say that the Totem system was the beginning, or at least an early stage in the progress. Even the astrology of the old world may be traced back to the primitive animal worship.

VI. We now turn to consider the correspondence between these symbols of the east and west, especially those found in Asiatic countries, and the American continent. This is an important point. How came America to have symbols so resembling those in the eastern hemisphere? They resemble them not only in generic lines but in specific points; the details of the symbols being as suggestive as the symbols themselves. In Asiatic countries this correspondence has been ascribed to an interchange of thought and intercourse between the nations. Is it possible that the same transmission of thought has extended as far as America, and shall we ascribe it to an intercourse between the two continents? We take up the point because it is an interesting and important one. The figures in which correspond-
ence are to be found are generally composite figures, but as we analyze the different parts we find remarkable resemblances.

1. We shall take up the symbol which represents the sun as a circle or disk or orb with wings issuing from it. This is called the solar orb, or the winged circle. This is a very significant figure. We call attention to the resemblances in detail of this figure. There is a striking resemblance between the American and the Egyptian symbol. The main difference is, that in America the feathers of the wings are turned upward, while in Egypt they are turned downward. In America there is a bow which extends across the face of the semi-circle. In Egypt there is no such bow, and yet in Egypt the moon is sometimes represented as a bow, and the myth is that the sun was shot from the bow.

There are two specimens of the winged circle in America. Both of them are imperfect, but the one supplements the other, and so we have the perfect figure. They were found by J. L. Stephens. They were both placed over the adoratorios, in which were tablets containing symbols of the sun, and were evidently intended to symbolize sun-worship. See Plate V. In Assyria there is a winged circle which has the crowned head of a king issuing from the circle. In America we have no such figure of the king, but we have the figure of the winged orb or circle, resembling that in Egypt, with this difference: that the feathers are turned up instead of down. This is seen from the fragment preserved on the corner of the adoratorio at Copan. In the other specimen discovered by Stephens there is a large circle in the center and a bow stretched across from one end of the wings to the other; there is no bow on the Egyptian or Assyrian symbol, but instead the crescent of the moon is seen. The conception is the same. The sun seems to have been shot out from the moon as from a bow. There is a bow and a bow-string stretched across the wings, but there is no bow in the Assyrian symbol. The history of the winged orb is not known, but the earliest and most primitive form of the figure of overshadowing wings is found in the northwest coast of America. We give a cut to illustrate it. It was probably a totem and yet was a thunder bird. See Fig. 4.

2. The sun symbol in nearly all countries is a disk or circle or globe. Disks are found in the mounds in America. These disks or shell gorgets are inscribed with figures of the sun in the shape of circles; symbols of the moon in the shape of crescents, and symbols of the stars in the shape of dots. There is nothing very remarkable about this. There are disks among the Pueblos in which the sun is represented as a human figure, crowned with a turreted helmet and with a many colored bow above the figure. These are acknowledged to be symbols.

There are disks in Egypt. Sometimes the disks are represented with faces, sometimes with arms issuing from them and with
hands at the ends of the arms. There are disks in Assyria and in India. In all these countries the sun is symbolized by the disk.

The winged orb is a modification of the disk. The overshadowing wings are found in Egypt, in Assyria, in India, and in America. In all these countries there is a circle or a globe with wings issuing from it, and generally some animal head is connected with the circle. In Egypt the asp issues from the circle. In Assyria the head of an eagle is seen above the circle and the tail below. In America the head and wings of an eagle are sometimes seen hovering over the circle as we have described above. Sometimes the circle has wings without any animal heads, as at Copan and at Palenque. The serpent is combined with the disk. In Assyria the solar orb or circle is formed by a serpent. The king holds a small serpent circle in his hand. In America the serpent also frequently forms the circle of the sun. We have referred to this already. It is seen in the calendar stones. The caduceus, or emblem of Mercury, was a double serpent twined around a staff and overshadowed by two wings at the head of the staff. There is no caduceus in America. The serpent in the shield of the Priesthood of the Bow reminds us of the Assyrian symbol, but it is in a different position and has no such significance.
NATURE POWER PERSONIFIED.
MOON WORSHIP SYMBOLIZED.
ANIMAL WORSHIP AND SUN WORSHIP.

3. There is another symbol in America which is quite important, because of its resemblance to those common in Egypt and Babylonia, and especially because of its connection with sun worship. We refer to the animal-headed throne, three specimens of which have been found in Central America: one at Chichen, and two at Palenque. That at Chichen is a simple seat, rudely cut out of a single block of stone, and yet from its situation in front of the palace and from its form, it has been supposed to be used as a sort of sun symbol. The sunlight may have fallen upon it at certain seasons of the year, and made it suggestive of the kingly power of the sun. The second figure is the one described by Waldeck and Stephens. The principal figure sits cross-legged in an easy attitude, with a calm and benevolent expression. He wears a necklace of pearls, to which is suspended a medallion containing a face, perhaps intended as the face of the sun. The form of a woman is sitting in front of him, cross-legged on the ground. She is richly dressed and is apparently offering to the king a head-dress, in which is seen a plume of feathers, the headdress of the principal person being deficient of feathers. A third specimen is the one which was found by Stephens on the tablet within the shrine at Palenque—a shrine which has been called the Temple of the Beau-relief, because of the beautiful figure which was seen in relief on the tablet. This represents a king or warrior seated in a graceful attitude upon a richly-sculptured globe, but wearing a sort of helmet on his head, greaves upon his feet, and gloves upon his hands; pointing with one hand to the hieroglyphs in front of him, and with the other to the sky. The throne itself is apparently a simple heavy bar of wood, supported by the massive feet and claws of two leopards, the heads projecting up on either side of the globe. The whole figure gives the impression of strength and beauty combined, and is suggestive of kingly power, as well as of religious thought.

The best illustration of sun worship is found at Cosumalhuapa in Central America. Here the system seems to have developed into a stage where the sun and moon and celestial bodies were personified and represented under human figures, especially under human faces, and were worshiped with the same faith apparently that the personal divinity is at the present time. This is illustrated by some remarkable tablets discovered by M. Habel. Very little is known of their origin or history.

The following is the description of them: The most conspicuous object is the representation of a human face in a circle, resembling the ordinary pictures of the full moon. The two central staves pass downward, and are differently ornamented. In the lower part of the sculpture appears an individual, with face upturned and an elevated hand, imploring the deity. The supplication is indicated by a curved vine, knotted
on the sides. The breast is adorned with a globe similar to that on the breast of the goddess; around the wrist of the right hand is a plain cuff, while the left hand is covered with a skull. A stiff girdle, with a boar's head ornamenting its back part, surrounds the waist. In front of the adorer is a small altar, and on the altar a head, from the mouth of which issues a curved staff.

Now this is a very remarkable tablet, for it shows that the moon was personified or worshiped as a personal divinity, and that the symbolism connected with moon worship was very elaborate.

Another tablet discovered by M. Habel represents the sun, or some other Nature power, as personified under the figure of an old man. The following is a description: "The sole ornament of the head consists of staves in different directions, the bearers of the deities' mandates expressed in picture language.

From the ears depend large rings; the hair hangs down in a braid on either side of the head; a single row of discs adorn the neck; both wrists are covered with bracelets; from them emanate two staves bearing nodes and buds, which divide the staff into triangular spaces. These triangles seem to be mystic signs for a religious expression. On the left shoulder of the deity is a sheaf of the maize from which emblems, we conclude that this figure is the God of Fertility.

The head of the person standing beneath, with face upturned, is ornamented with a cap, a kind of helmet, with a disc and three peaks. From the heads of the person the loose hair floats down the back, and to the side skin resembling a tiger is attached. The right wrist is covered with a wristlet, while the skull of a wild animal serves as a gauntlet to the left hand. The waist is encircled by a stiffened girdle, on the back of which appears the head of a wild animal. From the waist ascend curved lines, seeming to indicate the feelings of the individuals, not by language but by inspiration. From the mouth come vines,
with nodes which express in cipher the prayer of the individuals.

Now, it appears from these tablets that the moon, perhaps the sun, and Celestial powers, were regarded as presiding over nature and terrestrial bodies. The human beings were dependent upon the sky divinities, and made their wants known by prayer, which was symbolized by the vine. The most singular part of these tablets is represented below.

An explanation of the cut is that it represents a sick man lying prostrate, though clad in the usual apparel of a well person, but apparently faced by the image of death, toward which he is extending his arm, as if in fear. The body of death shows bones and ribs and joints, and the skull and open mouth; while from the shoulders and head there seem to be rising flames. It is a most remarkable pictograph, and ex-

Fig. 9.—Figure of Death.

presses more than can be told. There is no evidence of sun worship, other than the circles which appear above the upper part of the picture, but taken in connection with the other tablets, we may conclude that there was the same dread of death prevailing among this unknown people that exists at the present time, but the only object which presented hope was the solar sphere which seemed to roll in the sky and send down its rays upon the living and the dying.

4. Another representation of sun worship is given by the human sacrifices which were made to the sun in Mexico, and have been described by a writer in Globus.* He says that the bloody rites of the spring festivals occurred on the fifth of May while the sun was at its zenith over the city. The demon of winter is overcome by the advancing season. The feast in May resulted in the killing of Tezcatlipoca, identified by the

*See Globus, January, 1904.
seeds, but was appeased by the blood of the altar. This forms a spring and harvest feast which the Mexicans celebrated at Tlascala. There was a feast of the rising sun. At midnight the priest bored the fire with the fire-drill out of the intestines of the Fire God Mixcoatl, and immediately a prisoner was offered up as a sacrifice to the Sun God, by tearing out his heart. The flesh of the victim was eaten by the priests and by the people, from religious motives.

There is a pictograph contained in the Borgian Codex, which is explained by this writer, as follows: Quetzalcoatl, the Wind God, bored the new fire out of the vitals of Xijahtecahtli; the sunlight was dependent upon the success of the fire-boring. The myth tells us that there were two gods, Nanoatzin and Teciztecatl, who were to become the sun and moon. They were pushed into a great fire upon which they went into the sky as the day and night constellations. Therefore it is, that at the annual feast the old fire is allowed to go out and the new fire is created.

The winter solstice is an occasion for celebration. Every fourth year, the living prisoners of war, slaves, and among them women, were offered on the sacrificial stone. Four slaves apparently represented the sacredness of the number four, as symbols of the cardinal points. They also showed the sacredness of the colors, for they wore blue, yellow and white colors upon their persons.

At the end of fifty-two years the fire-boring sacrifices were noteworthy. It was found that the sun would not come up, that night would continue forever, and that men might have a sudden end, except as the spark should result from the fire-drill. The celebration of making the new fire took place when the Pleiades were at the zenith. This writer believes there was a connection between the sacrifices and the volcanic fires.

The mountains were like altars, and the fires within were like the fires upon the altars. The volcanic fires found their response in the sky above, so the sacrifices which were upon the high places found a response in the heavenly bodies—the sun and moon and stars.

This is a somewhat fanciful interpretation, and yet it shows that the superstition of the sun worshipers embraced all the powers of nature and made them significant of their own destiny, and so increased the importance of the various religious ceremonies.
We now turn from sun-worship to another system which resembled it in some respects, and yet was so different as to involve another series of symbols and another line of customs and traditions. We refer to the Sabaeanism or sky worship, which prevailed in America as well as in the lands of the East. This system existed among the different tribes—the wild tribes of the Mississippi Valley; the various tribes of the Interior, especially the Pueblos and Navajoes, and the civilized tribes of Southwest. There was associated with it a particular regard to the cardinal points and the divinities supposed to dwell at these points.

I. The arch of the sky is also often represented by the symbols. Sky worship seemed to have prevailed among the Mound-Builders, for there are pipes which represent the human form seated, with the face turned up towards the sky, and holding in the hands the bowl, as if suggesting the idea that the tobacco smoke was offered as incense to the sun. There are also many pieces of pottery ornamented with spiral lines, and many shell gorgets which suggest the revolution of the sky.

1. The same system existed among the Pueblos. This is illustrated by their various ceremonies, as well as by their pictographs and relics. One of the most interesting specimens is a bowl (See Fig. 2), which has a very graceful form and is decorated upon the outside by figures of arches, beneath which is seen the figure of a stag, the heart of the stag being visible, as well as the mouth, which symbolized the passage of life. There are many other symbols which indicate the prevalence of sky worship.

Various writers have described this system, but the earliest and in some respects the best description, was that given by Catlin, the celebrated painter, and was illustrated by four paintings, of which two are still in existence and are represented in the plates.
It appears that there was a ceremony, which took place at the time of the initiation of the young men as warriors into the Sacred Lodge. In this ceremony a peculiar lodge, which is called the "Big Canoe," forms the central object. Around it are gathered the eight men, divided into pairs, who take their position on four sides, representing the four cardinal points; four of the men having buffalo horns on their head, a bunch of green willow boughs on their back, and each having a staff in his hand. Four other men engaged in the same dance; two of them painted black with white spots, the black to symbolize the sky at night, the white to represent the stars. Beside the big canoe were men with skins of grizzly bears thrown over them. Among the dancers an evil spirit appears, painted black; strangely clad; white around its mouth and red teeth; having a hideous appearance. This picture dramatizes the Deluge myth and sky divinity; the other picture represents the ceremony in which the warriors undergo a fearful ordeal. The flesh from each shoulder was cut and skewers placed under it, cords lowered from the top of the lodge were fastened to the skewers; the body was raised by these and suspended from the ground, and then was turned faster and faster, until, fainting under the agony, the person hung apparently a still and lifeless corpse and the medicine bag drops from his hand, and he is finally let down.

There was no particular symbolism in this ceremony, but symbols are found in the arrangement of the lodge, as the four sacks were typical of the four divisions of the earth; the four buffalo skulls and the four human skulls fastened to the posts of the lodge were also symbols. The use of four colors in the cloth over the door of the medicine lodge symbolized the division of the sky. The colors with which the sky was decorated...
DRAMATIZATION OF THE DELUGE MYTH AND THE SKY DIVINITIES BY THE MANDANS.
bodies were decorated symbolized the colors of the sky; other objects symbolize the different elements, and the whole ceremony was a dramatization under the lead of a secret society, not only of the creation and the deluge, but also of the traditions about the astrological myths and the supernatural divinities which ruled the earth and the sky.

2. We notice that the same superstitions prevailed among the Eskimos and the Ojibwas. In the belief of the Ojibwas there is a place of shadows, a hereafter, and a shadowy spirit; each person also had a guardian spirit, or tutelar demon, who appears, after a fast of a number of days, in a dream, generally in the shape of a bird or animal. The future course of life is marked out by the dream, exactly as in the ancient world it was marked out by the horoscope, or the situation of the stars. Schoolcraft has given a chart which represents this sky worship. In this we find the mida tree, which symbolized the spiritual power, the wabeno tree, the charmed arrow, the sacred dish, the stuffed crane, the ghost lodge, the great spirit filling all space with his beams and lighting the world by the halo of his head. The hawk is the guardian spirit. The great spirit begins and ends the chant. This first figure was that of a bird in the lodge, the last is a figure of the face, or sun, under the arch of the sky.*

3. The tribes situated in the Gulf States also had a system of symbolism which was based upon sky worship, and which introduced a symbolical geography into their villages and influenced even their architecture and the arrangements of their houses, tribal organizations, and their feasts and dances. The following is the description given by Bartram of their public square and council house: "The public square is the highest part of the town. It consists of four square buildings of one story, so as to form an exact rectangle, covering half an acre. One of these is the council house, where the chief or Mico decides cases and receives ambassadors. This building is divided into two parts, the back part perfectly dark, with three small arched apertures opening into it. This is a sanctuary, where they deposit all the sacred things, the imperial standard, calumet, and rattles. The front of the building is divided into three apartments. The pillars supporting the front are formed in the likeness of speckled serpents climbing upwards. The other buildings which compose the square are decorated with paintings, sculptures and hieroglyphics, men having heads of some kind of animals, bear, wolf, fox, turkey, ducks and deer, and again these creatures have human heads. The rotunda is different from the public square; this is built upon a conical mound and has a conical roof.

*Another chart has been furnished by Dr. W. H. Hoffman, which represented the creation by an "orientated" circle, the initiation by four rectangular lodges, also orientated, their entrances guarded by serpents and animals, the "end of life" by a circle, and the "future life" by a square lodge, and a circle for a "ghost lodge," and the path of the dead between them.
There is, in the center of it, a post or pillar. Around this post the spiral circle of faggots was placed, the circle of faggots turning from right to left, extending to a distance of ten or twelve feet from the center, rising a foot or eighteen inches from the ground. This spiral circle was lighted at the time of an opening of the council. The blaze creeps around the center pillar, following the course of the sun, illuminating the entire chamber. When the fire burns out the council ceases. After the illumination takes place the warriors are seated on their sofas in three ranks, the king in front and the young warriors to the rear. The great war chief’s seat is to the left hand of the king, the elders and head men to the right. The king smokes the great pipe, puffing the whiff to the four cardinal points. It is then carried to the different persons and smoked by them in turn.”*

The account which Bartram has given of one of the dances is very suggestive. The dance was held in the rotunda. "In this dance the musicians were seated near the great pillar, where was the central fire, but around the building was a row of seats, one above the other, like an amphitheater. A company of girls, hand in hand, dressed in clean, white robes, and ornamented with beads, began to sing their responses in a gentle, low, sweet voice, and formed themselves in a semicircular file or line in two ranks, back to back, facing the spectators and musicians, moving slowly round and round. Afterward a company of young braves, painted and ornamented with silver bracelets, gorgets and wampum, moccasins and high waving plumes in their diadems, formed themselves in a semi-circle or rank. There was something singular and diverting in their step and motion. The motion began in one end of the semi-circle, the dancers rising up and down, and continued to the other end. At the same time, and in the same motion, the dancers moved obliquely, so that a revolving circle was formed by the complex movement. At stated times a grand or universal movement instantly occurred, each rank turning to right and left, taking each other’s places, accompanied with a sudden and universal elevation of the voice in a shrill, sharp whoop.” Whether the motion of the heavenly bodies was symbolized by this dance or not, it was a very significant ceremony and one which was carried out with great exactness and managed with inconceivable alertness and address. Bartram gives no interpretation of the dance or of the arrangement of the houses or villages, or of the other customs which he observed, but we imagine that all of these buildings were orientated and arranged after the model of the celestial spaces, that the rotunda symbolized the dome of the sky and the spiral fire symbolized the motion of the sky, that the dances even symbolized the opening and the shutting of the day, and that the system of sky

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*See p. 365, Bartram’s Travels. See also the spiral path on the Ohio mound, Fig. 6.
worship will account for all these customs and ceremonies. We have no record that there were secret societies and sacred mysteries among these tribes, but a natural inference is that all of these ceremonies were under the direction of such a society. There is no doubt that there was an esoteric significance to all these customs and that they embodied the myths and traditions which had regard to the sky divinities, myths which resemble those held by the Cherokees.

II. We next turn to the ancient Mound-builders. We have already referred to different religious systems which prevailed among them.* We have shown that animal worship or totemism prevailed in one district; fire worship in another; the water cult in another; the moon cult in another, and the solar cult in still another. The thought now before us is that sky worship was the predominant religion of the Mound-builders and these local cults were associated with it or were the component parts of it. As evidence of this we would refer to the relics which have been discovered in the mounds, especially those situated in the Ohio Valley and the Gulf States, a region which was occupied by the sun worshipers. Among these relics we notice many shell gorgets in which there are circles, and in the circles, discs and dots and crescents, the arrangement of the figures on the concave shell gorgets suggesting the thought that there was an attempt to make them represent a map of the sky, with the sun, moon and stars filling the four celestial spaces. See Fig. 3. There are coiled serpents with the bodies divided into four parts by concentric circles, other concentric circles forming the eye, the concave filled with various arches (see Fig. 4) suggesting that there was a hidden astrology contained in them. There are also spider gorgets which have circles and crosses and bars upon the back, zigzag lines between the mandibles, all of them symbols of the nature powers, the number four being preserved, and the whole arrangement making them suggestive of a chart. The same may be said of the bird gorgets, though in these the spaces are rectangles rather than circles. They are all suggestive of a symbolical geography which had to do with the sky as well as the earth.

Our supposition is that they represent the motion of the

*See book on Mound-builders; also chapter on Serpent Worship, especially the plates.
heavenly bodies, the order of the seasons, the points of the compass, the division of the sky, the four elements—fire, earth, air and water, the celestial spaces, the nature powers, and possibly a calendar system. These symbols are rude and present the subject in a primitive stage, but they are constantly suggesting thoughts of the customs of the more advanced races and remind us of the marvelous things contained in eastern mythology. We have already shown that they contain the same symbols which are embodied in the various calendar wheels and sacrificial stones of Mexico, as well as those which are found upon the inscribed tablets of the ancient cities of Central America, for the crosses, circles, serpents, figures of the tree, birds, masks, human figures, which are found rudely drawn upon the disks and gorgets and tablets, apparently have the same significance as those contained in the more advanced works of art, and represent the same general system. The temptation is to read into these lines, the symbols which developed with such great variety in the east, and to imagine that the serpent whose folds surrounded the earth and formed the ocean was symbolized in the serpent gorget; that the Nile key or Egyptian tau was symbolized in the spider gorget; the triskelis or revolving wheel, which symbolized the revolution of the sky, and the fire generator or suastika, which is also an oriental symbol, were contained in other gorgets. We can say, at least, that there is such a correspondence between these symbols and the oriental myths as to lead us to trace out a “map of the heavens” in these rude disks and gorgets, for we recognize in these figures of serpents and spiders analogies to the dragons, beetles, and tortoises which are seen in the maps of the heavens elsewhere, while the arrangement of the circles, crescents and crosses are almost identical, and suggest the same myths.

An astronomical significance may be given to the winged and masked creatures which are engraved upon the copper plates. These resemble, in some respects, the winged figures common among the Cliff-dwellers and Pueblos of the west, and at the same time remind us of the winged creatures which were found by M. Habel engraved upon the sculptured stones of Guatemala. There was the same combination of birds’ claws and beaks, with human bodies and limbs (see Fig. 5), the symbol of the sun being as plain upon the shell gorgets as upon the sculptured
stones, though the flames are absent. It is probable that these represented the sky divinities, the wings filled with arches symbolizing the spaces above and the clouds, the birds' beaks and claws symbolizing the bird of the sky, the human form perhaps symbolizing the personal divinities. The same may be said of the dancing figures, for there are zigzag lines upon some of the faces, and there are masks in their hands, and there are circles surrounding them, showing that the lightning and the operations of the sky were symbolized by them, for masks are the signs of transformation; the dancers are transformed into birds and animals, and again into men and warriors, and yet they personate the divinities as well as the nature powers.

The same interpretation may be given to the human figures, whose limbs are so strangely contorted and end in birds' claws, bodies divided into links and circles, head in the shape of an arch, a concentric circle for an eye, a large mouth, ears formed by perforated loops, arms curiously doubled and jointed (see Fig. 5), the space in the shell being filled with loops and other figures. These symbolize the sky divinities. The presence of shell masks with the tattooed human face upon them in the mounds conveys the idea that there was an association of the burial of the dead with the system of sky and sun worship, for the custom prevailed among the Aleuts to put a mask over the face of a dead person when it was laid away, as it was supposed to be going on a journey to the land of the spirits. A similar interpretation has been given to the faces with open mouths. These faces are attended with sun symbols, sun circles, birds' heads, symbols of the cardinal points, suggesting that the soul had departed to the celestial spaces. The fact that shells and disks on which were inscribed symbols of the soul were deposited with the body at the time of burial shows that there was a connection between the native astrology and the future state. The soul which was so surrounded by the nature powers and the solar universe was to be introduced to the celestial spaces after death. Hence the symbol must be placed near the body, that the soul might take these as the doors or the patterns of the supernatural realm. This was the underlying thought with the sacred mysteries and the secret societies.
2. Another evidence is found in the shape of the mounds, especially those upon the Ohio, for these contain many astrological symbols, singly and in combination, the same as the relics do. We find in them circles, crescents, squares, concentric circles, crosses, horse-shoes, platforms, altars, avenues, so related to one another and to the relics which are contained in them as to convince us that they were designed to be symbols of sky worship. The uniformity of the figures and of the areas contained in the sacred enclosures, as well as of the measurements of the walls surrounding them, has been noticed by all the surveyors, for the circles are perfect circles and the squares are perfect squares. It has not been held that this perfection of the figures was anything more than accidental, but the correspondence between the earth-works and the relics convinces us that these were all directed by symbolical geography; for the sacred enclosures and the platforms within them were orientated. It was on this account the pavements and altars contained in the mounds were constructed in the shape of circles and crescents, and the conical mounds had spiral paths and circular ditches about them. See Fig. 6. The earth-works surrounding their villages, sacrificial and burial places were constructed after the patterns which seem to represent the map of the sky, on a large scale, and everything about them was put under the protection of the sun divinity. In fact, we recognize the circles, crosses and crescents, and serpents and birds represented by the earth-works as the different parts of one great system, which might be taken as a "geography of the heavens" built in relief on the earth.

3. We are led by these figures to draw the comparison between the earth-works here and the standing stones and monuments of Great Britain, for there are many analogies between them, though

*The crescent pavements made from mica scales surrounded a circular altar, in which offerings had been made to the sun. See book on Mound-builders.
the identity of the symbols is difficult to prove. Others have noticed the symbolism contained in these different works. Mr. W. F. Maurice has described the circles at Stonehenge and Avebury. See Fig. 9. Speaking of Stonehenge, he says: The number of stones in the outer circle is thirty, and of the inner circle is twelve, and the single stone, or obelisk, in the center. He says that the remarkable numbers one hundred, sixty, thirty, twelve, constantly occurring, unavoidably bring to our recollection great periods of astronomy, the sothic cycle, century, the months, thirty days, twelve signs of the zodiac; five is the multiple of most of these numbers. He compares Stonehenge to the circle at Biscawen, a circular temple, consisting of nineteen stones, distant from each other twelve feet, having one in the center

higher than the rest, thus making a symbolical circle. He says: "All circular monuments, especially those consisting of columns or standing stones, were meant as representatives of the sun, or the revolution of the sun in its orbit. The temple was uncovered, resembling the temples of the ancient Persians. He compares Stonehenge to the circular temple at Rollrich, which is the same size, and which he calls the "Druids' wheel" or circle. The Druids, not less than the Brahmins, adored the sun in a circular dance. The Gauls imitated the sun by turning the body around while engaged in their devotions. The Phœnicians made their children pass through the fire and worship the sun as a divinity. In Scandinavia the gods were worshiped partly in the open air and in groves, or in places encompassed by a circle of big stones. The Druids celebrated their solemnities at the solstices. It is said that they used the stones which cover their dolmens as their altars, and sacrificed human victims upon these. It is noticeable that the modern archæologists are tracing out a remarkable system of solstitial orientation in the works at Stonehenge, showing that the adytum or altar was open in a line with the monolith
at "Friar's heel," and was so arranged that the light of the solstitial sun at its rising should strike across this monolith and shine into the innermost part of the temple, where the sacrifices took place.

Mr. A. L. Lewis, the English archaeologist, has compared the standing stones of Avebury, Stone Henge, Arbor Lowe and Stanton Drew, and has brought out the fact that all of these works contain circles, avenues, horse-shoes, "coves and altars," which were sacred to the sun, the very combination of these being suggestive of the astrological system of the east. The circles differ from one another in the number and size of the standing stones, in the diameter of the circles, the length of the avenues and the arrangement of the circles, but they are nearly all alike in that they were solstitially orientated. The circle at Avebury had a diameter of eleven hundred feet, and is the "largest circle of stones in the world." It has associated with it a pyramid mound or cone at Silbury Hill, which is the "largest artificial mound" of Europe. The avenue which Stukeley thought represented a great serpent is about a mile long, and ends in a circle on Beckhampton Hill. Inside of this large circle are two other circles, both three hundred feet in diameter. The "cove" is in the center of the northern circle and faces the sun at its "midsummer rising." Stone Henge also has a circle surrounded by a ditch and bank, the circle being one hundred feet in diameter and the ditch and bank three hundred feet. Inside of the outer

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*Orientation and sky worship are shown by this cut, for the four concentric circles symbolize the four celestial spaces, the avenues in the shape of a cross symbolize the cardinal points, the spiral path symbolizes the motion of the sun and the mounds symbolize the sun itself. Thus a place of sacrifice to the sun was in reality surrounded by all the symbols of sky worship, and the earth-works contained the same map of the sky as the shell gorgets, showing that the same system was embodied in the maps and in the relics.
circle is another of small stones, and inside of this five triliths arranged in the form of a "horse-shoe," the horse-shoe, forty-four feet wide, opening to the northeast. Inside of the horse-shoe is a flat stone, seventeen feet long, called the "altar stone." The avenue leads in a northeasterly direction eighteen hundred feet, and the stone called the "friar's heel" is inside the avenue, one hundred feet distant from the circle. The circle at Arbor Lowe consists of an oval ring one hundred and twenty-six by one hundred and fifteen feet, surrounded by a ditch and embank-

Fig. 3.—Stone Henge Restored.*

Fig. 3.—Stone Henge Restored.*

ment, with two entrances, one to the southeast and one to the northwest. Within the oval are the remains of a "cove" formed of standing stones, like those at Avebury and Stone Henge. The avenue which leads toward Gibb Hill was once supposed to give the form of a serpent to the monument, but the entrance resembles that at the Kennet avenue at Avebury, and is in the same direction. The works at Stanton Drew consist of three separate circles, arranged in line with a "cove" or trilith like those at Avebury and Arbor Lowe, arranged in such a way that a line in the direction of the northeast would pass through the center of the great circle. Here there is also a great single stone like the "friar's heel" at Stone Henge. The conclusion

*The four circles, including the five triliths, can be seen in the cut.
which Mr. Lewis draws from the study of all these works is that the stone circles, which are more numerous and larger in Britain than in any other part of Europe, were devoted to the worship of the sun and "perhaps of the stars." They were erected on a plan and were placed so that the circle would have a position with regard to some massive stone, or some prominent hill, or group of three hills, that the sun would shine over these into the circle and strike upon the altar inside of the "cove" at the time of its rising at the summer solstice. Now whether these circles can be regarded as furnishing any "map of the sky," or any "symbolical geography," the resemblance between them and the circles, horse-shoes, crosses and other symbols contained in the earth-works of Ohio is certainly very striking.

These show that sky worship was contained in the works of Great Britain and that symbolical geography has left a map of itself on that soil. We have in this country very few standing stones, though the dolmens, stone circles and other symbolic works of Peru resemble very much those of Great Britain, and are supposed to represent the same system. The earth-works of the Ohio Valley have many features that are analogous, yet as they are constructed entirely of earth, no standing stones and no system of solstitial orientation has been discovered, we must leave it as an open question whether they are to be traced to the influence of a transmitted cult, or were the result of an aboriginal religion which developed in parallel lines. The resemblances are certainly very striking.

III. Sky worship existed among the Pueblos and Cliff-dwellers and their descendants the Zunis and Moquis. There was associated with it a system of orientation and an extensive calendar system, also secret societies and many sacred ceremonies and a symbolical geography which is very surprising. It is very interesting to follow out the system as it existed here. Various authors have been engaged in the study of it and they have brought out many interesting facts. Among these may be mentioned Mr. Frank Cushing, Mr. James Stevenson, Mrs. Matilda C. Stevenson, Mr. Walter Fewkes and Dr. Washington Matthews.

1. Mr. Frank Cushing has given us many facts which illustrate this. He says, the chief point in the horizon was the east and all other points were arranged with reference to this. The points were arranged leftwardly and counted around the horizon on the fingers, the east the land of day, the west, the land of night, the north, the home of the master of gods. The zenith and the nadir were also worlds peopled by great gods; the middle was also a world by itself, thus making seven divisions of the sky and the earth. The middle was occupied by animals and men. The gods of the several regions were represented by the elders of clans, the elders of the north being in special
favor with the gods, and so the first in rank. Next to these were the elders of the west. The divinities or fetishes of the different clans had their rank according to the points of the compass, those of the north being first.

2. The order of all the dances must accord with this arrangement. Each region must be represented by appropriate leaders, clan elders, the north, west, south, east, upper and lower, each region having a house for the gods. The dances were celebrated at the different seasons and by the different clans, their order being fixed by the precedence which the gods of the region above had over each other, the rank of the gods and the order of the dances following the cardinal points from right to left. The Zunis also had kivas which were consecrated to these gods. In each of the cities or pueblos in the Gila valleys were temple kivas in which the chambers were arranged in a circuit, the doorways leading around from the east to the center, the northern and southern chambers being twice as large as the others to represent the upper and lower regions.

"These temple kivas were strongholds, storehouses and homes of the priest rulers of each of the pueblos, as well as a place of sacred assembly, but embodied in themselves the six houses of the gods with the center making seven. The temple of Viracocha, Peru, was built on the same plan and probably owed its origin to the sequence of the cardinal points, similar to that of the Zunis. The ceremonial diagram in the prayer meal of the seven ancient spaces shows a four-fold circuit of entrance. Seven chambers in the diagram. The first entrance is at the north
and the last at the seventh or middle. The consecration of the field of the Zunis, the corn hills have a similar distribution, the yellow corn at the north, blue corn for the west, red corn for the south, white for the east, speckled for the zenith, black for the nadir and variegated for the middle. This location according to the cardinal points, of corn hills, kivas, sacred chambers and the sacred spaces was very ancient and prevailed among the Zunis more sensibly than any other tribe. The seven cities of Cibola are supposed to have been built according to the same arrangement, for in these the totems of the north dwelt in a village by themselves, those of the west in another, of the south in another, and so of the eastern, upper and lower, whilst those of the middle dwelt in another town apart from all the rest, itself subdivided into wards or septs (as in modern Zuni), having also the tribal head—ceremonially ruling all the rest, yet ruling through proto-priestly representatives of and from all the rest in due order of precedence; only, here in the midmost place, these were under the Sun or Father-Proto-priest, and the Seed or Mother-Proto-priestess in at least all religious and ceremonial concerns."

The idols of the Zunis exhibit the same symbolism as do the
sacred ceremonies. In these we see the arches of the sky, the turrets of the clouds, the feathers of the wind, the colors, the signs of the different quarters of the sky, the crosses of the cardinal points, the pictures of the celestial houses, the male and female divinities who presided over the houses and were the creators and ancestors of the people, each line and color of each idol having a hidden significance. See Fig. 11.

The following "creation" myth has been given by Mrs. Stevenson: "When the people first came to this world they passed through four worlds, all in the interior, the passageway from darkness to light being through a large reed. They were preceded by two local divinities who dwelt upon the mountains, the one a hideous looking creature, the other a being with snow white hair, probably the personifications of the rain and snow, or the black cloud and white cloud. One of these descended the mountain and drew his foot through the sands. Immediately a river flowed and a lake formed, and in the depths of the lake a group of white houses, constituting a village. There was a belief that the spirits of the dead went to the beautiful village, and that there was a passageway through the mountains to the depths of the lake with four chambers, where the priests of the divinities rest in their journey to the sacred waters. This myth is dramatized in a peculiar way in the kivas at the initiation of the children.

The superstition is that no male child can after death enter the spirit lake or have access to the sacred village in its depths unless he receives the sacred breath of the spiritual divinities, the Sootike. There are accordingly persons appointed who are to appear at the ceremony of initiation of the children and represent the different parts of the sky. The first ceremony takes place in the open air by day. The priest of the sun enters the sacred plaza, draws the sacred square with the sacred meal, a yellow line in the east, a blue line in the west, a red line in the south. Along these lines the god-fathers pass, each one holding the god-child on his back. As he passes the line the "Sootike" strikes the child with a large bunch of Spanish bayonets with such force at times as to draw tears to the eyes. These Sootike are persons appointed who are endowed with the breath and represent the "different parts of the sky." The next ceremony takes place at night. In this the figure of a plumed serpent is introduced as a symbol of the rain god and carried by messengers of the "sky divinities." They wear masks; those for the north, yellow; those for the west, blue; those for the south, red; those for the east, white; those for the heavens, all colors; those for the earth, black. These come to the village after sundown. They carry a serpent made of hide, about twelve feet long and eighteen inches through, the abdomen painted white, the back black with white stars. They pass through the town, visit each kiva and put the head of the ser-
pent through the hatchway. This signifies the rain cloud passing over the mountains and occasionally descending into the valleys, bringing water and rain to the villages. This ceremony was a sacred drama which represents the "divinities of the sky," and takes place in the sacred kivas once in four years. An old priest stands and blows through the body of the serpent with a peculiar noise resembling that of a sea monster. The arrangement within the kiva is peculiar. The father of the sun sits upon a throne at the west end of the room. The high priest and priestess on either side of the throne. The war god sits at the left of the fire altar and feeds the sacred flames. The god-parents sit upon a stone ledge, which represents the third stage of the creation, each with a boy by his side on the ledge. Inside of the kiva are mounds of sand, on which are wands of feathers. Messengers of the north, east, south and west take these feathers, and go to each child and blow the sacred breath over the plumes into the mouth of the child. After this the feathered serpent appears. The high priest of the bow, of the sky, the priestess of the earth, ascend to the hatchway, holding a large earthen bowl to catch the water poured from the mouth of the serpent, Ko-lo-o-owit-si. Each god-father carries the holy water to the boys to drink, and makes a gift of the bowl to the boy. After this the priests catch the seed which is sent from the abdomen of the serpent, in their blankets, and distribute the seeds to all present. In the morning the boys are taken from their homes to a distance from the village where they plant prayer plumes and make prayers to the sky divinities, the child repeating the prayers after the god-father. Here, then, we have sky worship, as among the eastern tribes, and it has the same elements, a belief in the future, a dependence upon the powers of nature, the presence of divinities, the necessity of initiation into sacred rites in order to take the benefits of the nature powers. The imagery is all drawn from the mountains, lakes, and rivers, and the personification of the rain clouds and the snow, but the symbolical geography is complete.
Chapter VII.

The Pyramid in America.

The pyramid as a religious symbol is the subject of this paper. We are first to inquire about the origin, growth and early use of the pyramid, and ascertain by this means, if possible, how the pyramid came to be a symbol. We shall, however, consider the pyramid as it is found in America, rather than Oriental countries, for we have here the earliest forms and the successive stages, and the primitive uses, and reasoning from analogy, we judge, that these will give us the real explanation. We go on the supposition that America is the home of the pyramid, at least one of the homes, and that here we have a history of its growth and development.

I. Our first point is as to the prevalence of the pyramid in America. It is well known that there are many pyramidal structures on the continent; they may not be perfect pyramids like those of Egypt, nor are many of them as massive as those upon the banks of the Nile, yet they are very interesting and numerous, and are worthy of study.

1. Let us consider the different classes of the pyramids on the continent. The pyramids of America differ from those in Asia and Egypt, in that they embrace a series of structures which are more or less in the pyramidal form, but which vary in size and shape, and are scattered over all parts of the continent. Under this head may be mentioned the rude and primitive mounds which are scattered through the Gulf States, but which have the pyramidal form. This would constitute the first class. Similar to these, but differing in geographical location and in size, are the massive pyramids of Mexico, many of which such as Cholula and Xochicalco, were natural eminences on which artificial structures were erected. This constitutes a second class. Next to these the terraced pyramids of Mexico and of Central America. These are wholly artificial; and were, for the most part, erected for religious purposes, and yet there is little difference between them and the palaces found in the same region. This constitutes the third class. Under the fourth class we should embrace those structures which are found associated with palaces, but which were pyramidal in form and were undoubtedly used for the sacred purposes of worship. This would leave for the fifth class the few perfect pyramids, such as are found at Teotihuacan in Mexico, and at certain places in Peru. It will be seen from this that the pyramids of America are quite numerous,
and that they form a very important feature in the prehistoric architecture of the country.

We give a series of cuts to illustrate these points: First, a view of the pyramidal mounds in Yazoo Pass, Miss., Fig. 1; second, a view of the pyramid of Cholula, Mexico, Fig. 2; third, the terraced palace called "the Governor's House," at Uxmal, Fig. 3; fourth, the pyramid and palace at Palenque, Fig. 4; fifth, the pyramid at Teotihuacan, Fig. 5. These represent the different classes of pyramids in America. We call attention to the variety of types in these figures.

It is singular what types of structure rule in the building of pyramids in America. In Egypt every pyramid seemed to have been built after the same pattern. In America every pyramid was erected after its own pattern; scarcely two being found anywhere upon the continent which were alike, and few which resemble those of Egypt. Resemblances have been drawn between the terraced pyramids of America and those of Assyria,
and some have supposed that we have an Assyrian instead of an Egyptian type; but the so-called terraced pyramids in America constitute only one class, and others differ so much from this class that we cannot say that the Assyrian type rules. A resemblance has been traced between the stone structures of Mexico and the pyramidal mounds of the Mississippi Valley, and some have undertaken to trace an American type of pyramid. This seems more plausible than either of the preceding conjectures; and yet the pyramids of Mexico differ so much from one another, and the mounds also differ, that it is difficult to trace any one type in them.

2. The size of the pyramid is to be considered. A comparison has been drawn between the pyramids of America and of Egypt. It has been said that the pyramid of Cahokia and of Cholula are fully equal to those of Ghizeh and of Mycerinus. We must, however, distinguish between the horizontal extension of a natural or artificial heap of earth, and the elaborate layers of stone, and grant to the Egyptians the more elaborate structures. Cahokia covers twelve acres; but was only ninety feet high, and it is uncertain whether it was natural or artificial. Cholula is larger at the base than any one of the Old World
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

Pyramids, over twice as large as that of Cheops, but only slightly higher than that of Mycerinus. Many visitors have believed that the pyramid is only partly artificial, the "brick work" having been added to a smaller natural hill. Humboldt says: "The construction of the teocali recalls the oldest monuments which the history of our civilization reaches. The temple Jupiter Belus, the pyramids of Meidoum, and Daghour, and several of the group of Sakkahra were also immense heaps of bricks, the remains of which have been preserved during a period of 30 centuries down to our day." A distinction must be, however, drawn between the ruins of artificial structures and the immense earth-heaps; and the imagination is to be restrained in its efforts to draw the comparison. There is no pyramid in America which ever reached the height of the Egyptian, and no palace which was ever as elaborate as those in Assyria.

3. The geographical distribution. It has already been noticed that the pyramids of America are scattered over a large part of the continent. They seem, however, to be confined to certain belts of latitude. In a general way their location resembles that of the pyramids in the Eastern hemisphere. The pyramid seems to be a structure peculiar to the warm climate. It is probable that they were all devoted to sun-worship, and this will account for their having
been confined to the torrid regions, sun-worship being the religion which prevails in those regions.

In order to understand the number and sizes of the pyramids of America the reader is requested to examine the appended table, which gives the various structures, with their location and character and dimensions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY AND PLACE</th>
<th>CLASS OF STRUCTURE</th>
<th>PART OF STRUCTURE</th>
<th>DIAMETER</th>
<th>HEIGHT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GUATEMALA.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Zakuleu.</td>
<td>Pyramid.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>102 ft sq.</td>
<td>28 ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carquil.</td>
<td>Pyramid.</td>
<td>Two stories.</td>
<td>60 feet sq.</td>
<td>45 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yachas.</td>
<td>Pyramid.</td>
<td>Five stories.</td>
<td>66 feet sq.</td>
<td>45 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikal.</td>
<td>Pyramid.</td>
<td>Two stories.</td>
<td>72 ft x 24 ft.</td>
<td>86 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttan.</td>
<td>Palace.</td>
<td>Three terraces.</td>
<td>1100 x 200</td>
<td>120 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttan.</td>
<td>Fortress.</td>
<td>First terrace.</td>
<td>66 feet sq.</td>
<td>33 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HONDURAS.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copan.</td>
<td>Temple or place.</td>
<td></td>
<td>62 x 800 ft.</td>
<td>70 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YUCATAN.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulum.</td>
<td>Governor's House.</td>
<td>Second terrace.</td>
<td>546 feet sq.</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulum.</td>
<td>Governor's House.</td>
<td>Third terrace.</td>
<td>100 x 360</td>
<td>40 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxmal.</td>
<td>Governor's House.</td>
<td>Tower.</td>
<td>200 x 300</td>
<td>65 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHIAPAS.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Palace I.</td>
<td>First terrace.</td>
<td>200 x 120</td>
<td>50 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Palace I.</td>
<td>Summit.</td>
<td>180 x 228</td>
<td>30 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Palace I.</td>
<td>Tower G.</td>
<td>30 feet sq.</td>
<td>30 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Temple of 3 Tablets.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>20 x 100 long</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Temple of the Cross.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>35 feet</td>
<td>35 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Temple of the Cross.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>134 feet</td>
<td>134 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Temple of the Cross.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>50 x 30</td>
<td>50 x 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Pyramid C.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>8 feet</td>
<td>8 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Pyramid D.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>350 feet sq.</td>
<td>19 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palenque.</td>
<td>Temple of the Sun.</td>
<td>First terrace.</td>
<td>200 x 120</td>
<td>50 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocoingo.</td>
<td>Five Terraces.</td>
<td>Summit.</td>
<td>100 x 120</td>
<td>100 x 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OAJACA.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tehuantepec.</td>
<td>Pyramid.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>12 x 12</td>
<td>3 feet</td>
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<td>Base.</td>
<td>120 x 120</td>
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<td>Palace.</td>
<td>Court.</td>
<td>36 x 100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milla.</td>
<td>Palace.</td>
<td>Buildings.</td>
<td>120 x 206</td>
<td>120 x 206</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>YUCATAN.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Zayal.</td>
<td>Palace.</td>
<td>First terrace.</td>
<td>60 x 220</td>
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<td>Zayal.</td>
<td>Palace.</td>
<td>Second terrace.</td>
<td>18 x 120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zayal.</td>
<td>Palace.</td>
<td>Third terrace.</td>
<td>112 x 160</td>
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<td>Nunnery.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>140 x 202</td>
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<td>Kabach.</td>
<td>Palace.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>90 feet</td>
<td>54 feet</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>VERA CRUZ.</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>38 feet</td>
<td>17 feet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Papanata.</td>
<td>Seven-storied Pyramid.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>30 feet</td>
<td>30 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misantla.</td>
<td>Pyramid.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>1440 feet sq.</td>
<td>200 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuzapan.</td>
<td>Pyramid and Shrine.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>2 miles</td>
<td>2 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEXICO.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>280 x 328</td>
<td>400 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cholula.</td>
<td>Pyramid.</td>
<td>Summit.</td>
<td>800 x 300</td>
<td>800 x 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tepanacale.</td>
<td>Natural Hill.</td>
<td>Pyramid.</td>
<td>55 x 50</td>
<td>10 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tepanacale.</td>
<td>Natural Hill.</td>
<td>Base.</td>
<td>400 x 50</td>
<td>400 x 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>House of the Moon.</td>
<td>Summit.</td>
<td>30 x 50</td>
<td>30 x 50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teotihuacan.</td>
<td>House of the Sun.</td>
<td>Citadels.</td>
<td>733 feet sq.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teotihuacan.</td>
<td>House of the Sun.</td>
<td>Circle of Mounds.</td>
<td>1240 x 1388</td>
<td>1240 x 1388</td>
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*See Fig. 8.
*See Fig. 3.
*See Frontispiece.
*See Fig. 4.
*See Fig. 13.
II. We are next to consider the question how came the pyramid to be in America. There are three theories in reference to this, namely: 1st. The autochthonous theory. 2d. The theory of a transmitted cultus. 3rd. That of a common traditionary origin.

We are to consider these theories in their order:

1. In favor of the first theory, we give the opinions of various authors. Mr. H. H. Bancroft has written considerably concerning the origin of sun worship on the continent of America. The following may be said to be an epitome of his views:*

The forces which minister to the requirements of man's physical nature may be said also to aid his intellectual progress. These forces are the configurations of the surface, the peculiarities of soil, stimulus furnished by climate, and the character and supply of food. If color and race are dependent upon climate, why might not the tinge of thought and the peculiarities of religion also. There are zoological zones in which the elephant, the hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, the lion and the tiger abound. There are other zones in which the wolf, the fox, the bear, and other hardy creatures are numerous. The character of the animals seems to partake of the nature of the surroundings. It is so with man, his habits, disposition, character, seem to be affected by climate and surroundings, and so was his religion. Sun worship prevailed in Egypt, in Babylonia, and on the banks of the Ganges, even when the civilization of those regions had reached its height. The religions of the people inhabiting these lands were naturally sensuous. Sun worship was a sensuous system. It always appeared among a self-indulgent and luxurious people, and was always attended with sensuous rites. It differed from animal worship in this respect. Some would regard it as the result of a sedentary life, and as attendant upon agricultural pursuits, but it was more owing to the subtle influence of the climate and the physical surroundings, than the employment. Agriculture might lead to a sense of dependence upon the great luminary, and so the thoughts would be directed to it as to a divinity. The blazing heat of the sun would suggest to the inhabitants of the torrid regions many traits of a personal character, and the different phases of the sun would be interpreted as the varied moods of a divinity. There was a combination of the nature powers in the torrid regions which made them seem like divinities to the people. Storm and sunshine, clouds and darkness, night and day, lightning and thunder, rain and wind, were all divinities. Some of them symbolized war and death, others symbolized wine and self indulgence. There was a strange mingling of personal gods and the powers of nature in all these regions.

It was so among the Greeks, as well as well as among the

Hindoos. The religions of these well-known people are supposed to be the result of climate and of physical surroundings. They can all be traced back to an original nature worship. Nature powers were personified and at last were worshiped as personal beings, the material form having dropped out from the popular conception. Dionysius, the god of wine, Venus, the goddess of lust, Apollo, the god of manly beauty, Mercury, the god of letters, Mars, the god of war, were originally planets which attended the great sun divinity. Zeus himself was the son of the sun. His father, Saturn, was a sun-god, the father of all the gods. We might go on. Such are the views which have become very fashionable. According to these views, the architectural structures of this country, such as the animal mounds, the earth circles, pyramidal mounds, terraced pyramids, and the sun temples, were all the result of a natural development.

The theory of the autochthonous origin of the pyramid has many advocates. Still, there are several difficulties in the case. (1). We are not sure that the conical mounds grew into the pyramidal earthworks or that the pyramidal earthworks have anything to do with the stone pyramids of Mexico, or that the stone pyramids of Mexico and Central America had their development on the American soil, as they are widely scattered, and no one race can be said to have built them. (2). The traditions which have prevailed among the different tribes and races, among which these various structures are found, point to a diverse origin, for each of them, and come in as a conflicting and rebutting evidence; at least there are cross lines which must be reconciled before the theory is complete. The northern tribes migrated from the northwest and erected their tumuli and remained in their savage condition, and never developed beyond the rude animal worship. The tribes in the Gulf States also migrated from the west, but found the pyramids in the region and only adopted them as suitable to their modes of worship. The civilized tribes of Mexico also migrated from the north, but they found a culture which preceded them and so the whole subject is wrapped in a mystery and it is only conjecture when we say that one stage developed out of the other and one structure gave rise to another, for the people were diverse and their origin seemed to have been also diverse.

2. The second theory is to be considered. It is that the pyramid was introduced into America. Religion might be transported as well as developed. Of course there would be a transformation as it was transported. It would naturally come to be accommodated to its surroundings. In this way we may account for the pyramid, the circle, the serpent, and other symbols in America. Mythologists acknowledge that there was a traditionary religion in Asia and other countries of the east. And much of the symbolism in those countries is owing to
tradition. The two lines are to be recognized. The traditional faith and the natural development of thought. This is illustrated in the case of the pyramid. This is supposed by some to have sprung up on Egyptian soil as a structure devoted to sun worship; by others to have been a mere adaptation of a structure to the purpose. It was originally an imitation of the traditionary mountain from which the first ancestors migrated, and this mountain was the type after which the pyramid was built. This we may see in the mythology of the Greeks.

The theory of a transmitted symbolism is one which cannot be altogether rejected, for it has too many things in its favor for that. It is noticeable that this theory which the celebrated Max Müller advocates, though his views have more regard to the languages, myths than to symbolism, and more to the Indo-European race than to any of the Allophyllian tribes or peoples.

Fig. 4.—Pyramid at Palenque.

3. The third theory is, however, the one which just now is the most interesting, and the most novel. It is that the pyramid was patterned after a tradition, the tradition of the mountains of the North. This brings us to the main point. Dr. Warren has spoken of the mountain which was the pivot of the world, and would make the pyramid to be in imitation of the mountain of the north. According to this theory the pyramid of Egypt would be the pivot of the earth, a theory which Dr. J. H. Seiss has carried out to an alarming extent. According to this theory the symbolism of the east and the west, especially that which embraced traditions and astronomical signs, was derived from the early tradition of the mountain of the north. The following may be regarded as a summary of these views:

The Greeks had no pyramids, and we rarely recognize even he circular tower, and yet there was a latent symbolism in the
Greek mythology, which reminds us of the traditionary mountains. Zeus had his abode upon Mt. Olympus, and Juno was his consort. The temples to Saturn and to Jupiter were mere shrines. They did not admit the worshipers but were only the abode of the divinity, the same as the shrines upon the summit of the pyramids of Chaldea. They were also placed upon high rocks to typify the mountain. This conception of the mountain being the primitive place of worship, the abode of the gods, and the center of creation was common among all the Asiatic races. The Mount of Meru or Harmoezd was the pillar of the sky and the navel of the earth. It was situated in Thibet, the primitive home of the human race. Olympus, Parnassus, Ida, were reproductions of it. This same world mountain was, however, known to the Egyptians. The famous oracle of Jupiter-Ammon was at Meroe, which possibly was named after Mt. Meroe or Meru. The Hindoos maintain that Mt. Meru is the navel of the earth. The Chinese terrestrial paradise was at the center of the earth—the palace of the center. Dr. Wm F. Warren maintains that the ancient Mexicans conceived the cradle of the human race to be situated in the farthest north, upon the highest mountains surrounded by clouds, the residence of Tlaloc, the god of rain. We recognize in these traditions the prevalence of a primitive nature worship, as well as to the original abode of the human race. The question arises whether the pyramid was the outgrowth of this primitive tradition and the result of a transmitted faith. Dr. Warren
says, "the stupendous terraced pyramid of Cholulul was a copy and symbol of the sacred paradise mountain of Aztec tradition, which was described as standing in the center of the middle country. The national temple of Tialoc stood in the center of the city of Mexico, whence four causeway roads conducted east, west, north and south. In the center of the temple was a richly ornamented pillar of peculiar sanctity."

The center and capitol of Peru was Cuzco, (bl., "navel,") whence to the borders of the kingdoms branched off four great highways, north, south, east and west, each traversing one of the four provinces into which Peru was divided. Dr. Warren quotes Gerald Massey who holds that the Mound-builders had retained this tradition, "Some of the large mounds left in Mississipi were called navels by the Chickasaws, although the Indians are said not to have had any idea whether these were natural mounds or artificial structures. They thought Mississipi was at the center of the earth' and the mounds were as the navel in the middle of the human body."

Dr. W. F. Warren has written a book which, to some, will account for the pyramid in America exactly as it accounts for the pyramid in Assyria and in Egypt, and prove that there was a common source for the pyramid in both countries. Some might object to this and say that the theory in the book was based upon mere conjecture, and that there is no more plausibility to this than the first theory. We are, however, inclined to accept the facts as brought out by this book and to say that the tradition of the "mountain of the north," the "holy mountain," the "primitive abode of the gods," the "starting place of the human race," is to be discovered on this continent as well as in the historic regions of the east. Dr. Warren has referred to the tradition among the Choctaws, that at the time of the creation, a superior being came down from above and alighting near the center of the Choctaw town, threw up a large mound or hill called the "sloping hill." Then he caused the red people to come out of it, and when he supposed a sufficient number had come out he stamped on the ground with his foot. When this signal of his power was given, some were partly formed, others were just raising their heads above the mud, emerging into life and struggling for life. We have no doubt that many other traditions and customs might be ascribed to the same source. Of course the theory of the local origin of these myths will be offset to this one of the common origin, and yet we have the fact before us and are to keep our minds open to the suggestions whether overthrowing a theory of our own or not.

III. Our third inquiry is as to the development of the pyramid on the American continent. 1. There are writers who maintain

that the mounds or tumuli found in the Mississippi valley, are the primordial forms of the pyramid, and that there is an unbroken succession of structures on the American continent, from which the pyramid was developed. The theory is, that this succession of pyramidal works furnishes to us a view of the various stages through which the pyramids in Egypt and Assyria passed before they reached their perfection. This is a very plausible theory and one that needs to be considered. It makes the prehistoric works of America, all the more interesting if we are to regard them as the forerunners of such remarkable historic works as the pyramids were. If it was the same continent that produced this series, we should certainly conclude that we had learned the history of the pyramid. But, as the prehistoric series has disappeared from Asiatic countries, we are glad to recognize this succession of steps on the American continent even if we have to span a wide gulf to make the early historic and the prehistoric to connect. There are types here which seem to have anticipated the more advanced pyramids elsewhere, and we might imagine that these were the types from which the historic pyramids grew. There are also various structure which seem to furnish different stages of the growth of the pyramid, and it is very easy for us to make out a plausible and interesting theory and imagine that we have a perfect picture of what the pyramids in the East were before the historic structures were erected. We might conjecture many things and say that there was a gradual development from the one to the other. These different earthworks found in the Mississippi valley, show the stages through which the Mexican pyramid passed on its way to completion. We might imagine that the large conical mounds and so-called haystack mounds form connecting links between the tumuli and the truncated pyramids, and that the terraced platform houses of the Pueblos formed the connecting links between the inhabited earthworks of the Mississippi Valley and the lofty teocalli found near the City of Mexico, and conclude that we had proven a succession of structures and a sure line of growth or development. These three links or steps in the order of progress which are found in the burial mounds, pyramidal earthworks, and the sacred teocalli would to some prove that the pyramid had its origin and growth on this continent. We might refer to the correlation of these different structures, to the state of society and to the different modes of worship, and
say that the tumuli were built by a savage people and devoted to the rude primitive animal worship. And that the truncated pyramids were erected by an agricultural people, and devoted to sun worship, and that the teocalli belonged to a civilized people and were devoted to the highest form of nature worship possible. This view has a great deal of plausibility about it, and yet great caution is needed in reference to it.

2. We illustrate these points by a series of figures. First, by an ordinary truncated mound from the Ohio valley. Fig. 6. Second, by the view of the mound at Cahokia. Fig. 7. Third, by the cluster of platforms and pyramids which are found at Copan in Central America. Fig. 8.

It will be noticed that there is a complete series here, and that there are some remarkable resemblances between these structures and those of Oriental countries, especially in the grouping of the mounds near together, and in the arrangement of the terraces along with the pyramids. It will be noticed that these structures are scattered and situated in different parts of the continent, but this only illustrates how numerous pyramids are on the continent. The subject is suggestive, and we might dwell upon the analogies and resemblances, but we use the figures only to illustrate the point.

It will be noticed that there are great resemblances between the American pyramids.

These resemblances are found, first, in the location of the pyramids among a sedentary people, the Mound-builders and the Mexicans both being partially civilized; second, the shape of the structures are very similar. They are platforms on which, formerly, temporary structures were erected. If they were temples, they were temples which were inhabited; third, the probable use of these structures. The pyramidal mounds of the Mississippi Valley and the platform pyramids of Central America, were undoubtedly devoted to the form of worship. There were shrines on all these pyramids which were dedicated to the sun. The resemblances between all the pyramids in America are very strik-
ing. This constitutes the strongest argument for an autochthonous origin.

3. We are to consider what may be safe ground as to the development of the pyramid in America. The following are suggestive points:

(1.) The primordial forms of the pyramid may be discovered here, the mounds generally being regarded as the germ of the pyramid. (2.) The successive stages through which the pyramid passed, are exhibited in the different kinds of mounds. (3.) The typical pyramid with its terraces and shrines is found in Mexico and Central America. (4.) The use of the pyramid as a sacred structure and as a symbol of nature worship is learned here. The perfect pyramid is not discovered, and yet the earlier forms are very common.

Fig. 8.—Platforms and Pyramids at Copan.

The Mound-builder's pyramid certainly shows uniformity. The Aztec pyramid may also be recognized in Mexico. The Maya architecture may also be recognized in the pyramids of Yucatan. The Peruvian style of architecture may also be recognized in the pyramids of Peru. It is possible that we shall yet trace a common type in all the pyramids; but that is as far as we may go. The race quality, or the ethnic quality may be recognized in the type of the pyramids. Some have undertaken to show a connection between mounds and Mexican structures. Others have undertaken to trace a resemblance between Aztec and Toltec, and between the Nahua and the Maya; but this is a difficult task. The variety of types baffle every investigation of the kind. Prof. Short says: "Maya architecture furnishes evidences of growth, and may be classified into the Chiapan or ancient, and the Yucatan or modern styles. It is a question,
however, whether the distinction between the ancient and the modern type of pyramid can be clearly established." The Chiapan or ancient style is exhibited in the imposing remains of Palenque; but the pyramids of Uxmal differ materially from those at Palenque, and we have so diverse types in the same region, that we are at a loss to determine which is the earlier and which later.

IV. This brings us to the question of the object of the pyramid and the law of the parallel development. The parallel lines are very manifest. It is in accord with the general law of progress. The architecture of the east seems to have developed in about the same order that it did in the west. If we take any of the departments of architecture, its earliest use and form, its ordinary ornamentation, the religious symbolism, which embodied itself in it and the technic arts which found their scope there, we shall find a parallel in each.

Fig. 9.—Mound at St. Louis.

1. For instance, the idea of utility. Ferguson says: "The wigwam grew into a hut, the hut into a house, the house into palace, the palace into a temple, by well defined and easily traced graduations." And yet he says "those styles which are admired through all time are in the original, the products of ethnical taste." According to this theory we might say that burial was the purpose for which the pyramid was erected, and that the law of utility as well as of ethnical taste, would account for it. Utility and worship were combined in many of these prehistoric pyramids. We can hardly account for the earthworks, or for the platforms of the pyramids, unless they were used for habitation as well as for purposes of worship. It is probable that they were the foundations for the houses of the chiefs, and that the worship of the people was led by the chief.
or by the priest who belongs to his household. It has been known that many of the large pyramidal mounds were used as burial places; this would show that utility and worship were combined. The great mound at St. Louis contained a burial chamber 75 feet long, 12 feet wide, 8 feet high, and several bodies were contained in it, which were covered with beads, and other paraphernalia of royalty. We give a cut to illustrate this: Fig. 9. The pyramid of Cahokia is another specimen which proves that utility and worship were combined. It will be seen that there were platforms and terraces in this pyramid, and it arose in successive stages to a very considerable height. The size of this earthwork shows that it was used for habitation. It covers nearly twelve acres, and was six hundred feet in diameter at the base, but only about 90 feet high. It is possible that it was built for a refuge in high water, or it may have been like the other structures in the South, designed as a platform on which the caciques might build their houses. The terraces, however, show a diverse use and it is very probable that on the summit there were fires kept lighted as sacred to the sun. This structure reminds us of the sacred mountains of the North, and has striking analogies to the pyramids of Mexico, as well as to those in Assyria. There were three uses to this earthwork. It was a burial place and abode for the people and a massive temple to the sun, and illustrates the point. See Fig. 7.

2. The law of ethnic development is an important point and illustrates the case. There are several elements which constitute the basis for architectural progress, or the source of architectural growth. The advance of art and architecture was as follows: First, the hemispherical mounds; second, the pyramidal platforms; third, the terraced pyramids; fourth, the massive and finished pyramids, with its simple and silent shape impressing one with an air of mystery. Subsequent to this, the mechanical principles came in. The arch, the pier and lintel, and other parts of the building. But for the purposes of worship, the simple pyramid seems to have been the most effective, and the effect may have been owing to the proportions. It seems strange that these pyramids in America should have assumed proportions which are so true to nature and so expressive of grandeur. The towers at Mugheir and Birs, Nimroud in Assyria, are not more correct in their proportions than are these. The pyramids of Cheops and Mycolenus and others upon the Nile are, to be sure, higher than are any of the pyramidal mounds of America. And yet the universal testimony of travelers is, that these mounds are very impressive. Such is the case with the great mound at Cahokia, and it is true, to a certain extent, even of the conical mounds. Their size, their proportions and their situation combining to produce a very singular impression upon the mind.
This is one of the most remarkable features of the prehistoric works of this country. They were designed as religious structures, and the sense of awe and fear existed in the minds of the builders to a wonderful extent. (3.) The impressibility of the human mind is another point. Architectural grandeur is often found in primitive structures, giving the impression that this sense was strong in the primitive mind. The pyramids of Egypt, the topes of the Buddhists, the mounds of the Etruscans, depend almost wholly for their effect upon their dimensions. This is the case in America: pyramids were made massive to impress the minds of the people. There are, to be sure, a few places where high art and elaborate ornamentation were made to gratify the sense of beauty and the more delicate emotions, but mass was mainly depended upon. The mounds are often impressive on account of their size. They are placed upon high hills and by this means they are made impressive. Their outlines when thrown against the sky give an impression of grandeur, which is irresistible. At times the gateways to the sacred enclosures are erected in the pyramidal shape, and have a massiveness about them which give the same impression. The simplicity of these structures add to the impressiveness. It may seem strange that the mounds and earthworks of the Mississippi Valley should be compared to the pyramids of Egypt; and yet we are convinced that many of the elements of grandeur were embodied in both classes of structures. We may say the same impression was made upon a rude people by these massive earthworks that were made upon a more cultivated people by the more finished stone structures. Simplicity and grandeur, solidity and the sense of the sublime were combined in them all. The propylae before the temples at Carnac, in Egypt, are scarcely more impressive than are the rude massive walls which form the gateway to the sacred enclosure at Newark.

The pyramids of Cheops are scarcely more impressive, notwithstanding their size, than are the massive pyramidal mounds which lift their heads above the high bluffs which overlook the valley and the city of Vincennes. The pyramidal mound at Cahokia gives the same impression, although this was erected upon the level plain and not upon an eminence. The sense of grandeur is exhibited by many of the pre-historic works of America. The pyramid form seems to have favored this. The pyramid of Cholulu in Mexico, the great teocalli at Uxmal, were impressive works of architecture; their very simplicity and massiveness, giving a sense of stability, and it may be that type of structure was adopted as much for its effect as for any other reason. The solid works were first given to sun worship.

We find there striking analogies between the pyramids in the west and the east. The three uses to which the pyramidal
mounds were subject are very suggestive. In the first place
the fact that they were burial places reminds us of the pyra-
mids of Egypt. The earliest kings of Egypt utilized the pyra-
mid for this purpose, and it is said that the "mastaba" or square
built tomb found in Egypt was the structure which there an-
ticipated the pyramid. Second, the fact that the terraces and
summits of these pyramidal mounds were used as the places
from which the morning salutation was given to the rising sun
is suggestive of the use of the terraced pyramid in Assyria.
The terraces there were devoted to the different planets and on
the summit of the pyramid in Mexico, there was a shrine.
Three of the pyramidal mounds were inhabited and so were the
elevated platforms of Assyria and Babylonia. This analogy
between the structures of the east and the west is most remark-
ble. The question arises, however, whether these pyramidal
mounds were symbolic structures. They were devoted to sun
worship and may have been symbols. It has been conjectured
that they were oriented, as the pyramids of Egypt were, yet this
is doubtful. They were sometimes surrounded by circular walls
and enclosures, giving the idea that the sun symbol was in-
tended. The terraces with which the pyramids abound have
been explained in the same way. There are certain pyramidal
mounds which have very high conical tumuli on the summit, as
if the purpose was to light fires upon them which should be
sacred to the sun. The fact that they were used by the na-
tives, subsequent to the discovery of America, for the purpose
of sun worship, is another proof. The fact also, that they were
in the territory of the agricultural races and that they belonged
to the stage or grade of civilization in which sun worship pre-
vailed. We should say then that the rudimentary and primi-
tive forms of worship were exhibited here and that we have in
the pyramid a prehistoric structure which was anticipated of
the historic pyramid. Primitive Sabeanism prevailed here as
well as among the Chaldeans, so that we may examine the
structures in America and ascertain what that system was in
prehistoric times elsewhere.

V. This brings us to the subject of the pyramid as a re-
ligious structure. Were we to study the pyramids of Mexico
and of Central America and ascertain their religious significance
we might learn from these how the pyramids of the east, came
to be used as they were. One perhaps will throw light upon
the other. There is no doubt that the pyramid was primarily
devoted to sun worship. This was one of the uses to which
the pyramids in America were subjected; it was the chief use
to which the stone pyramids were consecrated. The historical
and traditional records show this. There may be exaggerations
in some of these accounts, and yet it is evident that the pyra-
mids were devoted to sun worship and that many bloody sacri-
fices were offered. The tocalli reeked with human gore. The
Native American Symbolism.

Victims were taken to the summits, were prostrated upon the sacrificial stone, their bodies laid open by the priests, their hearts torn out, while still quivering, and thrown into the face of the sun, while the forms were hurled down the steps of the pyramid to the bottom. It was a bloody and cruel scene. Long lines of victims were said to stand waiting to be sacrificed. There is no doubt that long processions marched around the terraces and approached the shrine on the summit. It was a cruel divinity which they worshipped—the sun divinity—notwithstanding the beneficence which was ascribed to him. The sacrificial stones, both covered with symbols of sun worship, but in the midst of the symbols was the channel which would carry off the flood from the face of the sun. The symbol was covered with the blood of human victims and this was called washing the face of the sun. The pyramid in Mexico was de-

![Fig. 10.—Palace and Pyramid at Palenque.](image)

voted to the most cruel practices. We do not learn that human sacrifices were offered on the pyramids of the east, and yet we are not sure but that they may have been practiced in prehistoric times. The instrument of sacrifice, the stone knife, is seen depicted among the hieroglyphs of Egypt and a few are supposed to have survived the earliest times. The sacrifices by Abraham of his son Isaac on the mountain would indicate that the practice had prevailed in that region.

* Bancroft says: "The basis of the foundation structures are usually rectangular, the largest dimensions being 1500 feet square, as at Zoy; while many have sides of from 300 to 300 feet. Most of them have two or more terrace platforms, from 30 to 60 feet high. Most of them have stairways, some of them 100 feet wide. All the pyramids are truncated, none forming points at the top. The edifices are usually built on a summit platform; one building on a summit, but in some of them enclosing a courtyard. The buildings are long, low and narrow, the greatest height 31 feet, greatest width 39 feet, greatest length 32 feet."
The association of the pyramids with temples, shrines and palaces is to be considered in this connection. In some of the localities, as at Copan, the structures are crowded together in close proximity and a strange combination of pyramids, platforms, temples and shrines is apparent. See Fig. 8. It would seem from this that worship was as much an object as habitation. If fires were lighted upon the summit of the pyramids, then the number of them surrounding one massive platform would be exceedingly impressive. It was a strange superstition which should crowd the temples and the palaces so near together and then cover them all with a glare of sacrificial fires. The stairways were steep, the platforms elevated, the shrines were some of them in the most mysterious shapes, while obelisks and idol pillars stood about the foot of the stair-cases. Everything that could make the place impressive and cover it with the air of mystery, was devised. In Mexico the stair-cases were guarded by immense serpents' heads, the bodies of which formed the balustrades or rails to the stair-cases. The shrines on the summit were some of them in the shape of serpents' mouths held wide open, and

* Bancroft says of this pyramid: "Here we have a square enclosure: its sides 150 feet, bounded by a terrace 3 feet high, 12 feet wide. Back of the terrace, on three sides, stand walls 20 feet high. The north side of the square is bounded by the steep sides of a central cliff. In the centre of this enclosure is a truncated pyramid with a base of 80 x 80 feet, 19 feet high, divided into several stories. In front of the pyramid, and nearly in the centre of the square, stands a kind of altar, 7 feet square and 5 feet high. A very clear idea of this square is given in the following cut and presents an interior view. The pyramid, the central altar, the eastern terrace with its steps, standing walls, and the natural cliff, are all clearly portrayed."
the fires that were burning within made them fearful to look upon, showing that cruelty was the spirit which prevailed here. In Yucatan the worship was more peaceful, but the architecture was more elaborate. Our supposition is that the pyramids were temples sacred to sun-worship and were symbolic structures.

We give a cut of the so-called palace and pyramid at Palenque, and the pyramid accompanying it to show that there may have been a combination of palaces and of temples (Fig. 10) in the same structure or in close proximity. There is no doubt that one of these buildings was a palace and occupied by the cacique of the village or city, but that the temple was in close proximity to it on the pyramid, which is in the background. The view of Charnay is “that these ancient cities were occupied by a people among whom the ranks and grades of society were very distinct, and that the buildings in ruins are the remains of palaces and temples. The huts of the common people have perished.” This is in opposition to the theory advanced by Mr. L. H. Morgan that they were the communistic houses, and that the common people dwelt in these as well as the chiefs. The illustration, we think, refutes the theory. Mr. H. H. Bancroft has undertaken to restore one of these palaces and its accompanying pyramid and shrine—the one at Palenque. Whether the restoration is correct or not we conclude that the explanation is a good one. Fig. 10.

Still there are those who deny this and who would make the pyramid a place of habitation or a fortress. Mr. Ad. F. Bandelier, has made a study of this pyramid of Cholula. He calls it a fortified pueblo, and says: “If we imagine the plateaus and aprons around it, covered with houses, possibly of large size, like those at Uxmal and Palenque, or on a scale intermediate between them and the Pecos communal dwellings, and many other places in New Mexico, we have then, on the mound of Cholula, as it then was, room for a large aboriginal population.” This, however, reduces the sacred structures of Mexico and Yucatan to a very common-place condition, and would do away with the religious sentiment which was so powerful. The historical annals of the aborigines prove that the chief object of this pyramid was to support a temple. At the time of the conquest there was a stairway which led up the slope to the temple. The Spaniards under Hernando de Cortez had a fierce hand to hand conflict on the slopes and notwithstanding the desperate resistance of the natives, they burned the magnificent structure on the top.

The number and variety of the pyramids would prove that they were all used for religious purpose. Writers have speculated as to who were the builders of the pyramids in Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras, and have endeavored to trace a resemblance between the Nahua and the Maya religions. There is
The Pyramid in America.

No doubt that the two were very similar, and that the same cult which prevailed in Mexico during the time of the Conquest, prevailed in Uxmal and Palenque in prehistoric times. The study of the ruins in all of these localities, reveals a remarkable resemblance in the structures. There are pyramids at Tusapan, Papantla, at Misantla, at Centla, in Vera Cruz, which formerly had shrines upon the summit and which were ascended by wide flights of steps. They show that the pyramidal type was the structure which was devoted to worship. The ruins of Oajaca, of Mitla, and the pyramid at Tehuantepec show the same thing. Mitla was a palace, and yet there are pyramids here. The pyramid of Tehuantepec was erected with stair-cases on the four sides and plastered, hemispherical walls forming the corners. A highly ornamented platform and shrines on the summit.

VI. We are to consider the analogies which exist between the symbolisms of the two continents, especially that which is found in the pyramidal structures. These analogies have never that we are aware of, been traced out, and yet they are many and interesting. We shall first take up the pyramids of Egypt and their uses and see what structures in America resembled them; next, consider the terraced pyramids of Assyria and Chaldea, and lastly speak of the traditionary views which have embodied themselves in many structures both in the Oriental continent and the American continent. (1.) Let us consider the pyramids of Egypt. In Egypt the pyramids are so-called perfect pyramids, that is, their sides are smooth inclined planes, the steps having been filled in and the whole veneered. No such pyramids are found in America, though there are occasionally structures whose face seemed to have been built up smoothly and covered with plaster. In one respect the pyramids of Egypt resemble the pyramids of America, especially the pyramidal mounds. They were devoted to burial purposes. There are sixty-six pyramids in Egypt. The oldest is supposed to be that of Senefru, of the fourth dynasty. It was prior to that of Cheops. The latest are supposed to be those of the twelfth dynasty, those of Lake Meros. All of these were sepulchers. It is a question which antedated the other, the Assyrian or the Egyptian. Lenormant says that "temples in the form of pyramids (that is, pyramidal or terraced temples) must be considered quite a recent institution in Chaldea, as compared with what they were in the country of Shinar or Sumar, where national tradition, like that in the Bible, placed the construction of the first of them side by side with the confusion of tongues." No one dared to attribute the foundation of the original pyramids of Babylon and Borsippa to any historical king; for they were said to be the work of a "very ancient king," or perhaps even more correctly of "the most ancient king" or "first king." This is an interesting inquiry. In America burial mounds probably preceded
pyramidal earth-works, at least in the order of succession, if not in date. The question is whether the pyramid as a burial place antedated that which was used as a temple devoted to sun-worship. It is maintained by some that the tope and the tumulus gave rise to the pyramid, and that the platform temples were a later invention. Others, however, maintain that the pyramids were originally devoted to sun worship, and that their use as a burial place was later. That it originated in the ambition of the kings to perpetuate their names and the religious idea about the necessity of the preservation of the body. It is possible, however, that the two grew on parallel lines, the terraced pyramids of Assyria on one, and the perfect pyramid of Egypt on the other. The earliest known structure in Egypt was a quadrangular building, in the shape of a truncated pyramid, called the "mastaba." It was used as a tomb. It reminds us of the truncated pyramid or pyramidal earthworks of the Mississippi Valley. Many mastabas are from 30 to 40 feet in height, 150 feet in length, and 80 feet in width, and are veneered with hewn stone. The mastabas are arranged in regular streets in Ghizeh, and in this respect they resemble the pyramids of the Gulf States, which were often arranged in rows and around a square. See Fig. 2.

The pyramidal mounds were used as burial places; this is the case of the great mound at St. Louis, also with that at Etowah, Ga., and is supposed to be the case with that at Cahokia. There is another analogy between the mastabas and the burial mounds. A superstition prevailed that the mummy or the statue was a double of the soul. The corpse received visits from the soul, which from time to time quitted the celestial regions.*

A narrow aperture was left to the "serdab" in the center of the mastaba. A similar superstition prevailed among the Mound-builders. There was a double to the soul, and frequently the skull was trephined so that the soul might go in and out, and claim the body for its own. The same superstition is supposed to have prevailed in prehistoric times in Europe. The "dolmens," which were the abodes of the dead, had holes in the stone at the door, which were supposed to be for the passage of the soul in and out of its abode.

There is another parallel found in the offerings made to the friends. In Egypt each mastaba was composed of a receptacle for the dead and a chapel for the living. The chapel was the reception room of the "double," for the idea was that a double belonged to the dead, a soul and body. The relations, friends, and priests celebrate funerary sacrifices at the commencement of the seasons. They placed offerings at the exact spot leading to the entrance to the chamber, or eternal home of the dead. Provision was made for a perpetual observance of the feast. Painted

*See Maspero's Egyptian Archeology, page 110.
or sculptured reproductions of persons and things were placed
upon the walls of the chapel, so that in years to come the "double"
might see himself depicted upon the walls in the act of eating
and drinking, and so he ate and drank. Here then we have the
animistic conception, the same conception which prevails among
the Ojibwas, who to this day build houses over graves. They
leave the sides and ends of the house open, the roof being sup-
ported by corner posts, but on the floor they place the provisions
which are offered to the spirits of the dead. They believed in
the double as much as did ever the Egyptians.

(2.) The American pyramids were devoted to sun-worship.
There is no doubt about the prevalence of sun-worship on this
continent, or the devotion of the pyramid to that cult. In Assyria
and Babylonia the pyramid was consecrated to the sun, moon and
stars, the number of the terraces being either three, after "the triad
of gods of the three worlds," or five, after the five planets, or seven,
as at Borsippa, after the sun and moon and the five planets. The
terraces were, as at Ecbatana, of different colors, according to
the sacred colors of the planets, the upper gold, the second silver,
next red, blue, yellow, white, the lowest black, according to the
hues ascribed to the sun, moon, Mercury, Jupiter, Mars, Venus
and Saturn.

The great temple of the sun at Pekin was called the Temple
of Heaven. It was also built in terraces, like the pyramids of
Chaldea. It was surrounded by a wide pavement, and in the
pavement were nine circles of standing stones, the circles repre-
senting the nine heavens, the stones increasing in nines until
the last circle was composed of eighty-one stones. In the center
of these circles was the altar at which the emperor knelt on their
New Year's Day, the twenty-first of December, at the winter
solstice, and acknowledged himself inferior to the heavens, and
offered sacrifices to secure a prosperous season. The twenty-eight
constellations of the Chinese zodiac were contained in this Temple
of Heaven. Tablets were erected to the sun, moon and stars.

The pyramids in Mexico and Central America were also built
in terraces and had shrines on their summits, and in the shrines
were tablets which were sacred to the sun and to the nature
powers. A few of these pyramids present massive serpents,
which remind us of the dragon of the east, their gigantic forms
forming balustrades, their monstrous jaws guarding the approach
to the stairways which led to their summits.

There are many places where these analogies can be traced.
We give cuts to illustrate this. We refer first to the temples at
Palenque; one of them called the "temple of the cross" (Fig.
12); another the "temple of the three tablets" (Fig. 13); a third
the "temple of the sun;" names given them from the tablets they
contained. These shrines were standing on pyramids, but were
near buildings which have been called palaces. The temple of
the cross was on a pyramid and faced the east. The "temple of the tablets" was also upon a pyramid, and facing the east. Each of the four central piers on this front has bas-reliefs in stucco, representing human figures, and each bearing in its arms an infant. The "temple of the sun" was also on the summit of a massive pyramid, and was furnished with double corridors and an open door, through which the sun might shine at its rising. This temple also had a bas-relief in its interior, on which the face of the sun could be seen peering out from the midst of many other symbols of the nature powers.

II. This brings us to the subject of the orientation of the pyramids. First, let us say that a book has recently appeared in England called "The Dawn of Astronomy." This book treats mainly of the mythology and early astronomy of Egypt, but it enables us to draw a comparison and is of great importance in understanding the subject of astrology in America. It shows the different stages through which ancient astronomy passed, and reveals the views which were held in the east and the different elements which were brought together by the history of sky worship. The author divides the observation of the heavenly bodies into three stages—the first for wonder and worship; the second for utility, the observation of the seasons, the direction of religious feasts and the processes of agriculture; the third for the knowledge of astronomical principles; the first two stages being associated with mythology.

According to Mr. Lockyer, the temples and the pyramids were all of them oriented. Some of them were oriented toward the sun while on the equator, others were oriented to the rising and setting sun at the solstices, and still others toward the stars.
The author thinks that the pyramids of Memphis, Tanis, Sais, Bubastis were equatorially oriented, that the temples of Abydos and Amen-Ra were solstitially oriented. The alignment of the temples is the most interesting feature. There are temples which are so aligned that the sun at the summer solstice shines through the whole length, 600 yards, and shines upon the shrine in the deep interior, causing it to shine with a "resplendent light." This was the case with the temple at Amen-Ra, as well as the more modern temple Edfu. The entrance to this latter temple was guarded by a massive exterior pylon. This reduced the light so that it should shine into the temple itself. Further, the arches from the entrance to the end, were covered so that within the penetralia, there was only a dim religious light, but the sun shone through the entire temple and struck upon the wall of the shrine at the back. The temple was directed toward the place of the sun's setting, and the narrowing doors were so contrived that the temple should prove a great astronomical telescope. The narrow shaft of light was directed and concentrated until it reached the shrine, which answered as the eye piece. We have here the true origin of our present method of measuring time. The magnificent burst of light at sunset into the sanctuary would show that a new true solar year was beginning. The summer solstice was the time when the Nile began to rise. The priests were enabled to determine not only the length of the year, but the exact time of its commencement. This, however, they kept to themselves. The year in common use, called the vague year, began at different times of the true year through a long cycle. Here we find the analogy between the Egyptian and the American systems very startling.

There seems to have been also two systems of orientation in Central America—one for the temples, the other for the palaces. The temples were oriented to the solstitial sun and the palaces to the cardinal points. We find, at least, that the shrines were so placed upon the pyramids that the sun would shine through the double door-way and strike upon the tablets upon the back of the inner sanctuary, where were the various symbols of the
cross, tree, bird and sun. The light would cause these symbols to stand out clearly. The offerings were presented to these as if they were divinities. There was a difference between the pyramids of the different cities. Those of Palenque were all oriented to the cardinal points, but those of Uxmal and Chichen-Itza and others seemed to have been oriented to the solstices, or at least were out of the regular line. Here the alignment of the walls of the temples formed an angle with the walls of the palace and its courts, showing that there was a regard to the solstitial sun in the temples, but an orienting to the cardinal points in the palaces.

In reference to this subject of orientation, the Tusayan Indians place their sacred or world divisions on an angle of from forty-five to fifty degrees west of north, and construct their kivas accordingly, resembling the well-known placement of the Babylonian and Assyrian temples, obliquely to the cardinal points, the angles instead of the sides facing north, west, south and east. The arbitrary placing of the world quarters was carried further by the ancient Incas, as shown by the orientation of Cuzco than by any other people, except the Chinese. The sun was the all-important factor in the universe, the maker of day and the renewer of light.

The seven ancient spaces were sometimes symbolized in the ceremonial diagrams, which were made on the floor with prayer meal, six chambers or houses being arranged around a central one. What is most singular, the ground plan of the ruins of Casa Grande shows a similar arrangement around a central room. This conveys the idea that there may have been a knowledge of the solstitial sun and an arrangement of the chambers or rooms in the villages so as to catch the rays of the rising sun.

It is the opinion of Mr. Stephens and Walter Fewkes that the four cardinal points of the Moquis are determined by the summer and winter solstices. The first point toward the north is determined by the notch on the horizon from which the sun sets at the summer solstice, the second west by its setting in the winter, the third by its rising in winter, and the fourth by its rising in the summer.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE CROSS IN AMERICA.

Among the many surprises which the conquerors of Mexico experienced, the greatest was when they discovered the cross in the midst of the heathen temples of this far-off land. Their first explanation was that St. Thomas the Apostle, who was reputed to have been a missionary to India, had also made his way to America, to here introduce the Christian symbol. As they continued to notice it and learned of the human sacrifices which were offered and other cruelties which were practiced, they concluded that it was the work of the devil; that he had taken this symbol of peace and had made it sanction the most cruel atrocities, and thus had deluded the people and led them to their own destruction. We do not wonder at the indignation of the priests when they discovered this symbol associated with so cruel practices, for they were ignorant of the real history of the cross. The cross is a pre-Christian symbol, and had existed in Asia long before the history of Europe began. It was an instrument of punishment in the days of Christ, and it was only because so innocent and holy a being as our Savior was crucified upon it that it became sacred to Europeans. Were we to look upon it as it existed in Asia before the days of Christ and as it existed in America before the time of the discovery, we should better understand it as a symbol. We shall in this paper consider it in that light. We shall endeavor to disassociate it from pre-conceived ideas and to place it before ourselves as any common symbol, having no more sacredness in our eyes than the earth circles, the stone relics, the Mexican pyramids, but an object of study like them. We must acknowledge its prevalence throughout the continent, and shall probably be led to the conclusion that it was a symbol of nature worship, very much as the circle, the crescent, the square and other figures were.

The cross as a sun symbol or weather symbol is the subject of this paper. We are to show that it was so used. It was one of the symbols of sun worship.

I. Our first point is, the cross was used by the aboriginal tribes as a sun symbol. These tribes were in the habit of using symbols to express astronomical facts; they in fact had symbols which were so extensive and were so similar that they could be understood by the different tribes. Their symbolic and sign language corresponded in this respect; both were
mediums of communication between the tribes, even when the language was a barrier. The symbolism differed, however, from the sign language, in that it had to do mainly with religious thoughts and with mythologic ideas; while the sign language dealt with the common affairs of life. There was a common mythology among all the tribes, at least a common astronomy and for this reason the symbols were easily understood. The study of the sign language has revealed this, and the familiarity with their mythology is bringing the fact out more and more. The means by which this symbolism has become known are varied. Certain books, such as the Walum Olum, contain certain symbols; the pictured records, such as the Dakota calendar, contain others; the various pictographs which have been preserved contain still other symbols; the rock inscriptions contain others. On these the cross is occasionally seen, though the circle and the crescent are more common. In these various records the circle was the symbol of the sun, the cross was the symbol of the winds, the square was the symbol of the four quarters of the sky, and the crescent the symbol of the moon. The following are a few of the symbolic figures common among the wild Indians. In the Walum Olum of the Delawares we find the extended land and sky symbolized by a square with diagonal lines, which resemble an ordinary envelope, with circles to signify the sun and moon and stars in the separate divisions. See Fig. 1. The earth was symbolized by a dome or hemisphere; sometimes the dome was surmounted by a crescent, to symbolize the moon as ruling over the earth. See Figs. 2 and 3.

The points of the compass were symbolized by a cross with straight bars. Fig. 4. The winds with arrows placed at right angles to the ends of the bars, to signify the direction of the winds.* The Moquis have signs of the sun which consists of circles with rays shooting out from them, the circles having either faces or eyes and mouth on the inside. Fig. 5 and 6. Mr. C. K. Gilbert has given figures taken from rock etchings in Arizona, in which the face of the sun is placed at the intersection of the

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*See Brinton's "The Lenape and their Legends," p. 182.
bars of the cross. These symbolized the four quarters of the sky, with the sun in the zenith. Circles similarly placed at the intersection of the cross-bars, but without dots in the center, symbolized the stars.

Morning and sunrise were symbolized by the Moquis by a dome, with a face in the dome and lines or rays streaming out from the dome. In the Ojibwa pictograph, as reported by Schoolcraft, the sky was symbolized by a simple arc composed of two curved lines, but in the Moqui etchings it was symbolized by two curved lines or by a curved line with a turreted figure above the line. Rain was symbolized by lines drawn below the curves or arcs, to signify the drops as falling from the clouds. Lightnings were signified by a crooked line emanating from the arcs or by a crooked line surmounted by a turreted figure.* Among the Zunis there are statuettes which probably were designed to represent the same facts. See Fig. 7. In these the image probably represented the sun divinity. On the head of the man was a turreted headdress representing the nature powers, with arcs to represent the sky, turrets to represent the lightnings, and feathers above the turrets to represent the clouds, and projections at the side to represent the winds or the points of the compass. We do not discover in these the symbol of the cross, and yet the same nature powers were represented, but with different symbolic figures.† The turreted figures may, however, signify the houses of the sky and the habitations of the divinities of the sky. At least we have in these, imitations of the terraced houses of the Pueblos.

II. Our next point is that the cross is a common object in pictographs and rock descriptions. There are many inscribed rocks which contain figures of the cross. In some of these the cross is associated with the circle and in some, though rarely, with animal and bird figures.

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Native American Symbolism.

We give here a few cuts to illustrate this point. Mr. William McAdams has described the figures which he discovered on the bluffs at Alton, Ill., and caves at St. Genevieve, Mo., and has kindly loaned us the cuts. The following is his description:

"Some three or four miles above the city of Alton, high up beneath the over-hanging cliff, which forms a sort of cave shelter, on the smooth face of a thick ledge of rock, is a series of paintings, twelve in number." They are painted or stained in the rock with a reddish-brown pigment which seems to defy the tooth of time. It may be said, however, that their position is so sheltered that they remain almost perfectly dry. Their appearance denotes great age. They doubtless have been there for centuries. * * "Half the figures of the group are circles of various kinds, probably each having a different meaning." See Fig. 8. "On the left are two large birds apparently having a combat; to the right of the birds is a large circle enclosing a globe, and before this is the representation of the human form, with bowed head and inclined body, as if in the act of offering to the great circle something triangular in shape, not unlike a basket with a handle. Among all the ancient pictographs seen this is the only one where the human form is depicted as if in adoration to the sun. * * Counting from the left, the eighth figure seems to represent some carnivorous animal with a long tail. The next figure of the series is a large bird with extended wings, which seem to come from the base of the neck. This
curious winged creature seems to be having a combat with a circle with two horns, at some little distance there follows the representation of an owl, the whole ending with a small red circle. * * There is another very interesting group of pictographs to be seen in a small cavern on the banks of the Saline river, near where it empties into the Mississippi. The figures are eighteen in number, and are carved or cut in the smooth face of the limestone walls. See Fig. 9. There are two lines of the series, one on each wall of the cave. The relative position of the figures on the wall is shown in the cut. The size of the figures may be inferred from the representation of the human foot in the upper line: this measures 14 inches from the extremity of the great toe to the heel." * * The following are Mr. McAdams observations: "These circular figures are not uncommon among the pictographs of the Mississippi and are of great interest, more especially those having the cross enclosed. The illustrations of the human footprints with those of birds and other creatures are found in many places. The representation of birds, however, as if in combat over a circle or planet is more rare, and we are not aware that it has been found except along the banks of the Mississippi, where it occurs a number of times, * * It will be remembered that somewhat similar figures are shown in the pictographs on the bluffs above Alton; the same figure is repeatedly shown on both sides of the cave (at this place). Along the Illinois river, some twenty-five or thirty miles from its mouth, is another cave situated in a limestone bluff, in which is another series of carvings. * * The figures are nineteen in number; three of them representations of the human foot; seven of them bird-tracks; nine of them circles with dots or rings in the center."*

Mr. McAdams speaks of the mounds; a number of them were on the bluff above the pictograph at Alton, many of them near the salt springs on the Saline river, and others near the carved rock on the Illinois river. He gives a cut of a cave in a limestone cliff at Grafton, Ill., above which is a mound and a circle inscribed on the cliff between the mound and the mouth of the cave.

Mr. McAdams has called attention to certain water vases now in possession of the St. Louis Academy of Science, on which are painted various ornamental figures. These figures are composed of circles with spots, circles with crosses, circles with pointed rays, and are supposed to be sun symbols as well as ornaments, and he makes the important remark that the figure of the circle with serrated edge is not an uncommon one among the pictographs. This comparison between the pottery ornamentation and the rock inscription is an important one, and

we quote Mr. McAdams because of his opportunity in studying the inscriptions. His extensive collection of Mound-builders' pottery enables him to speak somewhat authoritatively on the subject of ornamentation. Of the crosses found in the pottery he says: "The peculiar cross with the curved arms in the center, is a very common one on the pottery from Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas, and some of the most beautiful burial vases are decorated with it in some form." He says, "It is very interesting to learn that figures very much like these are among the oldest of symbolic forms known. We have taken scores of burial vases from the mounds of Illinois, almost exactly duplicating the most peculiar shapes of many from Egypt." He then gives a cut of a vase from a tomb at Thebes, in Egypt. The comparison is not a very close one and yet it is suggestive, for we find the circle and the spots on both vases. A better illustration is the one which is given by the same author, by which the analogy between the suastika of the East and the bent cross in these pottery ornamentations is brought out. Of this, however, we shall speak hereafter. From this point to the Gulf of Mexico, and from there to the Isthmus of Panama it was the prevailing cult. The fact, however, that in this same region there were monstrous animals depicted upon the rocks, and that these animals represented the mythological creatures which were worshipped by the so-called animal tribes, would indicate that it was the border line, and that sun worship and animal worship met at this point.

III. The cross as a symbol among the mounds will next engage our attention. We have already spoken of the circle and the cross contained in the earthwork near Portsmouth, Ohio; these were evidently symbolic of sun worship. Squier and Davis have spoken of this. "It consists of four concentric circles placed at irregular intervals with respect to each other, and cut at right angles by four broad avenues which conform in bearing, very nearly to the cardinal points. A large mound is placed in the center; it is truncated and terraced, and has a graded way leading to its summit." On the supposition that this work was in some way connected with religious rites, this mound must have furnished a most conspicuous place for their observance and celebration.*

There is another structure which shows that the Mound-builders were familiar with the figure of the cross and that they embodied it in their earth-works. It has been described by Squier and Davis in their "Ancient Monuments". The work here figured is found near the little town of Tarlton, Pickaway county, Ohio, in the narrow valley of "Salt Creek," a tributary of the Scioto river, eighteen miles northeast from Chillicothe, on

*See Ancient Monuments, p. 81.
the great road to Zanesville. See Fig. 10. In position it corresponds generally with the remarkable work last described though wholly unlike it in form. It occupies a narrow spur of land at a prominent point of the valley; its form is that of a Greek cross, ninety feet between the ends, and elevated three feet above the adjacent surface. It is surrounded by a slight ditch, corresponding to the outline of the elevation; in the center is a circular depression, twenty feet across and twenty inches deep. The sides of the cross correspond very nearly with the cardinal points. Immediately back of it is a small circular elevation of stone and earth, resembling that in connection with the Granville effigy and denominated an altar in the description of that work. Several small mounds occur near by; and upon the high hill, a spur of which is occupied by the cross, are several large mounds."

*Fig. 10—Cross in Pickaway County, Ohio.

IV. The relics which exhibit the symbols of sun worship will next engage our attention. There are many such in all parts of the country. We shall at present speak of those which are found only among the mounds. Mound-builders' relics may be divided, according to the material of which they are composed, into several classes. First, the inscribed shells; second, the ornamented pottery; third, the carved stone specimens. We shall dwell mainly upon the shell gorgets or inscribed shells.

(1) First among these are the shell gorgets which contain circles. Descriptions of these have been given by various authors, but all agree in making the figures upon them symbols of the sun. The figures represent a single dotted circle in the center, around which are placed three crescent-shaped figures arranged in the form of a wheel; outside of these are several dotted circles arranged in a band, which surrounds the

*See Ancient Monuments, page 98.
crescent wheel, the number of the circles varying from four to six. Outside of these is still another band, which is filled with dotted circles, varying in number from twelve to fifteen. Scattered over the whole field there are small dots which have been punctured into the shell. Here then we have a complicated sun symbol. A central sun, three moons, which are supposed to rule the year; next, the suns, which represent the seasons or the divisions of the year; next, the suns or circles, which represent the months or divisions of the seasons; next, the stars or dots, which possibly represent days. We are reminded by these gorgets of the sun circles of Mexico, which always have the sun symbol in the center and the symbols for the season arranged in circle around the center. How it should happen that these rude shell gorgets should have symbols so similar to the circles and symbols on the highly ornamented calendar stones of Mexico is a mystery. The fact gives rise to many conjectures. (a) Either the Mound builders were a degenerate race from the same stock, or (b) they borrowed ideas from the Mexicans and embodied them in this rude way on shells, or (c) there was a transmission of thought from a primitive time when all were together; the Mexicans having added to the simple rudiments all the elaborate and complicated symbols which have grown up with their increased culture and civilization. There is one lesson to be learned from the analogy. Sun worship existed in different stages throughout the country. The symbols on the gorgets marks the lowest stage, while those on the calendar stone marks one of the higher stages.

(2) The shells which contain quadrangular figures and birds'
THE CROSS IN AMERICA.

heads. These we place among the sun symbols, for we can explain them in no other way. Mr. W. H. Holmes has described these. See Fig. 11. The following is the description: "In the center is a nearly symmetrical cross of the Greek type, enclosed in a circle; outside of the circle are eight star-like rays, ornamented with transverse lines, the whole representing a remarkable combination of the two symbols, the cross and the sun. Surrounding this symbol is another of a somewhat mysterious nature. A square frame-work of four continuous parallel lines looped at the corner, the inner line touching the tips of the star-like rays. Outside of this are the four symbolic birds, placed against the side of the square opposite the arms of the cross. These birds' heads are carefully drawn. The mouth is open, the mandibles are long, the eyes represented by a circle, and a crest springs from the back of the head and neck. The bird resembles the ivory-billed woodpecker more than any other species."

These gorgets are evidently sun symbols, the rays of the sun being indicated by the points and the beams by the radiating lines. The cross in the center of the circle may be intended as a weather symbol, either indicating the points of the compass or the four quarters of the sky. The quadrangular figure may have reference to the same fact, or possibly may symbolize the four seasons of the year. The birds' heads may also have reference to the nature powers, a substitute for the thunder bird. Six of these shell gorgets were discovered among the mounds mainly in Tennessee and Georgia. They have been ascribed to the Cherokees, though they may have belonged to the Natchez. The Natchez were sun worshippers and possessed an elaborate symbolism. There is no doubt but that the Mound-builders of this region were sun worshippers, and these symbols would indicate that they had a mythology resembling that of the Zunis and other tribes among which sun worship prevailed. The Zunis divided the sky into four parts, and made an animal divinity to preside over each one of the parts. The astronomy of the Mound-builders is unknown, but these are undoubtedly astronomical symbols.

(3) The spider gorget. A very interesting series of shell gorgets is the one which contains images of the spider. Several of these are in the possession of the Academy of Science of St. Louis, Mo.; they have been described by Mr. W. H. Holmes. He says: "The spider occurs but rarely in aboriginal American art. Occasionally it seems to have reached the dignity of religious consideration, and to have been adopted as a totemic device. Four examples have come to my notice: two from Illinois, one from Missouri and one from Tennessee. The spider is drawn with considerable fidelity to nature. It covers nearly the entire disk, legs, mandibles and abdomen reaching to the outer marginal line. The thorax is placed in the centre of the disk, and is rep-
represented by a circle. Within this a cross has been engraved, and on one specimen the ends of the cross have been enlarged, producing a form much used in heraldry, but one very rarely met with in aboriginal American art. The head is heart-shaped, is armed with mandibles, the latter being ornamented with a zigzag line. The eyes are represented by small circles with central dots; the legs are correctly placed in four pairs upon the thorax; the abdomen is heart-shaped and is ornamented with a number of lines and dots, which represent the natural markings of the spider. In reference to the cross, it has been suggested that it may have been derived from the markings upon the backs of some species. The cross here shown has, however, a very highly conventionalized character, and what is still more decisive it is still more identical with figures found upon other objects. The conclusion is here as elsewhere that the cross has a purely symbolic character."

The spider gorget was evidently symbolic. It contains all of the symbols which were commonly used in the astronomy of the sun worshippers. The circle will first be noticed.

The body of the spider, and in fact the whole disk of the shell, is covered with circles. There are circles upon the head of the spider; there are circles enclosing the spider; also a circle in the center of the spider upon the body; in one case there are circles enclosing the spider, two circles surrounding the rim of

*See Figs. 2, 3 and 4, Plate ix, Second Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 288
the gorget, a scalloped circle making the edge of the gorget, and perforations dividing the circles from one another within the gorget. These were evidently symbolic of the sun.

The cross is, however, the most remarkable feature of these spider gorgets. It is, to be sure, varied in shape, but is evidently a symbol. The peculiarities of the cross are to be noticed. In one it is a common plain cross enclosed in other circle, see Fig. 13; in another the cross is in the form of the suastika or fire-generator of the east, its arms are bent, see Fig. 14; in another there is a cross in the center on the body of the spider and two peculiar crosses in the shape of the Greek tau on the abdomen of the spider See above. The question arises how came the Mound-builders by these symbols; is it a mere coincidence, or was there a transmitted symbolism? The spider was a water divinity among the Zunis. We can trace the symbol so far, but we go no farther. It is possible that the creature was used to represent the sun divinity. In that case we should say that the different parts represented the different parts of the sky, the four legs symbolizing the four quarters, the head and abdomen the upper and nether regions, the body the central sun, the cross on the body the points of the compass, the bars and rings on the abdomen the seasons, the zigzag lines on the mandibles the lightning, the
some one of the nature powers. This may be a mere conjecture, and yet the figure is very suggestive. It would seem from this as if the Mound-builders were familiar with these astronomical facts, and that they were able to symbolize them in this way. The symbolism of the Zunis has been studied and some remarkable points brought out. The mythologies of the Indians would indicate that a similar symbolism might have prevailed among them or their ancestors. We do not know where this mythology came from, whether it was transmitted from the east or whether it grew up on American soil, yet the myth of the "four brothers," who represented the four winds and the four points of the compass, was a very common one.

(4.) The serpent symbol is to be mentioned in this connection. We have already spoken of this. See Fig. 15. Thirty or forty specimens of gorgets engraved with the serpent symbol have been found. The great uniformity of the design is a matter of much surprise. (a) The engravings are always placed upon the concave side of the disk. (b) The serpent is always coiled, the head occupying the center of the disk. (c) The head is so placed that when the gorget is suspended it has an erect position, the mouth opening toward the right hand. (d) The eye of the serpent is always near the center of the figure and surrounded by a varying number of circles. (e) The mouth of the serpent is sometimes represented in profile, and sometimes as if projecting forward, the nose and mouth being visible. (f) In most of the specimens there are joints in the body of the serpent, the joints being represented by a number of circles with a dot in the center. In a few cases the serpent seems to have legs, though the marks which resemble legs may be intended for the joints of the body. (g) Every one is represented with rattles.

(5) We come now to a very interesting series of gorgets, namely those which contain the figure of the cross without any other symbol. It seems singular that this figure should be found as a separate symbol among the mounds, but so it is. Mr. W. H. Holmes speaks of this fact. He says: "It should not be forgotten that the cross was undoubtedly used as a symbol by the prehistoric nations of the nations of the south and consequently
that it was probably also known in the north. A great majority of the relics associated with it in ancient mounds and various places are undoubtedly aboriginal. We find at rare intervals designs that are characteristically foreign; these whether Mexican or European are objects of special interest, and merit the closest examination. That the design under consideration as well as any other engraved upon these tablets is symbolic or otherwise significant I do not for a moment doubt; but the probabilities as to the European or American origin of the symbol of the cross found in this region are pretty evenly balanced.” He, however, says: “I have not seen a single example of engraving upon shell that suggested a foreign hand or a design, with the exception of this one, that could claim a European derivation. Some very ingenious theories have been elaborated in attempting to account for the presence of the cross among American symbols.” Brinton believes that the great importance attached to the points of the compass, the four quarters of the heavens, by savage peoples has given rise to this symbol of the cross. With others the cross is a phallic symbol, derived by some obscure process of evolution from the veneration accorded to the reciprocal principal in nature. It is, how-
ever, frequently associated with sun worship and is recognized as a symbol of the sun. Such delineations of the cross as we find embodied in ancient aboriginal art represent only the final stages of its evolution (degeneration?) and it is not to be expected that its origin can be traced through them. In one instance a direct derivation from nature is suggested. "The ancient Mexican pictographic manuscripts abound in representations of trees, conventionalized in such a manner as to resemble crosses." By comparison of these curious trees with the remarkable cross in the Palenque Tablet, I have been led to the belief that they must have a common significance and origin. The analogies are indeed remarkable. The branches of these cross-shaped trees terminate in clusters of symbolic fruit, and the arms of the cross are loaded down with symbols, which, although highly conventionalized, have not yet entirely lost their vegetable character. The most remarkable feature, however, is that these crosses perform like functions in giving support to a symbolic bird, which is perched upon the summit. This bird appears to be the important feature of the group, and to it, or the deity which it represents, the homage is offered.

We turn now to the shell gorgets. It will be noticed that a great variety of crosses are contained in these. Figs. 16, 17, 18, and 19. Some of them are very rude, consisting of mere cross lines with an attempt at circles and dots; some of them have cross-bars, the bars being cut out in such a way as to bring out the shape of the cross. This particular specimen given in the cut (Fig. 17) is a piece of copper and not shell;
others consist of cross-bars with several parallel lines traversing the bars, the space between the bars being filled with cross hatchings; still others containing figures of the cross, with the bars bent at right angles, forming a sort of wheel around a central point. These gorgets were all taken from mounds in Tennessee. They show that a great variety of symbolism prevailed there. We call attention to the different peculiarities of the cross. There are fifteen different figures of the cross. All but three of them are contained within circles. The crosses are nearly all of the same kind, namely the Greek cross. Only two variations from this is apparent, namely the cross with the arms bent at right angles and the cross with the arms in the shape of scrolls. See Plate I.

The cross has about the same shape, whether found in the spider gorgets, the bird gorgets, or on a gorget by itself. The most important point is that the cross of America is the Greek cross, occasionally, in the shape of St. Andrew’s cross. The one which the missionaries or Spanish explorers carried with them was the Roman cross. If the symbol was borrowed by the Mound-builders from the whites it would have been in the shape of a Roman rather than a Greek cross. Fig. 20. There

![Fig. 20—Shape of the Crosses Found in American Ornamentation.](image1)

are a few Roman crosses found in the mounds, but they are always exceptional. Two figures are to be seen on the plate, one of them having a single bar and another a double bar across the upright; these resemble Roman crosses, and may have imitated the silver “catechumen crosses” which were so common. These relics, however, are modern. The crosses with the curved or bent arms are especially worthy of notice. These have been called Phoenician. They resemble the figures which are common in the east, and are distributed throughout the whole continent of Asia. They are found in the ancient ruins of Troy and in the modern symbols of Hindostan. They are regarded as fire-generators, but are also symbols of the nature powers. There is one peculiarity about these bent crosses in America; they all turn to the left. In oriental countries the suastika is generally bent to the right, though in a few cases to the left. How this particular symbol could have reached America and been buried so deeply in the mounds is a mystery. It must have been introduced before the times of history, for it is not a form which is
commonly used by the historic peoples. The Mound-builders must have borrowed it from some other than the white people. It is probably a pre-Christian symbol, having been introduced into America in prehistoric times.

That the cross contained in the relics was a prehistoric symbol is evident from the use and repetition of the number four. It will be noticed that there are on all the gorgets, and especially those containing the cross. If we take the regular figure there are four bars and four spaces, and four lines on the bars, and four perforations between the bars. In the figure where there are so many dotted circles there are four suns in the spaces and on each of the arms; and in the figure where there is a large circle there are four projections beyond the circle. In the figure where the cross has bent arms there is a dotted circle in the center, but four perforations at the angles and four circles in the spaces. So if we take the spider gorgets we find the spider contained within four circles, and that it has upon its abdomen four bands, and in one case a figure resembling the Greek tau, which was a common symbol in Mexico but is strangely out of place here. See Plate I.

In the bird gorget the number four is repeated. There are four sides to the quadrangle and four loops, formed by four lines. There are four bird’s heads with four stripes in the neck, and four lines or bars in the crest. There are four spaces in the center of the figure and four bars to the cross; but in one specimen four holes are substituted for the cross. The repetition of this number four in all the gorgets is significant.

This uniformity amid diversity can not be the result of accident. Mr. Holmes says: “Were the design ornamental we should expect variations in the parts, resulting from difference of taste of the designers; the zones would not follow each other in exactly the same order; particular figures would not be confined to particular zones; the rays of the volute would not always have a sinistral turn, or the form of the tablet be always circular or scalloped.” The Indians had a superstition about the number four. There were four points of the compass, though these were supposed to belong to the four winds. There were four seasons as well as four quarters to the sky. The Mexicans held that there were four periods of creation and four suns. The wild tribes have myths of the four brothers, which express both the cardinal points and the winds that blow from them.*

The Creeks celebrated a festival to the four winds. They placed four logs in the center of a square, forming a cross, the outer ends pointing to the cardinal points. In the center of the cross the new fire is made. The Blackfeet arrange boulders in

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*When Capt. Argoll visited the Potomac in 1610, a chief told him, “We have five gods in all. Our chief god appears often to us in the form of a mighty great hare; the other four have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds which keep the four corners of the earth.” See Brinton’s Myths of the New World, p. 184.
the form of a cross, which are attributed to the "old man in the sun who sends the winds;" they mark his resting-places; the limbs of the cross representing his body and arms. Among the Delawares the rain-makers would draw upon the earth the figure of a cross, and cry aloud to the spirit of the rains. The Navajoes have an allegory that when the first man came up from the ground, the four spirits of the cardinal points were already there. The Quiche legends tell us that the four men were first created and that they measured the four corners and the four angles of the sky in the earth. There wives were the four mothers of our species. In the Yucatan mythology the four gods were supposed to stand at the four corners of the world supporting the four corners of the firmament, very much as in Norse mythology four dwarfs held up the skull of Odin to symbolize the sky.

V. We now turn to consider the position which the cross held in the hieroglyphics of the civilized races. We have so far considered it as found among the uncivilized. The tokens among these are very primitive; rock inscriptions, shell gorgets, earth-circles, carved images, and the symbolism seems to be as rude and primitive as the tokens themselves. Among the civilized races the symbolism is much more elaborate, but the ideas are the same. There are many crosses among the writings of these races; they are found not only in the manuscripts and books which have been preserved, but in the hieroglyphics and tablets which have been discovered.

We shall first consider the manuscripts or codices. We are indebted to Dr. Cyrus Thomas and Dr. D. G. Brinton for our information on this.* The codices are largely symbolic. They contain a kind of picture writing very much as do the rock inscriptions, but are more systematic and are more easily interpreted. They have been studied as well as the alphabets in which they are written, though the study has not yet resulted in anything satisfactory. We shall not undertake to interpret these codices, but only to show their symbolic character and to show that the symbols of the cross and the sun are contained in them. We give several figures or cuts which will illustrate the point. One thing has been secured—the names and symbols for the four cardinal points, and a few of the numerals.

The names of the codices are as follows:

First. The Codex Cortesianus, which contains the Tableau des Bacab, or plate of the Bacabs, supposed to be a representation of the gods of the four cardinal points. The Codex Pere-sianus which, contains a kind of tabular arrangement of certain days, with accompanying numbers. Next, the manuscript

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*See manuscript Troano.
Troano, which has about the same arrangement. Next, the Dresden Codex, which contains four columns of five days, corresponding precisely with the Maya days. Next is the Borgian Codex, which is Mexican and not Maya, but which gives the calendar in the form of a square, each square surrounded by a serpent; the heads of the four serpents brought near together at the center, which is indicated by a figure of the sun. Next is the Fejervary Codex, which has plates similar to the Tableau des Bacab. From these codices we find that the cardinal points were symbolized, and that colors were given to them—yellow to the east, white to the west, black to the north, and red to the south. From them we also find that there were four ages, four elements, four seasons, four cardinal points, and four epochs. The years were symbolized—one by the flint, another by the house, another by a rabbit, another by a reed; and the elements were also symbolized in the same way. The air by the rabbit, the fire by the flint, the water by the reed, the earth by the house but among the signs on all of these was the cross. The signs for the days are given in several of the manuscripts; the Codex Troano and Landas Alphabet. See Plate II, at the right hand. It will be noticed that there crosses in all of the columns; crosses with the sun symbol or circle in the center. The day Muluc has this symbol. This is significant, as the names of the days are derived from natural phenomena. The hieroglyphs for the points of the compass contained in the manuscript Troano has also the cross with the circle in the center of them, especially the hieroglyphs for the east and the west.

First. The order in which the groups and characters are to

*See Brinton's Books of Chilan Balam, p. 16 and 17. Also a study of the Manuscript Troano, in Contributions to North American Archaeology, p. 144.
THE CROSS IN AMERICA.

be taken is around to the left, opposite the course of the sun. Second. The cross, as has been generally supposed, was used among these nations as a symbol of the cardinal points.

Third. It tends to confirm the belief that the birds were used to denote the winds. This fact also enables us to give a signification to the birds' heads on the engraved shells found in the mounds. * * Take for example the birds' heads shown in Fig. 12. Here is in each case the four-looped circle corresponding with the four loops of the Cartesian and Fejervary plates, also with the looped serpent of the Mexican calendar stone, and the four serpents of Plate 48 of the Borgian Codex. The four bird heads on each shell are pointed toward the left, just as on Plate 44 of the Fejervary Codex B., and doubtless have the same signification in the former as in the latter—the four winds or winds of the four cardinal points. If this supposition be correct, of which there is scarcely room for a doubt, it not only confirms Mr. Holmes' suggestions, but also indicates that the Mound-builders followed the same customs as the Nahua nations and render it quite probable that there was more or less intercourse between the two peoples.

We give a few cuts to show the symbolism which prevailed in the manuscripts. One of these is the Mexican symbol for the day (Fig. 23), and another is the Mexican symbol for the year (Fig. 24); another is the symbol for the house (Figs. 21 and 22); another is the symbol for the temple or shrine (Fig. 25). It will be noticed that the house has a wall composed of blocks, each block marked with a circle, but at the top of the wall is a cross. In the figure for the shrine there appears to be a seat or a throne. On the back of the throne are two crosses and above it another cross. There is another figure of the house contained in the Dresden codex. The former were from the manuscript Troano.

VI. We turn now to the carved stone figures and idols to show that the cross is used as a sun symbol. There are many specimens of this kind; they are mainly found in Mexico and in the ancient cities of Yucatan. These figures were evidently symbolic and were parts of the symbolism of the sun. They are
sometimes ornamented with human faces, the faces being characterized by a protruding tongue, but more frequently with the heads and tails of serpents; in some of these the carving is very elaborate and the ornamentation very complicated. We give a few specimens of these carved idols and altars.

1. First is the cross of Teotihuacan. See Fig. 26. It will be noticed that this is an altar in the shape of a cross, the arms of the cross forming a support for the altar, but the base of it is ornamented with peculiar figures, which may possibly be intended to represent the tails of serpents. This altar is supposed by Monsieur Hamy to be sacred to the god Tlaloc, the Mexican god of rain. Very little can be said of it except to draw attention to the form. Dr. Hamy has described another which is called the "cross of the serpents." It has the same general shape, but the arms are engraved to represent serpents' heads. These altars were found near the pyramids of Teotihuacan, a fact that shows they were associated with the sun worship, as the pyramids were all devoted to that purpose.*

3. The second specimen is one which resembles this, but which

*See LaCroix De Tlotohuacan au Musee Du Trocadero, p. 19.
is much more elaborate. It is the idol pillar which was discovered in the Plaza Mayor in Mexico in 1790. "It is an immense block of bluish-gray porphyry about 10 feet high and 6 wide and thick, sculptured on front, rear, top and bottom, into a complicated and horrible combination of human, animal and ideal forms." Gama first expressed the opinion that the front represents the Aztec goddess of death, whose duty it was to bear the souls of the dead warriors to the house of the sun. The figure on the rear of the idol represents, according to Gama, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, and husband of the goddess whose emblems are carved on the front. The bottom of the monument bears the sculptured design which is thought to represent the god of the infernal regions, Mictlantecutli, the last of this cheerful trinity—goddess of death, god of war and god of hell, three distinct deities united in one idol."* This idol is in the shape of a cross, a fact which shows that either the cross as known in Christian lands as an emblem of peace has been perverted and made to represent just the opposite qualities, or it is a symbol which grew up under the cruel system of the Aztecs, and was changed from the common weather indicator to be a sign of the nature gods, who became more and more cruel as they became personal. The cruelties which were practiced in connection with that system have been described. They were elaborate and studied, but were as severe as these emblems would indicate them to be. The adornments of royalty are surmounted by the fangs and claws of the serpent; the hands, which should indicate mercy, are placed below the cruel fangs of the serpent; in the midst of the cross, which is an emblem of life, is the grinning skull, the emblem of death. The whole idol, which reminds one of the divinities of the air, is covered with emblems of the creatures of the dust; darkness and death are symbolized rather than vital life. Plate III.

3. Another specimen of the cross is the one described by Mr. H. H. Bancroft. See Fig. 27. It was one of two statues exactly alike which were found on the southern slope of the pyramid of Palenque, which contained the temple of the cross on its summit. They are ten and a half feet high, of which two and a half feet not shown in the cut formed the tenon with which they were embedded in the wall. The figures stand on a hieroglyph which perhaps the name of the individual or god represented. These statues are remarkable as being the only ones found in connection with the Palenque ruins and even these are not statues in the "round", since the back is of rough stone, and was likely embedded in the wall. The resemblance of this figure to some Egyptian statues is remarked by all. This statue is evidently in the shape of a cross, though the arms of the cross are near the summit and are formed by projections of the head-dress. The emblems on the statue are

peculiar. An object resembling the Nile key is held in one of the hands, a medallion which may be taken as a sun symbol is held in the other hand; below this are objects which may perhaps be phallic symbols.

4. Perhaps the best known specimen of the cross is the one which is contained on the Palenque tablet (see plate IV,) in the temple at Palenque, the same temple referred to above, the statue having been found on the sides of the pyramid and the tablet in the shrine on the summit. The following is the description: "Fixed in the wall at the back of the enclosure and covering nearly its whole surface was the tablet of the cross, six feet four inches high, and ten feet eight inches wide, and formed of three stones. The central stone and part of the western, bear the sculptured figure shown in the cut; the rest of the western and the whole of the eastern were hieroglyphics. The subject doubtless possessed religious signification, and the temple or adoritorio may be considered as a sacred shrine or the most Holy Place of the ancient Maya priesthood. Two men, probably priests, clad in the insignia of their office, are making an offering to the cross or to a bird placed on its summit." Of the two priests Stephens says: "They are well drawn, and in symmetry of proportion are perhaps equal to many that are carved on the walls of the ruined temples of Egypt. Their costume is in a style different to any heretofore given, and the folds would indicate that they were of a soft or pliable texture like cotton." Stephens and other writers discovered in the object offered a possible likeness to a new-born child. The symbols on this tablet are worthy of study. It will be noticed that the cross itself is formed by a
standard in the center of which is a feather headed arrow, point upward; the arms are formed by the common weapon of war, the maxtli, with its crooked head pointing upwards. Fig. 28. The cross is supported by an animal head which probably represented some nature power. The bird reminds one of the thunderbird of the northwest coast, and yet here we are in doubt about its significance. There is suspended from its tail a medallion which may be regarded as a sun symbol. The head is a circle with a dot in the head, which would ordinarily be called a sun symbol. The emblems on this cross are mainly the emblems of war. In that respect it differs from the one which we have already described in which the emblems are more those of agriculture, taken from the vegetable world. The significance of the emblems in this case, would be that the altar was devoted to the war god. On the exterior wall of this temple were two stone tablets sculptured in low relief, representing figures or persons elaborately draped and decorated; one of them wears a leopard skin as a cloak. That the cross in this case was intended as a symbol of the nature powers is evident from the following fact: "On an adjoining pyramid was a temple which contained a tablet, in a similar situation to that of the Temple of the Cross; but the symbols on the tablet were symbols of the sun. This gave rise to the name, "the Temple of the Sun.'"

We regard this, then, as another specimen. The symbols in the Temple of the Sun are suggestive of sun worship. The form of the tablet is similar to that of the one in the Temple of the Cross; hieroglyphics and priestly figures are seen on either side of the central symbol. The symbol itself is in the shape of a face with an open mouth, and bulging eye; around the face are circles and knots, and symbols of various kinds; outside of these are figures which resemble bow-knots. This mask is suspended on two staves which cross one another forming a letter X. The head of the staves being decorated with various symbols; below the staves is a heavy beam which also bears a grotesque face at its center, with eyes and lips resembling those in the masks above. This beam is supported by two bent figures, each of them in the same attitude, having eyes and faces, and heads and dresses, resembling one another. These figures may be intended to represent the God Tlaloc, the god of rain, as they have the eye which is characteristic of
that divinity. The mask above was evidently intended to represent the sun, as it has the face which is everywhere recognized as a symbol of the sun. The proximity of the two pyramids and the two temples, the Temple of the Cross, and the Temple of the Sun, would indicate that they were both devoted to the same nature powers, the one to the sun as a peaceful divinity and the other to the nature power as a warlike divinity.

6. The most interesting specimen of the cross is the one which is described by Charnay as found by him on a tablet at Lorillard. This tablet contains two figures, both of them clothed in royal apparel, which is covered with symbols. The larger person has a cross in either hand, resembling the one given in Fig. 29. The smaller one has also the same kind of cross in his kind. Charnay says of this tablet: “It occupies the central door of the temple, and is 3 feet 9 inches long, by 2 feet 9 inches wide. Two figures with retreating foreheads form the main subject, having the usual high headdress of feathers, cape, collar, medallion, and maxtli, like the idol; while their boots are fastened on the instep with leather strings, as similar figures at Palenque. They are of different size, and represent probably a man and a woman performing a religious ceremony; the latter holds in each hand a Latin cross, while the other carries but one in the right hand. Rosettes form the branches of the crosses, a symbolic bird crowns the upper portion, whilst twenty-three katunes are scattered about the bas-relief. We think this a symbolic representation of Tlaloc, whose chief was a cross, which here consists of palms or more probably maize-leaves, intermingled with human figures, recalling to the memory of his devotees the god who presided over harvests.”

*See Ancient Cities of the New World by Desire Charnay, pp. 448 and 449.
SUN WORSHIPPERS AND ATOTARHO, CULTURE HERO OF THE IROQUOIS.
CROSSES AND HUMANIZED SERPENT.
CHAPTER IX.

PHALLIC WORSHIP AND FIRE WORSHIP IN AMERICA.

The study of symbolism in America always brings up a great many enquiries, but none more interesting than one which has relation to a contact with Europe in prehistoric times. This is, to be sure, a point which is constantly arising in connection with all departments of archaeology, but in this connection it is especially suggestive. We therefore propose to speak of the phallic symbol as it is found in this country, especially among the Mound-builders, and to see if this does not prove a pre-Columbian contact with other countries. We shall not, however, confine ourselves to this one symbol, but shall take it in its combination with other symbols, such as the symbol of fire, of the sun, of the serpent, and other nature powers.

The description of the dolmens and menhirs of Western Europe, which was given a year or two ago by Mr. Thomas Wilson, and now again by Prof. A. S. Pakard, has brought up the subject afresh. The same is also the result of reading about the remarkable find on the Illinois River. The question is how came the custom of making offerings to fire and water, and other customs in America? Shall we say that the Druids were here during pre-Columbian times, or shall we go farther back and ascribe them to an Asiatic source?

1. We begin with the cup stones or perforated symbols. It forms one of the standing problems for American archaeologists how to account for these. These cavities have been studied by various parties and have been found in many and widely separated countries. It is because of this extensive distribution that they have been regarded as important. The argument is that the prevalence of them in America proves European contact in prehistoric times. The argument is a good one, provided we assign to the cavities a sacred character, and recognize them as the symbols of a widespread faith. This is, however, the point. We imagine that if they were not so widely distributed the thought of their symbol character would never have arisen. The shape of the holes suggests a very simple cause, nothing more nor less than the nut-cracking, which was a natural thing for the natives of this country. The discovery of so many boulders and slabs, filled with these cavities, in Southern Ohio, which is a forest region abounding with all kinds of nuts, naturally suggests that this was the source of the cavities. Perhaps we should say that the question is a faux pas. It suggests a mystery when no mystery exists. Still, as various authors have
written upon the subject and European archaeologists, as well as American, have regarded them as symbolic, we take up the subject in all candor. It is noticeable that the matter-of-fact and careful Dr. Charles Rau thought it worth his while to write a book about them, and to recount all the places where such holes have ever been seen. From this book we learn that they are scattered over the continent of America, being very common in the Mound-builders' territory. A few specimens are found in the region of the Pueblos and on the rocks of California, and one specimen has been discovered near Orizaba, Mexico. They are also numerous in France, Brittany, Ireland, Switzerland, Saxony, Sweden, Scandinavia, though in these latter countries they are attended with rings and loops and various grooves and channels, as if a special use had been made of them and strange superstitions had been associated with them, making them sacred symbols. We learn, too, that the same works are numerous in India, and that in that country, where everything seems to have a symbolic character, they are regarded with peculiar veneration, and that even phallic worship has been associated with them and the symbol of the Mahedeo is always recognized in them.

Now the point which we make is this, if we must associate so great a significance with so simple an object as a cavity, which seems to have been used for nut-cracking, then we shall conclude that the evidences of contact with older countries during prehistoric times are very common. We can imagine the practice to have prevailed among a rude people of making a very common thing to seem uncommon. The very tools and weapons and ornaments which they had might become the embodiment of strange superstitions, and even feathers and sticks might be expressive. Perhaps there was the addition of a myth or of a transmitted custom, and this would account for the unusual shapes and combinations by which these cavities are sometimes characterized. Still there are figures on the Bald Friar's Rock, in Pennsylvania which resemble serpents, the eyes being cup cavities or perforations, the heads only being visible. In these heads we recognize the jew's-harp pattern, and so we have in America, as in India, not only serpent worship but possibly the phallic symbol, with all of its conventionalities. We are not disposed to minimize the significance of these symbols, and yet we should make a distinction between a practical and a symbolic use.

We find that the symbols are quite widely distributed in America, as widely as they are in Europe, and are sometimes found connected with the cremation of the bodies of the dead, as they are in foreign lands, and are also associated with altar mounds. It is also noticeable that animal figures, human faces and forms, and sun symbols, as well as serpent heads, are associated with the perforated cavities. Dr. Charles Rau has referred to the bird symbol found in the San Pete Valley of
Utah and the peculiar figures found among the rock paintings in Lake County, Oregon, and to the human and animal figures on the sculptured boulders in Arizona. These may all have been symbolic, and it is possible that a common symbolism has spread over this entire continent, either from the east or west, and that the connection may be traced even as far away as India. Still we think that a distinction should be drawn, and that the American symbols should be left to themselves until it can be proved that they were transmitted from other lands.

The positions of these cup marks are, to be sure, sometimes significant, and the association with various pictures is suggestive. For instance, there is a picture of a Scandinavian boat which reminds us of the Norse sea-kings, and a picture of battle axes and a pyramidal stèle in the Kivik monument in Scania, Sweden. So there are many cup cavities in the roofs of dolmens in France, and Prof. A. S. Packard has declared that these must be symbolic. So there are peculiar figures resembling Runic letters on the Bald Friar's Rock in this country. There are remarkable coincidences also in the shapes of the rings surrounding the cavities which are found in Denmark and Sweden and in this country. Some would make them symbols of the sun, and would prove a contact with European nations or else a remarkable parallel development. Some would also consider the Dighton Rock as still more conclusive, but this rock Dr. Rau is especially skeptical about, taking the position that it was only fabricated by ordinary Indians. It seems to make a complication with our system if there are resemblances to Old World forms in America. Which shall we do? Shall we take the simple facts and be satisfied with these, or shall we recognize evidence of foreign contact in them? We have seen these perforations on various stones, but have not recognized anything symbolic in either the shapes or locations or relative positions of the holes. At one time we discovered a small stone slab, burned and smoked, near the altar of the celebrated alligator effigy in Ohio, the proximity suggesting that it was once on the altar. This was perforated with a cup cavity, and may have been designed as a symbol. Still other stones, with similar cup-shaped cavities, are found in many places. We saw one on the banks of the Ohio at the steamboat landing at Maysville, Ky., a place which was not suggestive of anything sacred. We also at one time examined the great boulder which was taken from the bank of the Ohio near Ironton, and given by Dr. H. H. Hill to the Natural History Society of Cincinnati, and were told that there were one hundred and sixteen of these perforations on this single boulder. Similar stones have been found in Summit County, O., at Portsmouth and Graveport, O., and at various places in Pennsylvania and Tennessee, and the impression is that they were used for nut-cracking.

The boulder at Cincinnati has certain grooves on its surface,
four or five inches long, which have the appearance of being worn by continuous rubbing. But about these we enquire, in what respect do they differ from the marks made by arrow sharpening, which are so common throughout the country. Beauchamp has described such works as being common in New York and Gen. Thruston in his new book has spoken of others in Tennessee, and has given a cut representing the same, but they seem very simple things, and we do not see that any symbolism can possibly be made out of them.

Col. Charles Whittlesy thought that the perforations were made by spindles, and that they were evidences of the domestic art of spinning and weaving. Others have taken the ground that some of them were used for paint cups, especially as pestle and mortars have been found in New Mexico with the cup mark in the pestle. The explanation is that the paint, which had been ground, was placed in the cavity while the process of grinding other paint went on. How could symbolic significance come to such simple objects? We suggest the following: It is possible that the women, who so frequently have left the marks of their handiwork, may have used the cavities as signs, giving them the hidden significance which would be expressive of certain sexual desires. We are aware that the bird amulets and other objects of personal decoration were symbols of maternity with the aborigines. The spool ornament was also made symbolic of some more spiritual desire, and the axe, especially when made of jade, was symbolic of the immortality of the soul, superstition requiring that bits of jade should be placed in the mouth of the dead. It is a practice with women in India to take water out of the Ganges and pour over the cavities and the channels surrounding them, as they believe maternity will be the result. Another explanation is that they were sockets where they placed the end of the fire generator, and so came to consider the cavities as sacred to fire and having a peculiar significance. If they are, then we should say that they form only another link in the chain connecting this country with the far east, proving not only that serpent worship, but phallic worship and fire worship and sun worship were all connected and prevailed on this continent in prehistoric times.

II. This point has been impressed upon us by recent discoveries. We now refer to the discovery which we made in connection with the great serpent effigy near Quincy, Illinois. This serpent is a massive effigy, which conforms to the bluff throughout its entire length. Its folds are brought out very forcibly by four conical burial mounds located near the center of the ridge, midway between the head and tail of the serpent. The mounds contained many bodies, none of them remarkable except the one which was cremated at the base of the mound. This was a large body. It was lying on its back, and was partially burned. The bones, however, were preserved, and what was the most singular
about the case, on the very center of the body, near the secret parts, a skeleton of a serpent was found coiled up, as if there was an intention to make it significant. The hands were folded over the body just below this skeleton. The body had its feet to the east, and its face was turned upward, as if to look toward the sun. Thus we have in this cremation scene both the phallic symbolic and the serpent effigy, and we have at the same time some evidence of sun worship. But there was another feature still more remarkable. It was noticed that there were several bodies lying parallel with the central one, and that these bodies had been burned. The fire-bed was about twelve feet across, and contained the remains of at least four bodies, all of them partially burned, all of them cremated and apparently with the faces looking upward. There were also skeletons of snakes found with the bodies, though the position of the snakes was not closely observed. Now the point that we make is, if there was phallic worship at all, it was also attended with the eastern custom of suttee burning. We learn from the early explorers that at the south the fashion was to kill the slaves and wife of a chief when he died and to burn the bodies with the body of the chief. If this was the case among the southern tribes, it may also have been the fashion with this northern tribe. These, we think, are important facts. While everything in this Quincy find was very rude—no relics, no paved altar, no elaborate contrivance further than the effigy itself—still the cremation was remarkable. We acknowledge that there are many things in connection with all the Mound-builders' burials which are of purely native origin. Yet if the phallic symbol is to be seen in one case it is also in many, and, what is more, it is also almost always connected with the serpent symbol.

It is strange that here in America native superstition seized upon the most familiar objects, such as arrow-heads, spear-heads, leaf-shaped implements, pieces of mica, or even pebbles and round stones, and made of these altars which should be symbolic of sun worship; but it is stranger still that native superstition should at times give evidence of contact with the more advanced fashions and customs of countries which have long been historic and that the two systems of symbols should be so near to one another. The find at Virginia City, in Illinois, reminds us of similar deposits in Ohio. It was a simple altar or artificial heap formed out of leaf-shaped relics, the specimens all having come probably from Flint Ridge, but here were used as the resting place of the dead. There was, however, a mica crescent on the breast and copper spools near the head and stone weapons near the hands. Everything about the find showed a very rude state of art, and yet showed a strange and conventional symbolism. The same is true also of the various altar and burial mounds of Ohio. Here in one place were altars composed of similar flint
relics, chipped into leaf-shape, and deposited in two layers, one above the other, the entire heap having been used as a platform on which immense numbers of relics had been placed, but no other relics. In another place, at Mound City, mica plates are laid like scales, one against the other, the whole deposit having made a remarkable crescent, which might be supposed to have glistened with the silvery radiance of the moon. This crescent was situated at the bottom of the largest mound in the group found at Mound City, and was itself placed above a layer of clay, four layers above it composed of sand, the whole being very hard and compact. The mound itself was 17 feet high and 90 feet in diameter, and overtopped all the rest. The symbolism consisted in the crescent, which was 19 down and 19 feet across from horn to horn, the greatest width being about 5 feet.

Still the two altars—the one formed of leaf-shaped implements and the other containing the crescent—were very large, and it is supposed that both deposits were equally sacred among this mysterious people. In the Ohio mounds were other altars, on which many valuable relics had been placed. At the fort on the north fork of Paint Creek, where the leaf-shaped flints were placed, a large number of pipes had been offered, and among the pipes were some in the shape of serpents, the very symbol of the Mahedeo being suggested by one of them. This coiled snake may indeed have been a mere mythologic object, embodying one of the myths which have survived to modern times. Still the presence of the serpent effigy with the other features would indicate that phallic worship had been observed. The clay was at the bottom of these altars, and sand layers above just as clay was beneath the flint deposit in Illinois. So there was a fire-bed of black soil beneath the cremated bodies and white soil above, the evidence of a studied design given in both cases. There are, to be sure, no two altars alike and no conventional or stereotyped mode of burial in the mounds, yet with the variety the uniformity is apparent, the uniformity being always confined to the symbol, but the diversity coming out in the mode of burial and the articles deposited. This is also one of the strange features of the Mound-builders' religion. They seem to have been saturated with superstition. It was almost childish in its simplicity, for it seized upon the most trifling things to express itself; it was also held under the control of a fixed and formal symbolism, which constantly reminds one of foreign customs. Stately ceremonies resembling those of Druidic worship were associated with the trifling details of a savage people. The inference is that human sacrifices were made, and that burials of an extraordinary character were practiced in certain cases, but in other cases the commonest things seem to have been laid away as if with all the care of the most sacred treasure. We are puzzled by these deposits, and yet we recognize a strange
symbolism in them all. The great serpent in Ohio is only such an effigy as perhaps any superstitious savage might possibly devise; nothing conventional or foreign about its shape, but when we come to the oval and the altar in the oval, we are at once reminded of the phallic symbol and the offering to the fire divinity of the east. So, too, the serpent effigy in Illinois seems like a very rude semblance of a massive snake. Its shape conforms to the bluff in every part. It seems only an effigy, but when we compare its double bend to the curve of the Hindu fire generator and to count the number four in the mounds on its summit, and see the contents as they are, it seems as if the same latent symbolism was strangely present, and so it is everywhere. Superstition degenerated or advanced, one of the two. Symbolism, too, was either gradually lost, being merged into the totem system of the hunter races, or it grew up under the same races and became a complicated system, very like the sun symbols of other countries. The resemblance may have been accidental, but the impression is growing that the symbolism was not a native growth, but was introduced from some other land.

III. It is to be remembered that cremation was in Europe distinctive of the bronze age, and was comparatively unknown in the neolithic age. We are also to remember that the phallic symbol was very common during that age, so common that many think it was introduced into the north of Europe by the Phoenicians, who took long voyages for the sake of finding tin. The Druids also are supposed to have cremated bodies, and to them have been ascribed the horse-shoe symbols which are still recognized in those celebrated temples formed from standing stones. With the Druids, fire worship, sun worship, serpent worship and phallic worship formed a complicated system, which stamped itself upon the megalithic monuments of the land. The discovery of these various forms of superstition in the American continent suggests to us the possibility of a transmission of the same complicated cultus to the western coasts of the great sea. This is an important fact. Was it owing to the extension of the Phoenician voyages or to the zeal of Druidic priests that these things were introduced? The contact seemed to have produced a marvellous effect. It was not a decline from the bronze age which we see in these familiar symbols, but the effect of contact with European voyagers in pre-Columbian times, pre-Columbian discovery in fact. The conclusion is startling, but this is the only way that we can account for the marvellous resemblances. Certainly no ordinary nature worship could produce a cultus which would combine all the elements of the eastern faiths—Druidic, Phoenician, Hittite, all in one, nor could the law of growth account for the details as they are seen. Parallel development might indeed result in the prevalence of animal worship among the hunter races, of sun worship among the agricultural races,
possibly of serpent worship; but when all of these are combined and made expressive of a strange esoteric system, with the mystic significance of the sun symbol as the source of life, we are led to say that something else must be brought in to account for the phenomena. Phallic worship is not a simple cult which might be introduced anywhere, nor is it to be expected that the worship of fire, or of the sun, or the serpent, would all come from natural causes. There might be a decline from a previous advanced condition. The bronze age might sink back into the stone age. The absence of tin might result in the substitution of copper for the bronze, and the change go on until savage hunters are seen carrying about with them strange reminders of their previous condition; but we cannot see how the process of growth could bring together on the American tree the varied fruit of the eastern climes or place its many symbols in these western lands. The custom of keeping alive the sacred fire was common among the southern tribes. With them the sun was the great divinity. Idolatry, of a primitive kind, also prevailed among them. They built pyramids of earth, and placed their idols in niches on the sides of those pyramids, with their faces towards the four points of the sky. They kept their dead in sacred charnel houses, and placed images near by to watch the remains or to receive the spirits as they returned, reminding us of Egyptian customs.

The Mound-builder's cult was as strange as this. Here we see the pipes offered to the sun, but the pipes are covered with animal figures, suggestive of animal worship or totemism. Here also we see the serpent effigy, everything about it expressive of a still higher cult, namely, the worship of fire or the sun. Here we see the sun circle and the crescent, showing that sun worship was very prevalent. Here we see the phallic symbol, a marvellous cult, holding its sway over a united people, Southern Ohio being its chief seat of power. Everything of value which was ever offered to the sun was subject to the action of the sacred flame. Here we see the horse-shoe symbol in the mounds and the phallic symbol in the serpent pipes. And with all this complicated symbolism we learn that the bodies were cremated exactly as they were on Druidic altars, though the flames are smothered beneath the layers of the sacred soil. Surely it is mysterious. Could the Mound-builders have invented all this, and established their system over so great a territory, brought so many strange conceptions into their worship, unless they had received from some source a cult which was not indigenous to the continent. It is said by some that they were nothing more and nothing less than the ancestors of the present race of Indians, but by others that they were gifted with great intelligence; but whichever way we look at them, it does seem that they could not have had such a marvellous symbolism unless there had been among them some one from another continent.
IV. There was in all parts of the American Continent, as well as in the lands of the East, a union of fire and phallic worship. How the two came to be associated together is a mystery, but it was perhaps owing to the superstition in reference to the occult principle of life, which is hidden in fire and in the phallus. In the East the Hindu belief was that the fire generator was propelled by the snake, which constituted the rope, and the two classes of divinities pulled the rope. The result was that the fluid of life was churned out of the sea and made great convulsions.

We have in the preceding pages spoken of phallic symbols which are common on this continent, and of their resemblance to those found in the far East. Among these are the cups or circular depressions which are so often seen on the rocks, a specimen of which may be seen in the cut. These cup-stones are generally supposed to have been used as fire generators, though some have regarded them merely as depressions caused by nut cracking. The fact, however, that similar cup-stones are found scattered over Europe and Asia, and are used by persons in India in connection with religious ceremonies, has led many to believe that they are fire symbols.

There was another symbol which was as wide-spread as this. It is in reality the hooked cross, or the suastika, called by some the "Gammadion" from its resemblance to the Greek letter Gama. The "hooked cross" is, however, the most expressive name, for it suggests the shape of the symbol, and yet does not explain its use. Mr. Schliemann discovered many such symbols in Troy, and in his work on "Troja" he refers to the opinions of Mr. E. Burnouf and Mr. R. P. Gregg. The first of these held to the theory that it represented the two pieces of wood, which were laid crosswise upon one another before the sacrificial altars, in order to produce the sacred fire; the ends of which were bent around at right angles and fastened by means of four nails, so that the framework might not be moved. Mr. Gregg held to the opinion that the symbol came to mean the god of the sky. Mr. A. H. Sayce thinks that the Trojan suastika was derived from the Hittites, but that it originated in the far East.

Mr. Thomas Wilson, now deceased, wrote extensively upon the subject, and says the suastika is one of the symbolic marks of the Chinese, and quotes the opinion of many other writers. Count de Alviella says the suastika is in use among the Buddhists of Tibet. Mr. W. Crook says the mystical emblem of the suastika appears to represent the sun in his journey through the heavens, and is common among the Hindus. It is no less known to the Brahmans than to the Buddhists.

The Jains make the sign of the suastika as frequently as the Catholics make the sign of the cross. The suastika is found on the pottery of the Bronze Age in Asia Minor. It is also found among the Lake Dwellings of the Bronze Age of
Switzerland; on the spear-heads of Germany; on the ancient coins of Gaza, Palestine; on the ancient Hindu coins; and on the gold ornaments of Denmark.

The distribution of this symbol throughout the continent of America, is a subject which Mr. Thomas Wilson treats extensively. He shows that it is found upon the shell gorgets of Tennessee; on the copper plates of Ohio; and on the bead belts of the Iroquois and Sac Indians. A modified form is found in the sand-paintings of the Navajos. Mr. Wilson refers to the discovery of an engraved shell in the Toco Mound of Tennessee, on which was an image resembling the statue of Buddha, and thinks the symbol was introduced by Buddhists. Mr. W. H. Moorehead found many specimens of copper ornaments in the Hopewell Mounds. Among them were stencil ornaments of thin copper, cut in the shape of the clover leaf and the fish, giving the idea that they were introduced by the missionaries from Europe, and became mingled with those common among the aborigines; five suastika crosses; a long mass of copper covered with wood; eighteen single copper rings; a number of double copper rings; ten circular copper rings, with holes in the center; an ornament in the shape of a St. Andrews cross; copper plates; copper hatchets; pearl beads; a copper eagle; spool-shaped objects; one stool of copper; a human skull with horns; a copper plate, placed on the breast of the skeleton; and an altar. This find is important, and does not decide the question as to the transmission of the suastika before the time of the Discovery. It would seem, however, that on general

*The cut represents a rock found in Southern Ohio, which is now in the Museum in Cincinnati, Ohio.*
principles it is easier to borrow such symbols than to invent them.

It should be said here, that the fire symbol, the phallic symbol, the horseshoe, the looped square, the serpent, and the cross were closely associated in American symbolism. The serpent was divided into four parts, the number four reminding us of the four parts of the heavens. It is supposed that the serpent symbolized the water and cloud, and sometimes the lightning. The phallic symbol signified the life principle.

The significance of the hooked cross in America is difficult to decide upon, for it is found in a great variety of materials; sometimes on the shell gorgets, sometimes on copper plates, sometimes cut into the rocks, and moulded into pieces of pottery. Such is the case among the mounds. It is here associated with the circle, the square, the common cross, the coiled serpent, and many other symbols. In fact there is scarcely any ordinary symbol which is not found in some form, in some material among the mounds. This shows that there was an extensive system of symbolism which had either been introduced among the Mound-Builders, or had been invented by them. The description of these symbols is given in the book on the Mound-Builders.*

In connection with the subject of the hooked cross as a fire symbol, it may be well to consider the various ceremonies which were connected with the fire among the aborigines. Dr. Washington Matthews has described a ceremony which prevailed among the Navajos. The ceremony took place after

nightfall, in the midst of an open circle. It appears that those who took part in it, had on only their breech-cloth and their moccasins, and were daubed with white earth until they seemed a group of living marbles. As they advanced in single file and moved around the fire, they threw their bodies into divers attitudes: now they faced the east; now the south, west, and north—bearing aloft their slender wands, tipped with eagle down. Their course around the fire was to the left, by way of the south. When they had circled the fire twice they began to thrust their wands towards it and throw themselves back, with the head to the fire, as though to thrust the wand into the flames. When they succeeded in lighting it, they would rush out of the corral.

There were other ceremonies among the Navajos, in which they raced with firebrands in their hands, the brands throwing out long brilliant flames over the hands and arms of the dancers; they strike one another with the flaming wand, and sometimes catch one another and bathe them in flame. The significance of this ceremony is unknown, but seems to be very impressive.

The most interesting ceremony of the Navajos was connected with the suastika, or hooked cross, which was used, not so much as a symbol of fire, as a symbol of life. The cross was a part of the sand-paintings and represented the common cross, but in different colors. On the ends of the cross, the divine forms stood, making the arms of the cross lie with their ends extended one to each of the four cardinal points. On the cross are figures which wear around their loins skirts of red sunlight adorned with sunbeams. They have ear pendants, bracelets, armlets of blue and red turquoise and coral, the emblematic jewels of the Navajos; the four arms and legs are black, showing in each a zigzag mass representing lightning on the surface of the black rain cloud. Each bears attached by a string to his right arm, a basket and a rattle, painted to symbolize the rain cloud and the lightning. Beside each one is a highly conventionalized picture of a plant, which has the same color as the god. The body of the eastern god is white, so is the stalk of the corn on the left; the body of the southern god is blue, so is the beanstalk beside him; the body of the western god is yellow, so is the pumpkin vine beside him; the body of the north god is black, so is the tobacco plant by his side. Each of the four sacred plants is represented as growing from five white roots in the central waters and spreading outwards. The gods form one cross, which is directed to the four cardinal points; the plants form another cross, but all have a common center. On the head of each god is an eagle plume, all pointing in one direction. The gods are represented with beautiful embroidered pouches, symbolizing the rainbow, or rainbow deity; one end of which is the body below the waist, having legs and waist and feet and skirt, at the other end head and neck and arms. This is the rainbow goddess, which resembles
the Iris of the Greeks. In the east, where the picture is not enclosed, are two birds, standing with wings outstretched facing one another. The blue bird, the herald of the morning, has the color of the south and the upper regions; he is sacred and his feathers are plume-sticks. These blue birds stand guard at the door of the house wherein the gods dwell.

The colors, among the Navajos, are sacred to the different points of the compass. The east is white; the south, blue; the west, yellow; and the north, black. The upper world is blue, and the lower world, white and black in spots.

This cross, formed by the bodies of the goddesses standing on the rafts, with the plants standing on the side, the rainbow colors with the symbols of the sky in their hands, shows the love for beauty which prevailed among this mountain people, and at the same time shows the symbol of the cross.

There is no mythology more beautiful than that of the Navajos, and it seems to have been original with them. Still we are to notice that the humanized rainbow resembles that which was common among the Egyptians and signified about the same thing. This resemblance leads us to the subject of the transmission of symbols. This has been treated by Goblet
de Alviella, who is regarded as the best authority upon the subject. He, however, confined his studies mainly to the symbols found in Eastern lands, and only refers briefly to those scattered over this continent. He maintains that an esoteric system prevailed throughout the world, but was better understood by the priests and magicians than by the common people, but that there was so much secrecy about it, that it was difficult to decide whether it was borrowed from others, or invented independently.

It is acknowledged by all that there are many symbols in America which so strongly resemble those found in Europe and in Asia, as to suggest that they came from some common center and were gradually transmitted from one continent to another. Among these symbols, the most common and widespread are those which are connected with the worship of the elements, and especially with the worship of fire. As proof of this, we have only to refer to the fact that the cup stones, as well as the suastika, are very common in this country and in Asia, and the explanation which has been given, that they were used for generating fire, is the most plausible one.

It is to be noticed that the custom of making a new fire was common among the natives of America. Prescott has described that which occurred among the Mexicans. He says:

"Among the Aztecs it was at the end of fifty years that the new fire was created, instead of every year as among the Muskogees. The ceremony took place upon the summit of a mountain, about two leagues distant from the city. A procession of priests moved toward this mountain, taking with them a captive taken in war and the apparatus for kindling the new fire. On reaching the summit of a mountain, the procession paused till midnight; then as the constellation of the Pleiades reached the zenith, and while the people waited in great suspense, the new fire was kindled by the friction of the fire drill placed on the breast of the victim. The flame was then communicated to the funeral pile on which the body of the captive was thrown. As the light streamed up to heaven shouts burst from the countless multitudes which covered the hills, terraces, temples, and housetops. Couriers with torches lighted bore them over every part of the country, and the cheering element was soon brightened on many a hearthstone within the circuit of many a league."

Mr. Thomas Wilson has given a map showing the distribution of the suastika throughout Asia, America, and Europe. This map is very suggestive, for it shows that the symbol might have been introduced into America from either side—from Asia or from Europe. If from Asia, it seems probable that it was in prehistoric times; if, on the other hand, it was introduced from Europe, it might have been in historic times.

There is one point to be considered in connection with this theory of the transmission of such symbols as the hooked cross
or suastika and the winged figure. If they were transmitted from Europe they did not carry with them those symbols which were quite common in mediæval times, and so must have been transmitted before that date. There were fire symbols in Europe before mediæval times, but the basilisk and the cockatrice, and other symbols, became common at a later time.

The dragon, or winged serpent, has performed a part in many creeds, and the dragon slayer has been the hero of countless legends. These legends vary with climate and country and the development of the people with whom it is found. In Egypt the dragon was called Typhon; in Greece, Pytho; in India, Kalli Naga, the "vanishment of Vishnu"; in Anglo-Saxon chronicles he is called Draco, "the fire drake," "the denyer of

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUASTIKA.

God," "the unsleeping, poisoned fanged monster," "the terrible enemy of man, full of subtility and power."

The story of St. George and the dragon is a common one, which has come down to us through the ages, but it is a survival of hundreds of earlier ones. An old legend of the founding of Thebes by Cadmus, is as follows: "Arriving on the site of the future city, he proposed to make a sacrifice to the protecting goddess Athene, but on sending his men to a distant fountain for water, they were attacked by a dragon. Cadmus therefore went himself, and slew the monster and, at the command of Athene, sowed its teeth on the ground, from which immediately sprang a host of armed giants. These on the instant all turned their arms against each other, with such fury that they were all presently slain, save five. Cadmus invoked the aid of these giants in the building of the new city, and from these five the noblest families of Thebes hereafter traced their lineage." The meaning of this story and the
origin of the dragon itself, are difficult to understand. It is supposed, however, that they originally represented some operation of nature. "The dragon wing of night overspreads the earth," is an expression which shows the effect of imagination when aroused by the story of such monsters.

Pliny, the elder, gathered these stories into a book, which shows their prevalence before his day; but they continued to be told even through the Middle Ages. "Among these stories, were others of the unicorn, and of the cockatrice. The unicorn, alive or dead, seems to have eluded observation in a wonderful way, and the men of science have been left to abstract their facts from the slightest hints. One of the mediaeval writers adopted the plan of compiling statements in reference to the unicorn, just as they came to hand. Pliny states that it is a fierce and terrible creature. Those which Graceas de Herto described about the Cape of Good Hope, were beheld with heads like horses. Those which Vartomanus beheld, he described as a huge lizard.

The cockatrice was another creature which was often described. It is called the king of serpents, because of its majestic pace, for it does not creep like other serpents but goes half upright, from which cause all other serpents avoid him, and it seems that nature designed him for preëminence from the crown or cornet on his head. It is said to be half a foot in length, the hinder part like a serpent, the fore part like a cock. These monsters are supposed to be found in Africa and some other parts of the world. Guildaumes, a Norman priest, who wrote a book in the Middle Ages, which is a full description of these monsters, and especially of the cockatrice, says their poison is so strong that there is no cure for it, and one is in such a degree affected by its presence that no creature can live near it. It kills not only by its touch, but even the sight of the cockatrice is death, and all other serpents are afraid of the sight and hissing of a cockatrice. The heraldic cockatrice is represented as having the head and legs of a cock, a scaley body of a serpent, and the wings of a dragon, but a crowned head. The basilisk was the king of serpents. It is described as a huge lizard, but in later times it became a crested serpent. Like the cockatrice, the glance of its eye was death. Pliny says, "We come now to the basilisk, which all other serpents flee from and are afraid of; albeit he killeth them with his very breath and the smell that passeth from him, and if he do set his eye on a man, it is enough to take away his life."

V. Associated with the fire drill was a symbol which in the East was called the Sacred Grove. It consisted of an upright shaft, with branches extending to either side and a vine running over the shaft at the end of the branches. At the end of the branches were pine cones. These symbols are common in the East. They are seen on the façades of palaces in Babylonia.
and are significant. We call them human tree figures. They remind us of the so-called groves or idols of Asherah, which were condemned in the Scriptures as the symbols of a degraded worship. We do not know that fire worship was thus perverted to a base system in America, but these figures are worthy of study in this connection.

VI. We now consider the contrast between the fire worship in America and in Asia, ascribing the latter mainly to an historic source and the former to a prehistoric source—one aboriginal and the other traditional. Here the archaeology of the East will assist us. In Egypt the work of creation was ascribed to the gods of fire, though the element of moisture came in. Ptah, an appropriate name for the god of fire, was a “creator,” “sculptor;” Sachet denotes “kindling fire;” Pechet is the “devourer,” and Bes is the “ascending flame.” The Semitic gods of fire and light contend: The consuming and destroying sun god, contends with darkness as, in Egypt, Osiris does with Set. Among the Akkadians fire played an important part, though their worship consisted of magic. The Akkadians are supposed to be the same as the Turanians, which is a term used to designate the so-called Ural Altaic, of which the Mongols, Magyars, Finns, Samoyedes are the chief branches. The religion of the Finns embodied much of the system which belonged to the Turanians; the Klavala is the book which contains the epic poems of the Finns, the subject of which is simply the contest of the nature powers personified. The three great heroes of the Klavala are the ancient spirits of Heaven, fire and earth, and correspond to Odin, Loki and Humir, the German triad of gods.

The Persian religion was one in which there was a great development of the worship of fire and the drink of immortality. The Persians had a peculiar superstition about the disposal of the body. They supposed it could not be burned, because that would corrupt the fire; they could not bury it, because that would corrupt the earth; it could not be left exposed, that would corrupt the air; it could not be put into the water, for that would corrupt the water; it was therefore put in a tower so that it could be devoured by birds. The Wends, however, on the contrary, had three methods of disposing of the body: burial that carried the soul to the under world; burning, which bore it in smoke to the heavens; burial in a boat, which transported it to the island of the sun. Among the Scandinavians, Loki was the God of fire; he was not to be trusted; while he was benificent, he was treacherous. Lenormant in his Chaldean Magic has given the same history. He says the Chaldaic Babylonians, who were devoted to astronomy, read in the sidereal and planetary system a revelation of the divine being. First was Set, Cronos, mysterious source of all things; Anu, primordial chaos, god of time; Hea, god of water, the spirit that brooded
over the water; Bel, the demiurge; next, the gods of the five planets—Adar, Saturn; Marduk, Jupiter; Nergal, Mars; Istar, Venus; Nebo, Mercury.

The demons were seven phantoms in flame, who were the counterparts to the seven gods of the planets, including the sun and moon. In Anu was recognized the ideal of a cosmic or uranic triad, heaven and earth and fire. The Chaldeans had the opinion that the shape of the earth was a boat turned upside down, a coracle; the interior cavity was the abyss where the dead found a home. Above the earth extended the sky, spangled with stars, the central point was the nadir; here was the mountain of the East with its four spurs or peaks, and the central point. Between the earth and heavens was the zone of the atmosphere where the winds blow and the storms rage. Fire worship was at first common to both the Turanians and Aryans of ancient origin; fire was the most active of all the gods; man could hold direct communication with him by means of sacred rites and by lighting the sacrificial flame. Under the name Izdubhar, "man of fire," he became one of the heroes of epic history; he was called the supreme pontiff of the earth; he was recognized in the flame of the domestic hearth and protected the house from evil influences, and was called the "god of the House." In his natural reality, he was superior to the sun; in his historical, he was the survivor of the deluge; in his office, he was the divinity of the hearth; the insignia of his office was a reed, which took the place of a wand. The rush was used as the fire generator; hence he was called the god of the rushes.

Here, then, we have the fire worship carried to a high stage of personification. Taken in connection with the cult as it existed in America, we have the entire history. We may trace it through all its stages.
CHAPTER X.

THE WATER CULT AND THE DELUGE MYTH.

One of the mysterious things about American archaeology and mythology is that they contain so many reminders of the events which belonged to the early days in historic countries, some of which have been transmitted through Scripture. We are constantly coming upon these in whatever region or province we may be, whether in the territory of the Mound-builders, Cliff-dwellers, Pueblos, wild hunters of the north, the fishermen of the northwest coast, the agriculturists of the south, the semi-civilized people of the interior, or the civilized races of Mexico, Central America and Peru. Among all these we find not only symbols, but traditions and myths which strikingly resemble those of the east. This makes the department of symbolism interesting and important, though there is no branch of study which does not, in this respect, become suggestive. If we take up the solar cult, the moon cult, the water cult, the fire cult, serpent worship, animal worship, totemism, animism, fetichism, going from the most elaborate to the most primitive, we find reminders of familiar events which have occurred elsewhere, and can not resist the impression that, even in the least developed or most primitive of these systems, there are traces of something that lies back of them which does not belong to them and can not be ascribed to any indigenous or native origin. The clue may be misleading and we may take too much for granted, but we certainly ought not to ignore its existence or refuse to admit the evidence when presented.

Dr. C. P. Tiele said, several years ago: "The question of the relation which the religions of savages stand to the great historic families of religions has just been opened." But very great progress has been made since that time, and we ought to be able to trace, before long, not only the relations, but also the channels through which these reminders have come. Over a large extent of Asia and Europe, the Aryans were preceded by Turanian people. Such is the evidence of history. Archaeologists have, to be sure, been thinking of late that there were no Aryans or Turanians, but, on the contrary, that all classes descended from the paleolithic people of Europe. Some also claim that immigration to America took place during the latter part of that age, and that settlement occurred some time in the early part of the neolithic age. But we can not do away with the distinction which linguists recognize, nor can we destroy the evidence which is presented to the mythologist that there is
a filtering of the events and traditions of historic countries through the tokens and myths of prehistoric America, and we cannot certainly allow a speculation to destroy or do away with that which is so plain. Too many discoveries have been made in Egypt, Assyria and the far East for us to ignore the record of creation, the deluge, and other events as they are recorded in Scripture, and confirmed by the monuments and tablets.

In fact, it seems to us to be time that the historic and prehistoric archaeologists should be working together instead of apart, and the department of Biblical archaeology, which has been making so great advance, should be recognized as a coadjutor in the field instead of an enemy. We do not lessen the importance of nature worship when we deny that the tradition of the creation was the result of personification, or that of the flood the result of local freshets, for there is a strange mingling of the local and the universal, of the modern and the ancient, and it is very difficult to separate them without destroying the whole fabric.

The water cult in America seems to have come from foreign countries; at least that part of it which perpetuated the tradition of the flood must have done so, for in this the symbols are too suggestive to be explained in any other way.

The knowledge of the Pleiades, the traditions of the first man, the conception of the dragon, the worship of the serpent, the prevalence of the phallic symbol, the association of the water cult, fire cult, moon cult and the solar cult, are all arguments for the transmission of the tradition of the flood from foreign countries, even if the cult is found in a very elementary and primitive condition. Take the following cosmogonic legend of Oannes by Berosus: “According to extracts from the Grecian historian of Chaldea, he had a body of a fish entire, but underneath his fish’s head there was a second human head, while human feet appeared under his tail, and he possessed a human voice. This monster spent the whole day amongst men without taking any food, while he taught them letters, science, and the principles of every art, the rules of the foundations of towns, the building of temples, the measurements and boundaries of lands, seed time and harvest; in short, all that could advance civilization, so that nothing new has been invented since that period. Then at sunset this great Oannes regained the sea and passed the night in the vast region of waves, for he was amphibious.” This description of Oannes is interesting when studied in connection with the following picture of the Zuni water-snake, which was found by Lieut. Whipple on the rocks in Arizona. See Fig. 1.

It was observed by the explorers near the Rocky Dell Creek. The interpretation of it as given by a Pueblo Indian was that it represented the great water snake created by Montezuma, to give rain; they describe the snake as of great length, slowly
WATER CULT AND THE DELUGE MYTH.

The great feathered serpent of the Zuni was supposed to live in the water and to guard the springs. The celebrated Aztec spring was its favorite haunt. Vessels taken from this fountain had upon them crescents, serpents, frogs, tadpoles and other water animals. Lieut. Whipple says: "I do not know that upon this continent any animal has been found similar to it; it would seem to be of Eastern origin."

There is a tradition among the Zuni of a great flood; this flood came from the west and rushed down the great canon and filled it with water; a great many of the people fled to the top of the mesa and were saved from the waters; the rest perished—the Navajos, Apaches and wild beasts—in the sea of waters, except such as found safety there. The Zuni built a pueblo upon the lofty eminence, and waited the subsidence of the waters. Time passed and the waves still surrounded their refuge. A sacrifice was devised to appease the water divinity. The son of a chief and a beautiful virgin were the chosen offerings. As they were let down from the cliff into the deep, the waters rolled back, leaving the young man and maid statues of stone.

![Fig. 1.—Water Snake of the Zunis.](image)

An isolated rock is pointed out to the travelers as containing upon its summit the statues of the two persons. The high priest or governor of the Pueblo has it his especial duty to officiate before the water deities. Among the wild tribes—the Algonquins, Iroquois, and Dakotas—there are various myths as to how the earth was recreated after the deluge of waters. There are variations as to this myth, but generally Manobozho is the divinity who personates Noah. He survives the flood, floats above the water in his canoe; he sends different animals down into the water to bring up the earth. The muskrat succeeds. Manobozho takes the mud from the claws, sprinkles it upon the water, causes it to grow until it becomes a great island; he sprinkles small lumps on the island, and they become mountains; he sticks arrows into the ground and they become men and women.*

This story has its analogies among the Sioux, Athabascans, Iroquois, Cherokees and various tribes of British Columbia and California. The story varies according to locality. Among the Algonquins he is Michabo, the giant rabbit, but he is a god.

*See American Journal of Folk Lore, Sept. '01, article by A. Chamberlain, which gives the variations of this tradition. Page 15, Vol. IV., article by Dr. F. Boas.
of wind, storm and rain; he is said to have scooped out the basins of the lakes. Among the Ojibways a mighty serpent began to flood the land, but Michabo destroyed him with his dart. Among the Cherokees the animals were above, nothing was below but a wide expanse of water; but the water beetle and the water spider dove to the bottom and brought up the mud. Among the Yocusts of California the earth was covered with water; there existed a hawk, crow, duck, but the duck brought up his beak full of mud. Among the Chinooks and Bilquias it was the muskrat, but the buzzard flapped his wings and made the mountains.

The description given by Catlin of the religious ceremonies which prevailed among the Mandans before and after the initiation of their young men as warriors, is worthy of notice.

The Mandan religious ceremony commences not on a particular day of the year, but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves; for according to their tradition the "twig the bird brought home was a willow bough and had full-grown leaves on it." The bird to which they allude is the mourning or turtle dove, and being as they call it a medicine bird, it is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury. During the ceremony a figure is seen approaching; the body of this strange personage, which was chiefly naked, was painted white, resembling at a little distance a white man; he wore a robe of four white wolf skins, falling from his shoulders, on his head a splendid head-dress of two raven's skins; in his left hand a pipe was cautiously carried as if of great importance. After passing the chiefs and braves, he approached the medicine or mystery lodge, which he had the means of opening and which had been religiously closed during the year. While preparations were making in the medicine lodge Nu-mohmuck-a-nah, "the first or only man," traveled through the village, stopping in front of every man's lodge and crying until the owner came out and asked who he was and what was the matter. To which he replied by relating the sad catastrophe which had happened on the earth's surface by the overflowing of waters, saying that he was the only person saved from the universal calamity, that he landed his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he now resides; that he has come to open the medicine lodge which must needs receive a present of some edged tool from the owner of every wigwam, that it may be sacrificed to the water; for he says, "if this is not done there will be another flood and no one will be saved, as it was with such tools that the big canoe was made." Having visited every lodge and wigwam during the day and having received such a present at each, he returned at evening and deposited them in the medicine lodge, where they remained until the afternoon of the last day of the ceremony, when they were thrown into the
WATER CULT AND THE DELUGE MYTH.

river in a deep place from a bank thirty feet high, and in the presence of the whole village, from whence they can never be recovered. These were undoubtedly sacrificed to the Spirit of the Water.

Catlin, with this description of the ceremony of the big canoe, the medicine man, the gathering of the knives, brings in a few remarks in reference to the symbols. He says the number four seemed to be sacred; the ceremony lasted four days; there were four medicine men who searched the four parts of the camp or village; there were four groups of dancers; four sacks of water, resembling large tortoises, were placed on the floor; four men were selected to cleanse out the lodge; four cardinal points were symbolized; four skewers were placed as instruments of torture in the arms and legs of the warriors; four sacrifices were made; four colors; and narrates that there were four tortoises which supported the earth; they carried dirt on their back, though he brings in the idea of forty days, as the buffalo dance was repeated four times, eight times, twelve times, sixteen times in the successive days.*

Among the civilized races the tradition of the flood is common, and it is there associated with the divinity of rain, and with the water cult as it is in the uncivilized. Here, however, we find some peculiarities not elsewhere known. A white God is the culture hero who answers to the Noah of the Bible, but his history is something like that of the Messiah. The Fair God yields to his enemy Texcatlipoca, who is a very Loki, whose symbol is the serpent. He escapes to the pyramid of Cholula, in connection with which there is still a tradition of the flood; he withdraws from this and takes his canoe made of serpent skins and crosses the water, promising to return again. This tradition or story of the Fair God has been interpreted by Dr. Brinton as a personification of the sun having a contest with the god of darkness. Others, however, maintain that he belonged to a race different from the one he civilized; that he created a new religion, based on fasting, penance and virtue. The Aztec Neptune, or water god, was Tlaloc, whose image is painted green and azure, representing the various shades of water. He is armed with a wand, twisted into a spiral, ending in a sharp point, in representation of a thunder bolt. Tlaloc had a chapel on the top of the great temple of Mexico, as important as that of Huitzilipochtli, with which it was connected. On the day of the feast of the Tlalocs the priests of these ministers of the god of waters betook themselves to the lagoon of Citlatepetl, situated a few miles from Mexico, to cut the reeds for decorating the altar.

Dr. Brinton says: "The American nations among whom a distinct and well authenticated myth of the deluge was found

are as follows: Athapascans, Algonquins, Iroquois, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Caddos, Natchez, Dakotas, Apaches, Navajos, Mandans, Pueblos, Aztecs, Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Tlascalons, Mechoacans, Toltecs, Nahua, Mayas, Quiches, Haitians, the natives of Darien and Popoyan, Muyscas, Quichus, Tupinambas, Achaguas, Araucanians, and doubtless others."

A mountain figures in most of these traditions. The Mexican Codex Vaticanus represents the picture of the deluge with a bird perched on the summit of a tree. One of the Mexican traditions preserved by Torquemada, identified the pyramid of Cholula as the mountain of Tlaloc, the god of rain. Among the Araucanians it was a three-peaked mountain and had the property of floating on water. These people kept on hand wooden bowls to use as parasols, reminding us of the symbol of the umbrella in India. The peak of Old Zuni in New Mexico; that of Colhuacan of the Pacific coast; Mount Neba in the province of Guaymi, and Mount Apoala in the Mixtec province; Mount Hood among the Klallams, and many other mountains have traditions connected with them as places of refuge for their ancestors. The number seven has been preserved; one Mexican and one Peruvian myth give out exactly seven persons as saved in their floods. This is remarkable, because the mystic number in America is four instead of seven, though the seven stars of the Pleiades are known and have a myth connected with them. Another feature of the myth is that the survivor of the flood is always called the first man and is generally pictured as white, and as coming from the east. Quetzacoatl was the god of light to the Aztecs. His emblem was the bird serpent and his rebus the cross. He was born of a virgin. The temple of Cholula was dedicated to him. He had a full flowing beard, a white complexion, and wore long white robes. Among the Muyscas the hero Bochica bore the name "the white one". The Caribs' patron Tamu was "the old man of the sky". He had a light complexion, came from the east, and went to the east. The Tupis of Brazil were named after the first man who survived the flood—Tupa, "guardian of the nation," "ruler of the lightning," whose voice is the thunder. The expectation of the coming of the white man was common. Natives of Hayti told Columbus that his arrival was predicted; Montezuma of Mexico told Cortez the same; the Inca Huascar told De Soto the same. Old writers—Gomara, Cogolludo and others—have taken pains to collect the instances of this presentiment among the native races. Brinton says: "Few tribes were destitute of such presentiments. The Chickasaws, the Mandans of the Missouri, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, the Muyscas of Bogota, the Botocudos of Brazil, the Araucanians of Chili, have been asserted, on testimony that leaves no room for

*See "Myths of the New World," page 128.
skepticism, to have had these forebodings." These traditions of the flood must have been transmitted. We do not undertake to follow up the channel through which they flowed, nor to decide as to the country from which they came, but we cannot help the conviction that they bear the impress of systems which were known in historic countries.

Let us now consider the customs connected with the water cult. We imagine that there was once in the Far East a system of nature worship which was as rude as anything found in America; that at that time the elements of fire, water, lightning, the sun and moon, and all the nature powers, were worshiped, or, at least, divine attributes ascribed to them. We are sure that serpent worship and tree worship prevailed, and appeared in the East, though we do not know exactly at what time they appeared. Phallic worship and image worship also came in at a certain stage in the progress of thought. The last served to corrupt and degrade the other systems, and very soon perverted them, so that they became sources of degradation to the people. The Scriptures condemn these, and history confirms the justice of the sentence. The tradition of the serpent in the Scriptures may be an allegory or a statement of fact, but there is no doubt that the serpent worship was a source of degradation and a sentence was placed upon it by enlightened conscience. The personification of the nature powers did not elevate the people, for when the personification grew more elaborate the moral practices grew more degraded. When the Eleusinian mysteries were introduced into Greece from Egypt, everything became significant of the processes of nature. Names were given to the nature powers, and myths were invented to explain the origin of the names; but the myths and mysteries did not save the people from degradation.

While the doctrine of immortality and the future state was understood, and the anticipation was symbolized in Egypt by embalming the body and transporting it across the Nile; in Phoenicia phallic worship and fire worship were devoted to human sacrifices, and sun worship itself was attended with the immolation of human victims.

All of these systems are found in America, and their symbols are scattered far and wide. We do not know whether they are to be connected with the decline of religion in oriental countries, or with the progress of religion in America, for they are closely connected with the nature worship, from which all moral distinctions were absent. Still, the symbols which, in Eastern lands, are suggestive of degraded practices are the very symbols prevalent here. They are symbols which, in the East, belonged to the secret mysteries, some of which were known to be full of degradations.

We maintain that the religion of the aborigines here not only embodied the same elements as those which became so strong
in the oriental religions when at a certain stage, but it shows how these elements interacted. The fire became the symbol of the sun and consumed the offerings made to the sun, and became sacred as his servant. The serpent was frequently regarded as a divinity in some way amenable to the sun, and so serpent pipes and serpent effigies were connected with the sun circle in the symbolism of the Mound-builders. It is possible that there was a certain kind of tree worship;* the same element of life having its chief embodiment in the tree, which was able to stand up in its force. The moon cult also prevailed, for the moon is always an attendant upon the sun. Whether there was a distinction of sex between the sun and moon is unknown; but the sun circle and the moon crescent may have been male and female.

These three types of nature worship, in which the fire, the serpent and the sun were the chief divinities, probably prevailed throughout the Mound-builders' territory, though their symbols varied with different localities. We recognize the water cult, the solar cult, and the image worship, as different phases of nature worship; but we find that in the symbols there was a remarkable resemblance to the symbolism of other countries, and whether able or not to trace one to the other, we are struck with the thought that there was a studied and intentional symbolism, which resembled that of the Druids, in all their earthworks. The altars, the temple platforms, the burial mounds, the dance circles, the village enclosures, and the covered ways, were all here used not only for practical purposes and such as would subserve the convenience of the people living in the villages, but they were especially devoted to religious purposes and contained symbols in them. The relics also were symbolic, and many of them were buried with the persons,—their very position, in connection with the bodies, having a religious significance. It was not one cult alone that was symbolized in these, for some of the burial mounds contained offerings to the spirit of the dead—the symbols of the soul being placed in the mouth; but there were other offerings made to the water, to the sun, others to the fire, and others to the moon. The relics placed upon the altars, the ornaments, the flint discs, the copper crescents, the mica plates, the carved images, and the pottery figures, were all consecrated to the sun, and, when placed as offerings upon the altar, bore in their shape the symbol of the sun, as much as the altars themselves, or the earth-works in which they were enclosed. There is no locality where this system of sun worship is not symbolized. What is more, the system seemed to have brought into its service, and made useful, the symbols of the preceding

*This is the explanation given by the Dakotas of tree worship. The spirit of life was in the tree. It may be that this will account for the tree worship in the East, and will explain how tree worship and phallic worship became associated. The two in the East were symbolized by the sacred groves, so-called, the symbol of Asherah, or Ashtarte, the moon goddess.
WATER CULT AND THE DELUGE MYTH.

stages of worship. The serpent, the phallic symbol, the carved animals, the crescent-shaped relics, the fire-beds,—all were associated with the sun circle and made parts of the symbolism of sun worship. We imagine the combination to have been as follows: The sun symbol was embodied in the earth circles; the moon cult in the altars; the fire cult in the ashes in and beside the altars; the water cult in the ponds and wells found in and near the enclosures; animal worship in the effigies; the phallic symbol in the horse-shoe earth-works. We also find that the elements, such as the four quarters of the sky, four winds, four points of the compass, are symbolized by the cross and four concentric circles. So we come to look at everything as more or less symbolic. It is remarkable, as we study the village sites, how many of the conveniences of village life were placed under the protection of the sun divinity, and how much provision was made for the worship of the sun under all circumstances. We notice that the ponds and springs are near the villages; that covered ways connect the villages with the river's bank, and we imagine there was among the Mound-builders, as well as among the Pueblos and Cliff-dwellers, a cult which regarded springs and rivers as sacred and peopled them with divinities. We imagine that the most sacred ceremonies were observed in connection with these springs, and that the elaborate earth-works were erected to give solemnity to the various mysteries, which were directed by the secret orders. These different cults were combined, but, for the sake of convenience, it will be well to take them up separately. Let us consider the water cult as it existed among the Mound-builders of America. We shall find very many resemblances in it to the system as it was in the Far East. It seems to have existed here, but was closely connected with the solar cult, the ceremonies of that cult requiring the presence of water to make it complete. We have shown how extensively distributed was the tradition of the flood in America, how varied was the symbolism which perpetuated this tradition. We do not know that any such tradition existed among the Mound-builders nor can we discover any symbol which perpetuated it; but the water cult which we recognize is very similar to that which prevailed in Europe at a very early date, and was there symbolized in the prehistoric earth-works. We turn, then, to the resemblance which may be recognized between some of the earth-works in Southern Ohio and those in Great Britain. We have already spoken of this, but as certain new investigations and new discoveries have been made, we review the evidence.

1. The first group of works which we shall cite is the one at Portsmouth. The chief evidence is given by the avenues or the covered ways, which seem to have connected the enclosures on the different sides of the river. These, by aid of the ferry across the river, must have been the scene of extensive religious
processions, which can be compared to nothing better than the mysterious processions of Druid priests which once characterized the sacrifices to the sun among the ancient works of Great Britain. It has been estimated that the length of the avenues or covered ways was eight miles. The parallel walls measure about four feet in height and twenty feet base, and were not far from 160 feet apart. It is in the middle group that we discover the phallic symbol (see Fig. 2), the fire cult, the crescent of the moon and the sun circle. In the works upon the west bank of the Scioto we find the effigy enclosed in a circle (see Fig. 3), as a sign of animal worship, and in the concentric circles (see Fig. 4) with the enclosed conical mound, on the Kentucky side, we find the symbols of sun worship. We would here call attention to the theories recently thrown out by Mr. A. L. Lewis that the water cult was combined with the sun cult at Avebury; the avenues made of standing stones having passed over the Kennet Creek before they reached the circle at Beckhampton; the same is true at Stanton Drew and at Mount Murray, in the Isle of Man. In each of these places were covered avenues reaching across marshy ground towards the circles. "If the circles were places of worship or sacrifice, such avenues connecting them with running streams may have had special object or meaning."*

Mr. Lewis says: "I have never adopted Stukeley's snake theory, for I could never see any great resemblance to a serpent, nor could I see any thing very suggestive of a serpent in the arrangement of the other circles. Still, Stukeley's statements about the stones of the avenue, leading from the great circle toward the river, are very precise." Stukeley says: "There were two sets of concentric circles surrounded by another circle, which was encircled by a broad, deep ditch, outside of which was an embankment large enough for a railway; two avenues of stone leading southwest and southeast. The theory now is that they led across the water of Kennet Creek to Beckhampton and to Overton Hill. The so-called coves in the large circles mark the

*Journal of Anthropological Institute, February, 1891
site of altars, whereon human sacrifice may have been offered to the sun; but the avenues mark the place through which processions passed in making their sacrifices,—a passage over water being essential to the ceremony."

This is a new explanation of these works, but it is one which becomes very significant in connection with the works at Portsmouth. Here the avenues approach the river in such a way as to show that a canoe ferry was used to cross the river, the ceremony being made more significant by that means. The covered ways, to be sure, do not reach the edge of the water, but terminate with the second terrace, leaving the bottom-land without any earth-work. This would indicate that the works are very old, and were, in fact, built when the waters covered the bottom-land. It may be said, in this connection, that all the covered ways are similar to these; they end at the second terrace, and were evidently built when the flood-plain was filled with water. As additional evidence that the works at Portsmouth were devoted to the water cult and were similar to those at Avebury, in Great Britain, we would again refer to the character of the works at either end of the avenues. Without insisting upon the serpent symbol being embodied in the avenues, we think it can be proven that the most striking features of the work at Avebury are duplicated here; the sun symbol being embodied in the concentric circles upon the Kentucky side; the phallic symbol in the horse-shoe mounds upon the Ohio side (see Figs. 2, 3, 4) and the avenues of standing stones corresponding to the covered ways which connected the enclosures on the Kentucky side with that on the Ohio side.

2. The group on the third terrace is one which is the most significant. Here the circle surrounds the horseshoes, as the circle of stones does at Avebury. Here, too, is a natural elevation that has been improved by art, and made to serve a religious purpose. Mr. T. W. Kinney says this mound, which was a natural elevation, was selected as the site for a children's house. In excavating the cellar there was discovered a circular altar composed of stones which were standing close together, and showed evi-
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

dence of heat. This altar was four feet below the surface. Leading from the altar was a channel about eighteen inches wide, composed of clay, which was supposed to be designed to “carry off the blood”, giving the idea that human sacrifices were offered here, as they were upon the altars at Avebury. Squier and Davis say that the horse-shoes constitute the most striking features; they are both about the same size and shape. They measure about eighty feet in length and seventy feet in breadth. Enclosing these in part is a wall about five feet high. These horse-shoes might well be called coves. The ground within them was formerly perfectly level. They open out toward the river and were on the edge of the terrace, and so were elevated above the surrounding country and were in plain sight. Near them was a natural elevation eighteen feet high, but gradually subsiding into a ridge towards the enclosed mound. A full view of the entire group may be had from its summit. The enclosed mound was 28 feet high by 110 feet base. It is truncated and surrounded by a low circumvallation. Dr. Hempstead, an old resident, of Portsmouth, surveyed the works and has furnished the author with a diagram. He represents the walls surrounding the horse-shoes as continuous, making it a complete circle. In this diagram the resemblance to the works at Stone Henge is more striking than in the one furnished by Squier and Davis. He says the animal mound on the west side was 460 feet long, 300 feet wide, the square enclosure 400 feet in diameter. There was a living spring near this square, thus showing that the water cult and the animal worship were associated.

Atwater speaks of this group as having wells in close proximity to the horse-shoes. He speaks of the earth between the parallel walls as having been leveled by art and appearing to have been used as a road-way by those who came down the river for the purpose of ascending the high place.

Most noticeable is the mound with concentric circles, which is situated on the Kentucky side. The four circles were cut at right angles by four broad avenues which conform nearly to the cardinal points. From the level summit of this mound a
complete view of every part of this work is commanded. On the supposition that it was in some way connected with religious rites, the mound afforded the most conspicuous place for their observance. See Fig. 4.

"The mound in the center, at first glance, might be taken for a natural elevation. It is possible that it is a detached spur of the hill enlarged and modified by art. It is easy while standing on the summit of this mound to people it with the strange priesthood of ancient superstition and fill its walls with the thronging devotees of mysterious worship. The works were devoted to religious purposes and were symbolic in their design."*

As additional evidence, we may mention the terraced mound situated about a mile west. See Fig. 5. Here is a group of exquisite symmetry and beautiful proportions. It consists of an embankment of earth, five feet high, thirty feet base, with an interior ditch twenty-five feet across and six feet deep. Enclosed is an area ninety feet in diameter; in the center of this is a mound forty feet in diameter and eight feet high. There is a narrow gateway through the parapet, and a causeway over the ditch leading to the enclosed mound. This is a repetition of the central mound with its four concentric circles. It is said that there was near this a square enclosure resembling the chunky yards of the South, and that the group taken together was of a Southern type. There are several small circles, measuring from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet in diameter; also a few mounds in the positions indicated in the plan.†

We have dwelt upon the Portsmouth works for the reason that they seem to prove the existence of a water cult, and because they so closely resemble those in which the water cult has been rec-

*Ancient Monuments, page 82.
†Mounds like this are common in this district and may be regarded as sun symbols. See the cut of works at Portsmouth; also of terraced mound in Greenup County, Kentucky, and at Winchester, Indiana.
ognized in Great Britain. We maintain, however, that it was a cult which was associated with sun worship, and that the phallic symbol was embodied here. We maintain that sacrifices were offered to the sun, and that the human victims were kept in the corral on one side of the river; that they were transported across the water and carried up to the third terrace, and immolated near the horseshoe, and that afterwards the processions passed down the terrace, through the avenue across the river, a second time, and mounted the spiral pathway to the summit of the terraced mound situated at the end of the avenue.

In reference to this corral (see Fig. 6), we may say that the walls surrounding the area are very heavy, and are raised above the area enclosed, in places as much as 50 feet. They convey the idea that the enclosure was for holding captives for they resemble the walls of a state's prison rather than those of a fort; being level on the top and made as if designed for a walk for sentinels. The parallel walls or covered ways on each side of this enclosure have an explanation from this theory. They were built to the end of the terrace and were probably intended to protect the sentinels who were stationed at the ends. They command extensive views, both up and down the river, and were convenient places from which to watch the enemy, as they might approach to release the captives. The groups upon the Kentucky side and the effigies on the Scioto are connected with these horse-shoes and with one another by the avenues. The group to the east is interesting on account of its symbolism, and the most interesting part is the mound with the spiral pathway.

Fig. 6.—Corral for Prisoners.
We thus see that there were various localities where the Mound-builders placed their works near fountains and streams. Worthington, in Southern Ohio; Mt. Sterling, in Kentucky; the Messier mound in Georgia. These works indicate that there were sacred ceremonies connected with the springs. There are no traditions which explain these works, nor were there any known customs among the tribes formerly in this region which we can identify with these works. We find, however, as we go farther west and study the customs and myths of the various tribes still dwelling there, that the water cult prevailed, and that springs were regarded as sacred. See Plate. The Shoshones have a spring whose origin they explain as follows: Wankanaga was the father of the Shoshones and the Comanches. He arose from a cloud as a white-haired Indian, with his ponderous club in his hand and with his totem on his breast and struck a rock with his club and caused it to burst forth with bubbling water. In Sitka they had a light and fire, but no fresh water, as Kanuph kept it all in his well. Yehl, the great divinity, visited this personage and managed to steal the water and to scatter it in drops over the land, and each one became a spring.

The question arises, how came these symbolic works to be so connected with springs and with water courses. Shall we say that the symbols of nature worship originated in this country and that they are associated with the springs according to the law of parallel development. In England sacred springs are regarded as proving that the water cult was introduced, and localized, and afterwards perpetuated into historic times. M. Lawrence Gomme has treated of this in his book, called “Ethnology in Folk Lore.” He maintains that the localizing of such myths as relate to the water cult, stone worship and demons, preceded the tribal myths, and that they were pre-historic or pre-Aryan in their origin; that the pin wells, rag wells, and other sacred
springs were the same as those that were haunted by the rain gods and the water divinities. The belief in "river gods, sea serpents, hill deities and well worship was nearly universal, and was contemporaneous with the area of the megalithic monuments." In this country the localizing of the myth and the water cult may also have preceded the tribal myth, though the presence of symbols near the springs would show that this cult was transmitted. The "rain gods" and the "nature powers" were associated with the springs, and there were offerings to the water divinities exactly as in Great Britain during pre-Aryan times. The association of the story of the deluge with some of these springs may be merely accidental, yet the presence of the symbols known in historic countries, near some of the springs, would render it probable that the water cult and the deluge myth were introduced in prehistoric times and it may be from historic countries.

The story of the deluge prevailed among the eastern tribes of Indians, the Algonkins, the Sioux, the Athabascans, the Crees, and the Cherokees. In these the mountain and tree, the lake, the raft or canoe, are prominent, and the ancient Noah appears as a divinity, under different figures and names. There is generally an animal, either a muskrat, a loon, a diver duck, or otter, which serves the behests of the chief divinity, in bringing up the soil from below and making a new earth. The story has been localized. A rock at the Mackinaw, another on the Ottawa River, a beach at Grand Traverse Bay, and a mountain on Thunder Bay are selected as the spot where the event occurred. The falls of Sault St. Marie are the scene of another tradition—that of the Great Beaver, who opened the dams and let out the water—a tradition which reminds us of one which is common in Great Britain, which is contained in Faber’s History of Idolatry.

The largest number of symbolic works were placed near streams and fountains, indicating that the use of water was essential to religious ceremony. The traditions linger about many of these springs, some of which are interesting and very suggestive.

Ewbank speaks of the High Priest of the Zuni, whose special duty was to officiate before the water deities. He seeks for some
sacred spot where he plants sticks in a circle adorned with feathers and threads, and dedicates them to the divinities of water, such as frogs, snakes and turtles; these embody his invocation for rain. They are, in fact, snares for the spirit of the “water divinity”. Near these “sacred circles” there are wooden columns covered with such symbols as the crescent, the Nile key and the suastika. These symbols remind us of the nations of the east, but the custom is peculiar to the Zunis, among whom there is a tradition in reference to the Montezuma as having been the divinity of the springs and the preserver of the people. The myth bearer is contained in the legendary rock represented in the cut. See Fig. 8. This rock perpetuates the tradition of the flood and the pair which was sacrificed to appease the water divinity. The ruins of an ancient town upon a high mesa are said to be he place to which the Zuni escaped. A horizontal vein in the rocks marks the line of high water. In the valley of Zuni is the singular spring illustrated in the plate, upon which is a number of earthen jars in an inverted position. It was held sacred to the “rain god”. No animal may drink of its waters. It must be annually cleaned with ancient vases, which have been transmitted from generation to generation and placed upon the walls. The frog, the tortoise and the rattle-snake are depicted upon these vessels, for they represent the water divinities.

Both the Moquis and Zunis have a custom of bringing water from a sacred lake to their pueblo before they commenced their rain-dance.* They have one who represents a “fire-god” during these rain-dances. There is another singular custom which reminds us of the one described by Catlin as common among the Mandans. A man comes from the west and approaches the pueblo and finally enters the estufa, while he remains. Food is handed down to him. He may represent the ancient man, possibly the Noah of the Zunis. There is a rock spring near Williams River, within which is a pool of water and a crystal stream flowing from it. The rock is covered with pictographs. There are figures cut upon the rock near Arch spring near Zuni. There seems to be a similarity between them and the inscriptions near Rocky Dell Creek.

Prof. Tylor takes the ground that all such deluge myths can be

*See Studies of the Ceremonies of the Moquis, by Walter Fewkes.
ascribed to the influence of the missionaries, and that they were all post-Columbian in their origin. He maintains that many of them are owing to the misinterpretation of the picture writings and other traditions of the natives. To illustrate: The migration myth of the Aztecs has been preserved in a kind of picture writing. In part of this picture there may be seen a curved mountain, which arises from a lake; on either side of the mountain crowned heads; beneath it is a boat; above it a tree. In the tree a bird; from the mouth of the bird issue a number of symbols, resembling “commas,” which might be taken for tongues. Fifteen human forms are in front of the bird, each one with a totem above his head. This part of the picture has been interpreted as representing the Ark, Noah and his wife, and Mt. Ararat, the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the races. This interpretation Dr. Tylor thinks entirely gratuitous, and maintains that the picture contains no reference to traditions which prevailed among the civilized races, but in reality represents the history of the migrations of the Aztecs. It was the popular tradition among the Aztecs that their starting place was an island in a lake, and that the voice of a bird started them on their wanderings; so a bird with the usual symbols of speech was drawn above the mountain.

Mr. H. H. Bancroft also says that not one of the earliest writers on Mexican mythology, those who were familiar with the old traditions at the time of the conquest, seem to have known this tradition. “A careful comparison of the passages (in the later writers) will show that the escape of the Ancon and his wife by a boat from the deluge, and of the distribution by a bird of different languages to their descendants, rest upon the interpretation of the Aztec paintings.” He intimates that the tradition which connects the great divinity of the Toltecs—the white god, who was called Quetzatlcoatl—with the pyramid at Cholula, came from the same source. The story about the departure of this god belonged to the ancient Toltec period, which preceded the Aztec, and the person that represented the national god of the Toltecs, who had, like all the national gods of the Americans, a personified nature worship as a basis, but the historical tradition fastened itself upon the pyramid because of the resemblance of the divinity to the ancient Noah.

There is a plausibility about this view, but there are other "picture writings" which contain migration myths, but begin with figures or events which resemble those described in Genesis. The Red Score or Walum Olum of the Lenapes is a genuine “bark record,” which is supposed to be prehistoric in its origin. It contains pictures of the “primal fog,” the “misty waste,” the “extended land,” the sun and moon and stars, and the group of islands; also of the “mighty snake” who brought a rushing water, destroying much, and the “Strong White One,” grandfather of
men, who lived on the "Turtle Island;" also the Manitou's daughter, who came with a "canoe" and helped all who came. Then the grandfather of all made the "turtle" into "dry land," the "mighty snake" departed and the Lenape lived together in "hollow houses." The resemblance to the scripture narrative becomes more apparent as we examine the myths of the civilized races. In these myths we find allusions, not only to "the mountain," "the boat," "the bird," "the gift of tongues," and other events of the "flood," but we find also many allusions to the "creation," with the same figures which are used in the Scriptures. To illustrate: from the fragments of the Chimalpopoca manuscript we learn that the Creator produced his work in successive epochs under one sign (Tochtli) the earth was created, in another (Acalt) the firmament, in the third (Tecpatl) the animals; on the seventh (Checatl) man was made out of ashes or dust, by that mysterious personage or divinity (Quetzalcoatl). This manuscript is supposed to be prehistoric, although, according to Bancroft, it shows traces of Christian influence and is by him ascribed to the Toltec School.* Still it is regarded as "one of the most authentic accounts of such matters, extant." There is also the tradition of giants upon the earth. We are told by Boturini that the first age or sun was called the "Sun of the water;" it was ended by a tremendous flood, in which every living thing perished except a man and woman of the "great race." The second age was called the "Sun of the earth"—giants or Quinames were the only inhabitants of the world. The third age, the "Sun of the air," was ended by tempests and hurricanes. The fourth age is the present, and belongs to the "Sun of fire." It is to be ended by conflagration. Another Mexican version is that, in the "age of water the great flood occurred, and the inhabitants were turned into fishes and only one man and woman escaped." The man's name was Coxcox. They saved themselves in the hollow trunk of a bald cypress. They grounded their "ark" on the peak of Colhuacan, the "Ararat" of Mexico. Their children were born dumb, but a "dove" came and gave them tongues. A Michoacan tradition has the name of Tezpi as a substitute for Noah. When the waters began to subside he sent out a vulture, but the vulture fed upon carcasses. Then Tezpi sent out other birds, and among them a humming bird. The humming bird found the earth covered with new verdure and returned to its old refuge bearing green leaves. There is another version which fastens upon the pyramid of Cholula. According to this the world was inhabited by giants; some of these were changed to fishes, but seven brothers enclosed themselves in seven caves. When the waters were assuaged one of these, surnamed the "Architect," began to build an artificial mountain, but the anger of the "gods" was aroused. As the pyramid slowly rose toward the clouds

they launched their fire upon the builders and the work was stopped. The half-finished pyramid still remains, dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, the god of the sun. According to another extract of this Chimalpopoca manuscript, the god Titlacahuan warned the man, Nata and his wife Nena, saying hollow out for yourselves a great cypress in which you shall enter and he "shut them in." The Miztecs have a legend which they were accustomed to depict in their primitive scrolls. "In the year and in the days of obscurity and darkness before the days of the years were, when the world was in great darkness and chaos when the earth was covered with water, and there was nothing but mud and slime on the face of the earth, behold, a god became visible named the deer, and surnamed the 'lion snake,' and a beautiful goddess also called the deer and surnamed the 'tiger snake.'" The palace of the gods was on a mountain, in the province of Mizteca Alta. It was called the "palace of Heaven." Two sons were born to them, very handsome and learned. The brothers made to themselves a "garden," in which they put many trees, flowers, roses and odorous herbs. They fixed themselves in this garden to dress it and to keep it, watering the trees and the plants and the odorous herbs, multiplying them, and burning incense in censors of clay, to the "gods"—their father and mother. But there came a great deluge afterward, wherein perished many sons and daughters that had been born to the gods, but when the deluge had passed the human race was restored as at first. In Nicaragua it was believed that ages ago the world was destroyed by a flood and that the most of mankind perished. In the Papago county, lying south of the Gila, there is a tradition that the "Great Spirit" made the earth and all other things, but when he came to make man he descended from heaven and took clay, such as the potters use, from which he made the hero god, Montezuma, and afterward the Indian tribes in their order. He made them all brethren; men and beasts talked together in common language, but a great flood destroyed all flesh, Montezuma and his friend, the Coyote, alone escaping. This Montezuma afterward hardened his heart and set about building a house that should "reach up to heaven." Already it had attained a great height, when the Great Spirit launched his thunder and laid its glory in ruins. This legend accounts for the connection of the name of Montezuma with ancient buildings in the mythology of the Gila Valley, and perhaps, also for the connection of the same name with the various ruins in Arizona and New Mexico. The legendary adventures of this hero are narrated by the natives in all this region.

We call attention to the wide distribution of the deluge myth over both continents of America, and would ask whether there was not a good reason for the interpreting, the "picture writing" of the Aztecs, as having reference to the same
WATER CULT AND THE DELUGE MYTH. 247

The picture refers to a migration which had occurred at the very earliest date of history, the mountain where it is located being often the starting point for the tribe or nation. May it not be that the picture embodied the tradition itself, and that it represented the starting point of the Aztecs, exactly as Scripture traditions represent the starting point of Eastern tribes? We maintain that this deluge myth is as thoroughly incorporated into the aboriginal literature of America as it is in the ancient literature of the East, and that mythology everywhere abounds with it.

Let us look at some of the traditions. Mount Shasta was the wigwam of the great divinity. The smoke was formerly seen curling above it. The Great Spirit stepped from cloud to cloud down the great ice pile, and planted the first trees near the edge. He blew upon the leaves and the leaves became birds. He broke sticks in pieces and they became fishes and animals. The sun melted the ice and they became rivers. The daughter of the Great Spirit looked out of the wigwam and was so curious at the sight that she flew away to the earth, and mingled with the great bears, and became Eve, the mother of the human race. The Papagoes have the tradition that a great flood destroyed all flesh, but Montezuma and a Coyote escaped. Montezuma was forewarned and kept his canoe ready on the topmost summit of Santa Rosa. The Coyote prepared an ark out of cane, and the two sailed over the waters and repopulated the world. In Northern California the tradition of the flood is connected with Tahoe. Lake Tahoe was caused by an earthquake. A great wave swept over the land; the Sierra Mountains were formed; the inhabitants fled to a temple tower, which rose like a dome above the lake; but the divinity thrust them like pebbles into a cave and keeps them there until another earthquake shall occur.

The Californians tell of a great flood which covered the earth, with the exception of Mount Diablo and Reed Peak. The Coyote escaped to the peak and survived the flood. At that time the Sacramento and San Joaquin began to find their way to the Pacific. Thus we see that the myth is localized in connection with nearly every mountain, river and lake. The springs on the Pacific coast are also localized among the former tribes of the Atlantic coast. Now the inquiry arises, would a tradition which had been introduced by the missionaries at different times, and received by the converts to Christianity, and so altogether modern, have been likely to spread so extensively among the pagan tribes and to have been so thoroughly adopted by them as an integral part of their history. It is to be noticed that the tradition, as localized by the pagan tribes, always refers to an event which occurred at the very earliest date of history and has reference to the starting point or original home of the
The only exception to this is the one that relates to the pyramid of Cholula, this having been the last place of refuge, rather than the starting point of the Toltec race. In the picture writing of the Aztecs, the starting point is like that of other tribes. It is represented as a mountain beside a lake. After the departure from the mountain to the various points of the immigration route the same symbol of the mountain and the tree continues. This correspondence between the verbal and the written, or in other words, the traditionary and recorded, proves that the story must have existed in pre-Columbian times, and perhaps was known by the Aztec before they commenced their wanderings. It is to be noticed further that the imagery used by the pagan tribes wherever any is used in repeating the story of the deluge is always such as would be natural to them. The wild hunters of the north used the figure of the canoe, the island and the lake; the semi-civilized, in the interior, used the figure of the cave, the mountain, the auroya; the civilized tribes of the southwest used the figure of the boat, the curved mountain, the symbol of speech, the temple and the pyramid. This might have occurred if the tradition was modern, for the story, when filtered through the native minds, would naturally receive the tinge of their own thoughts and would vary according to different habits, conceptions and surroundings of the people. We must remember, however, that while there is a great difference between the versions of the story, yet the same elements remain—the boat, the mountain, the ancient divinity who was the first ancestor, the flood, the survival from the flood and the repeopling of the land.

These elements or images seem to have been a part of the story of the deluge itself. They are evidently prehistoric in their character and are associated with the prehistoric cultus. They have been regarded as autochthonous, but taken in connection with the deluge story, they furnish an additional evidence of contact with historic countries. There are also symbols of the cross, the suastika, the serpent, the horse-shoe, the hand, the eye, the spectacle ornament, the loop, the turreted figure, the bird, the Nile key. These symbols are the most prevalent in Oriental countries, and the most widespread in this country. These symbols are, indeed, associated with the various forms of nature worship, but sometimes with the tradition of the deluge. In this we recognize a contrast. The water cult in this country was, like that of Great Britain, a pre-historic system. It was always localized at some spring and was preserved by the spring into historic times. These, with the mountains and streams, are reminders of the early history of the native tribes and of the traditions which seem to have been as familiar to them as to us.
CHAPTER XI.

TRANSFORMATION MYTHS.

There is an element in the mythology of America which is very interesting, but not often described. It may be called "transformation," for that is the word which best expresses its character. It consists in the constant overleaping of those barriers which, according to modern science, separate the various orders of creation, and treats them as though they did not exist; mingling birds, animals, and human beings, as if they belonged to one order. The effect of this habit, or custom, is very peculiar, for it brings all the objects of nature, whether plants, trees, birds, animals, or human beings, indiscriminately together, and as a consequence there are many figures which are distorted and present a very strange appearance. Animals appear with human faces; human forms appear as having bird's wings, claws and beaks, but with arms and legs, having weapons in their hands, either fighting, or in the attitude of dancing; nondescript figures appear made up of forms of vegetation, such as trees, but surrounded by human figures, and yet mingled with serpent's jaws and all the varying symbols which may come from the creation without.

This element gives a great variety to native mythology, for there is nothing to prevent the stories which are told from transcending all material bounds. The imagination is given full play and the most extravagant tales are told, and seem to be believed, as though they were true. It is, however, not confined to mythology, for it forms a prominent feature in many religious ceremonies. In these ceremonies, creatures resembling animals, human beings and supernatural creatures are mingled together, and seem to be closely related. The animals do not themselves appear, but the persons who take part, are so covered and dressed that they resemble animals, and attitudes are taken which imitate the motions of the animals. It is an element which often appears in the relics and gives a peculiar character to aboriginal art. There are many specimens which show great taste for colors and correct ideas of form, and much skill in representing forms and faces; yet as a fact there are no limitations to hinder, and the strangest creations appear.

The same element of transformation also appears in all the secret societies, and forms a prominent part of all the sacred mysteries. It also enters into the amusements, public dances, and open air performances, and gives to them their greatest
zest. It exists among all the tribes, but varies according to their social condition and habits, for the hunter tribes have one system; the agricultural, another; the mountaineers, another, and those who dwell in the arid regions, still another, though the equipments and ceremonies of all partake of the physical peculiarities of the region in which they take place.

The strangest thing about this "transformation," is that it increases, rather than diminishes, as civilization advances, for the most elaborate and complicated figures appear where art and architecture are most advanced, and where the people have attained to wealth and power. Illustrations of these different points are numerous and are found among the various tribes.

There are many stories told among the Crows, a tribe situated in the northern part of Montana, about the different animals, and especially the coyotes. These are turned to buffalos, bears, bulls, bald-headed eagles, and thunder birds. There are also
TRANSFORMATION MYTHS.

Giants and young and old men, who interchange their forms and are married to animals, and have children which are also constantly changing their form and appearance. In one case, a buffalo skull is seen in the water of a spring. A chief's daughter comes to the spring, but the buffalo's skull is gone, and in its place a young man wearing a buffalo robe appears upon the bank of the spring. The two are married and disappear. All the animals set to work to find the wedded pair. They call upon the buffaloes, who come from every direction in great numbers and gather around the tree where the two are hidden. This is the reason why buffaloes are so numerous at certain times. Many other stories are told by the hunting tribes, which represent the most remarkable changes of form and appearance as occurring, both among the animals and human beings.

There is a story among the Arapahoes, about a boy who was gifted with the power of transforming creatures. He was left by his grandmother at home alone, but during her absence he exercised his power, which had previously been unknown to himself, and suddenly there appeared before him in the house all his relatives, especially his uncles, who came dancing out from every corner and every side, and appeared to him. His grandmother, who was at the end of the world, also suddenly appeared, herself surprised that this power had become known to the boy. There are many other novel and interesting stories of the same kind.

This habit or superstition about the different creatures being transformed and assuming unnatural shapes, will account for the abundance of strange relics which are found among the mounds of the Mississippi Valley, especially the copper plates and shell gorgets, which are so numerous in the stone graves. In these we see human figures, with the beaks and wings of birds, but dressed as warriors, with elaborate headdress, pouch, and war club, and dancing with tokens of victory in hand. These have been called "man eagles," or "eagle men," and are interesting as reminders of the mythology which prevailed among the Mound-Building tribes. (See Fig. 1.)

Catlin, the celebrated painter, has represented the dances which occurred among the Mandans, and Miss Alice Fletcher has described those which occur among the Dakotas. The most prominent feature in these dances is that the men appear covered with the skins of buffaloes, or with the horns of deer or elk, and throw themselves into the different attitudes which these animals assume and personate their very shapes and moods.

The tribes on the Northwest coast believe in this transformation, to the extent that they often, in their dances and religious ceremonies, put great masks upon their heads, and will march or dance about the fire throughout the long winter nights and find a vast amount of amusement in imagining themselves
transformed into these very creatures. They have also a ceremony in which some person, who is hidden in an adjoining room, bursts through the barrier and suddenly appears in a striking attitude. (See Plates.) The best illustration is found among the Navajoes, among whom the sand paintings are the most conspicuous objects of native art. These consist of figures which represent the Nature powers. Rainbows which form arches resembling the arch of the sky, are humanized, having heads and arms at one end, and body and legs at the other. There are sunbeam rafts in the form of crosses, made of different colored sand, and upon these are placed the figures of goddesses, which have many-colored skirts and wear caps or hats which are trimmed with fleecy clouds; around their waists they wear sashes, which resemble rainbows; at their side are birds and animals which come from the mountains, also, sprigs and sprays which come from the forest. The sand paintings represent the personal divinities of the Navajoes, and in this respect resemble the sacred dramas of the Zunis and the codices of the Mayas.

The figures in the cut are from the Dresden Codex and represent the Gods of Death, Life and Growth, as well as the various operations of nature.

The Pueblo tribes also believe in this transformation, and embody their belief in their dances and ceremonies in such a way as to make them the most realistic of all the religious cere-
monies that are known. Among this people are many so-called
“altars,” which resemble the “sand paintings,” in that they
present a great variety of figures or symbols, and with all
colors displayed upon them. These altars have been described
by Mr. J. WalterFewkes, who explains their different parts. It
appears that every clan had a great sky god, and an earth god,
or goddess. Each clan also had its totemistic ancestors, male
and female, and culture heroes, or heroines; these are im-
personated symbolically, and may be represented by a human be-
ing, or by animals and birds, or by all combined. In these
altars are medicine bowls covered with symbols, also radiating
lines of sacred meal representing the six directions; ears of
corn of different colors, which corresponded to the directions:
Yellow, for north; blue, for west; red, for south; black, for the
above, and speckled, for the below. The altars are made out
of wooden slats cut in shape to resemble the human form, but
painted with many different colors. A large number of them
are placed upright, making them resemble an old-fashioned
fire-place, while in front of them are figures made of different-
colored sand, surrounded by images of various kinds and ears
of corn of different colors. They are called altars because
they are objects of worship and are full of symbols.

There are pictures of “the Growth God,” and slats bearing
symbolic birds; also boards painted with semi-circular figures
representing the sky, parallel lines symbolizing rain, zigzag
markings symbolizing lightning; also images which are the
tutelary “clan ancients,” and others representing the sun and
“Germ Gods”; also the butterfly symbols, and many other
objects.

The public dances of the Hopis and other Pueblo tribes are
also full of symbols and ceremonies, which are the result of
this belief in transformation; and many different societies em-
body the belief that supernatural beings were present. Mr.
Fewkes recognizes strong affinities with the tribes further
south, such as the Nahuas and Mayas, in these ceremonials,
and traces a resemblance between the symbols common among
them and those found in the codices.*

Among the partially civilized tribes of the Southwest,
mainly the Nahuas and Mayas, the same superstition formerly
prevailed, for here we find symbols of various kinds scattered
among the ruins, and also see pictures with many colors and
strange figures, in which there is a mingling of all orders of
creation in the codices. In fact, this element of transfor-
mation is so prominent in Mexico and Central America, that it
furnishes us a key to the solution of the problems which have
been very difficult.

There are in the codices figures which represent the different

*See “Central American Ceremony, which Suggests the Snake Dance of the Tusayan
Some of them appear in skeleton form in strange attitudes; others have faces with peculiar expressions, but from the mouth are seen issuing serpent tongues. Other figures are partly animal and partly human. The whole picture or page represents creatures in the most grotesque attitudes, but all of them so strange and shadowy that we can scarcely tell whether they were intended to represent animals, human beings, or divinities, and yet they are in the midst of hieroglyphics which evidently tell the story of the past. (See Fig. 2.)

There are also among the codices charts which contain trees in the form of crosses, with flowers at the end of the branches. Above the trees are birds of different kinds, while below may be seen the jaws of serpents and other strange figures. Repre-

Fig. 3.—The Tree of Life Transformed.

sentatives of all the different orders of creation are mingled together in a strange way, and yet make symbols which represent periods of time and convey religious thoughts.

It appears from this, that all the different kingdoms of nature are combined together and symbolized; the sky above, by the birds; the earth, by the plants and flowers; the realms below, by the dragons' or serpents' heads. The four seasons were also represented by the four trees; the four directions, or cardinal points, by the branches of the trees.

There were many religious ceremonies, also among the partially civilized tribes, which depended upon this element of transformation for their effect, and there are even temples and palaces which present strange figures in their interior, in the shape of crosses surmounted by birds, with a human form on either side, and contorted animals below them; the whole
symbolizing the Nature powers, and at the same time forming objects of worship.

In studying the symbols which are thus brought together in the calendars and codices we will find that nothing appears separate and distinct, for all the realms of nature are united; the Nature powers being generally represented by human creatures. It is remarkable that symbolism should have been carried so far by these partially-civilized peoples, but it must be remembered that pictographs and symbols took the place of writing. The pictographs were historical records, but these charts were calendars, from which the priests and learned men reckoned the time. The employments of the people, as well as their religious ceremonies, were regulated by the priests,

who studied these calendars and their symbols, and it is supposed by some that the astronomical events and long periods of time were recorded by them. The codices contain the best specimens of transformation, for in these the divinities are represented, generally by human figures in such a way that their sphere of action and character are plainly indicated. The transformation is not so apparent at first, yet the more we study the codices and calendars, the more we realize that all the realms of creation are represented in them, but are strangely blended and interchanged.

It will be noticed that there are below the figures of the trees twenty different symbols, consisting of birds, animals, minerals, reptiles, house, &c. These are grouped so as to represent the twenty days of the month divided into four weeks of five days each. We find in these symbols and the accom-
panying pictographs, a chart which gives to us a pretty correct idea of the calendar which prevailed among the Mayas.

It was, however, the religious sentiment that gave significance to the symbols, for this threw a mysterious air over all the realms of creation, and mingled the natural with the supernatural. The study of the symbols convince us that the same general principles which were embodied in the ceremonies and in the relics of the wild tribes were brought together in a small compass and presented to the eye by the mute symbols, which required close study to understand and interpret.

Interesting specimens of this transformation may be found in Nicaragua, for here we see idols, finished in the round but in singular attitudes, while upon their shoulders and above their heads may be seen the great jaws of crocodiles; and again other figures, with a semblance of bears, yet having human forms. This element of transformation appears even in the codices and sacred writings of the Mayas, for in them we see rows of hieroglyphics, but between the rows are nondescript creatures, dressed with varied costumes and assuming different attitudes, but upon their heads they wear ornaments which are in reality symbols. Their faces are very unnatural, for, while they have the eyes, nose, and mouth of human beings, there can be seen the serpent fangs and tongues and other strange symbols which transformed them into human beings.

This element of transformation seems to have had effect upon the architecture of the region, for nearly all the palaces have façades on which are sculptured figures of plumed serpents, and above them are seated figures with glaring eyes and hooked noses, generally called the manitou face, and many barbaric ornaments, which can only be understood and explained by the mythology which prevailed. We may say that the religious ceremonies, the mythologies, and the symbols of all the tribes cannot be understood, unless we take this element of transformation into account. By its aid, however, we may trace the connection between the different tribes and races, and learn that there was a mass of symbolism which was transmitted from the past.

Discoveries are being made which show the prevalence of this system. Even the best specimens of art seem to have been affected by it. The beautiful urns which have been recently exhumed in Nicaragua, are now in the possession of the Museum of Natural History of New York.

It is worthy of notice that among the tribes of the Northwest coast the chief divinity was called the "Transformer." Such, too, was the real character of the divinities of the Navajoes, the Zunis, and the various Pueblo tribes.

As to the divinities of the Mound-Building tribes, we are not so sure; yet the relics indicate that the chief trait was this power of transformation. This is illustrated by the copper plate, especially by the wings and the beak on
the same. There were also taken from the same mound certain copper objects, which were evidently designed for ornaments of a head-dress. These, though made of copper, have the same shape as the so-called banner stones.

We now come to the explanation of these figures, which is really the object of this chapter. This will be gained by the study of other figures, especially the myths connected with them.

It was a strange conception among nearly all of the North American tribes that there were no lines which could keep apart the natural and the supernatural, the human and the divine, for all things were blended together in a shadowy way, and were easily transformed, as if seen in a dream. As in looking into the fog which sweeps into the shore, the divisions between the sky and sea and solid land are dimly blended and obscure, and even those objects which have a definite shape seem to be monstrous in their size, and fill one with awe because of their strange appearance, so to the eye of superstition there was no separation between the different realms of creation, no distance between the divine and human beings, but all were mingled together in one common realm, the superstition of the people doing away with the distinction between the substance and shadow, form and spirit, the feeling of awe and the sense of worship being aroused by everything that was strange or that excited their wonder. The divinities could assume the shape of animals or birds and nondescript creatures, and appear in any of the elements—the earth, air and water. They were all equivalent to the nature powers, and embodied in their strange forms the different forces of the sky. They could assume the human form and make that the highest manifestation of their presence. They were always supernatural, but made the natural objects subject to their power and so made their presence known. Stars came to earth and dwelt among men, men and women were changed to stars and dwelt in the skies; serpents came out of the water and married women; women changed to serpents and followed their lovers into the water; birds swept down the mountains and across the lakes, and changed to feathered serpents; serpents were carried up to the clouds and shot as lightning from the skies; great monsters appeared upon the earth and devoured men for food, but the monsters became stones and their bones were seen upon the shore; forests changed to shadows and through them invisible spirits made their way. Such was the power of transformation that even the spirit world became as substantial as the material, the material itself became ethereal, which was constantly suggesting the presence of the divinities. The mythology of the aborigines was full of these strange stories of transformation, and owes its beauty in part to the fact that it had to do with the realms of the spirit. There was all the play of fancy which is possible to poetry, and all the charm that is contained in the fairy
NA TIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

stories, but the thought was controlled by the spirit of devotion and the myths were of a dreamy and shadowy character, and have a peculiar charm which is found no where else in literature.

Now it is to this transformation element in the myths and symbols that we are to call attention, for this is the clue by which we are to interpret the various figures which are brought before us, and especially those which represent the human form in combination with the various parts of birds and beasts and other creatures. These figures may well be studied, for they contain within themselves many of the myths which were prevalent in prehistoric times, and so may be regarded as "myth-bearers" to the historic days. They are to be compared with the masked figures which are recognized in the various dances, for they probably represent the same conceptions, namely, that human beings could be easily changed into animals and birds and that the totems of the clans could thus be brought near, and the divinities appeased and the prayers be granted, the dramatization of the prayers being perhaps embodied in the figures as well as in the dances, the relics thus serving the same purpose as the "sand-paintings" and the carved columns, the transformation element being contained in all alike.

We have spoken of a few of these, but have confined ourselves to the winged figures and to the human images which were inscribed upon copper plates and shell gorgets taken from the mounds, but there are many other specimens scattered over the different parts of the continent, and many means of representing them. These may all be called "mythologic creatures," for they embody the myths of the prehistoric races, but they need to be studied with this thought in mind, for they are so varied and contain so many strange conceptions that were it not for the transformation element we should be utterly baffled in our effort to interpret their meaning or to understand their object. We shall therefore call attention to the transformation cult as it is presented in the various localities, and to the different figures in which it is manifested throughout the land. The following may be taken as a
TRANSFORMATION MYTHS.

list of the objects which have perpetuated the cult and which have been chosen as the means of representing it to the eye: (1) Figures seen in the rock inscriptions; (2) effigy mounds; (3) carved posts; (4) masks and helmets used in dances; (5) painted figures and personal decorations and the attitude of dancers; (6) the images which were used in religious ceremonials; (7) the figures inscribed upon the shell or copper plates, stone tablets, carved pipes and pottery vessels found in the mounds; (8) the figures which were painted or carved upon the houses; (9) the figures which were wrought in stucco and placed in the shrines; (10) carved stone figures, made to ornament the façades of the palaces; (11) statues in stone and wood, made to represent the sun divinities; (12) the figures which are portrayed by the codices and ancient calendars of the civilized tribes. It will be noticed that the figures are numerous and widely scattered. Such is the variety and distribution of these various figures that we are constantly reminded of the great store of mythology which was formerly prevalent, but which is passing away. These "mythologic creatures" often baffle interpretation and are very mysterious, and the symbols which contain them are often difficult to understand. Yet the more we study the mythologies of the people and compare these with the figures which come before the eye, the better are we able to identify the myths in the symbols and the more meaning do we find—that which was a sealed book becomes eloquent with a hidden sense, and beauties which were unobserved are brought before us to awaken our admiration and surprise.* The best aid, however, to the interpretation of the mythologic creatures is the one which is furnished by the so-called "transformation myths." We shall therefore refer to these, taking the pictographs and the myths as the double key, or rather as the lock and key, by which we may open the door to the inner chamber of the various religious systems.

1. Let us consider the transformation of the creator into animals. This was a common superstition among the partially civilized.

*One of the most important aids in this work is the volume which has recently been published by the Ethnological Bureau and which describes the Picture Writing of the American Indians (see Tenth Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology). The author, Col. Garrick Mallery, makes no attempt to identify any of the mythologic divinities in these figures and briefly refers to the symbols contained in them, yet from the study of the rude drawings or engravings in the volume we may follow on from one figure to another and trace the general resemblance between them and then apply the myths already known until we have made out a tolerably satisfactory system.
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

The idea of the Creator with them was that he was a "transformer" or "changer." He was called "the master of life," "the holder of the heavens," "the old man of the ancients," "the god of beasts and men," and was regarded as a person having supernatural power, but was pictured as an animal or bird, though endowed with human attributes. The animal varied according to the locality. Among the eastern tribes it was the rabbit; among the tribes on the Pacific coast it was the coyote; among the tribes of the interior, the Moquis, it was the mountain lion or bear; among the tribes on the gulf coast, the eagle; in the southwest, among the civilized tribes, the tiger and the feather-headed serpent that represented the creator and the culture hero.

The divinity, however, rarely retained any animal semblance long at a time, for he was constantly changing into other animals and into the human form, and at times was without form except as the elements, such as the lightning, the clouds, the rain obeyed his behests and became the sign of his power. The myths abound with stories of his adventures and he always comes before us as a person having human frailties and resembles Zeus, the chief god of the Greeks, in this respect. He was unlike Zeus, however, in that he could leave his Olympus and his position as the "chief of gods and men" and become an animal and act like other animals—proving to be the "god of beasts as well as men."

To illustrate, let us take the stories of Glooskap, the chief god of the Abenakis. He was able to transform everything at his will. One story is that there were stone giants; these were ravenous cannibals, but they were changed to stones, which can be seen in various places. An army of these giants ran across the river at Niagara, just below the falls, but they were changed to stones, which are still to be seen. The story is told of the great magician, called Kitpoosegenow, that he changed the rocks on the sea coast into canoes and the smaller rocks into paddles and a long splinter, taken from a ledge, into a spear. He changed a man into a pine tree, which became exceedingly tall, so that his head rose above the forest. One who enters a pine forest and listens may hear the tree murmuring all day long. He took the great bird called the "wind-blower,"—"Woochowsen"—who lived far to the north and sits upon a great rock and makes the wind by the moving of its wings, tied both his wings and threw him into a chasm, and there was a dead calm for many weeks. He after-
ward loosened one of his wings and then the winds blew but as if with a broken wing. Glooskap had two dogs which barked at night and filled the forest with their echoes. One was the coyote and the other the loon, the voices of both these creatures being very weird and ghost-like.

The Iroquois also have many myths about their "master of life" or "holder of heaven," who is called loskeha and who resembled Glooskap, the Abenaki god. He was pictured as a giant rabbit, but was a great magician and a wonderful "transformer."* He was able to change himself into any animal and could change other animals into new. One of his greatest adventures was that he caught the mischievous sprite Pauppukeewis, who eluded him by jumping from continent to continent, and changed him into a war eagle. He overcame also the "prince of the serpents," and finally himself became the great lawgiver Hiawatha. They hold also that Hiawatha himself was changed. After terminating his mission upon the earth he took his magic canoe and sailed away to the skies. A modern story is that the Atotarho, the enemy of Hiawatha, was changed from a horrid monster into a quiet man by a series of prayers.

There are many stories of the transformation of culture heroes and divinities into serpents. We have elsewhere told the story of Manibozho, the Algonkin divinity, and have given a cut to illustrate it—the cut of the pipe with the tree and serpent and human face.* There is a legend of the transformation of the great creator into a serpent still extant among the Hopis or Moquis. The figure given herewith (see Fig. 5) is that of a water pitcher or cooler from Peru. It represents a serpent and human face combined, and reminds us of the idols which were so common in Guatemala. No tradition is connected with it, and yet it may represent the same superstition.

The myths of the northwest coast† among the tribes of the Klamaths, Thlinkeets, Haidahs, illustrate this superstition very clearly. Among the Klamaths the creator of the world is (Kmukametch) the "old man of the ancients," the "primeval old man," equivalent to old man above, or the chief in the skies of California. He was as great a deceiver and trickster as Glooskap was. He is the culture hero of his people. He did not make the world by one act, but made the lakes, islands, prairies and mountains, one after the other, and gave a name to each. He created the rocks shaped like a crescent, because the sun

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*See Chapter XVI, p. 377.
†See AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN, Vol. 6; article by Rev. M. Eells. See the Klamath Indian of Southwestern Oregon, by A. S. Gatschet, page LXXIX.
and moon once lived there. He was changed into a rock, which
stands in the Williamson River. He travels in the path of the
sun till he reaches the zenith, where he builds a palace and lives
there with his daughter. The second in importance is the son of
the creator, called Aishish, who has great personal beauty. He
is the genius of the morning star, or the rainbow, or the moon,
and personifies the atmospheric changes. The moon is his
campfire. The moon, seen through the pine trees, is the shadow
of the famished Aishish. As the moon brings the months and
the seasons, so the quadrupeds and birds which appear after the
long winter months are considered his wives, and the flowers of
summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He is called
the time measurer, the one that tells the time. As the revolutions
of the moon bring the weeks and months, so the measuring of
time was ascribed to Aishish, the moon god. The elementary
deities are mysterious shadowy beings. The thunders are five
brothers, the interior of whose lodge is dark, as the sky obscured
by a thunder-storm, but their terrible weapon is the lightning, or
thunderbolt. They are five, because the thunder rolls along the
mountains in repeated peals.

2. The power of transforming other creatures was sometimes
delegated to the medicine men and individuals. Among the wild
tribes this power became almost equivalent to magic, and gave
great influence to the sorcerers, for the superstition was that they
had control over the elements and were in constant communica-
tion with the supernatural. We can hardly appreciate this
influence unless we take into the account this element of trans-
formation. The barriers between the ghost world and the spirit
of man were so broken down that superstition of the people was
easily played upon, and they were made to believe that super-
natural beings were actually present. Even among the more
cultivated tribes there was a dramatization of the nature powers
under the semblance of serpents and other figures, the transforma-
tion of the elements into animal forms being in the hands of the
priests. The sand paintings owed their magic power in curing
the sick to this thought. When the colors of the sky were used
the sky spirits or sky divinities were actually present. The
tracking of the disease into the various parts of the body and
using the power of magic in the presence of the sky divinities
was sufficient to effect marvelous cures in many cases. The
superstition about the soul being able to pass through the
mountains and into the rocks and to change its form, to leave
the body and to take it up again, was also owing to the “trans-
formation” elements, which so ruled the fancies of the people
who dwelt among the mountains.

We may say of all these different kinds of transformation, that
they were based upon the thought that the human was the
highest form of being, yet the human must become animal in
order to hold communion with the divine. This was the case, especially where totemism prevailed.

This power of transformation also came upon individuals on special occasions, especially in ceremonial dances. It was a gift enjoyed by a few favored individuals in their childhood. These were looked upon with peculiar awe, as if they were great manitous. An excellent illustration of this may be found in the account which has already been given of the dance seen by Catlin, called the buffalo dance. This dance preceded the initiation of warriors, and was very suggestive of the transformation element. Examination of the plates will show this. In them it will be seen that the dancers wore the horns and skins of buffaloes, but various persons have the forms of bears and antelopes and of buzzards or vultures. These surround the "medicine lodge," while others, with their bodies painted to represent the day and the night, appear among the dancers, all the animal gods and the sky gods being personified, and the myth of the creation and the flood being dramatized in the dance.

We have the testimony on this point of Professor Williamson, a son of a missionary among the Dakotas, who often witnessed in his boyhood the dance called the medicine dance. He says: "The celebrated ghost dance, so-called, of the Dakotas of the Pine Ridge agency perpetuates one of its old forms—an old craze under a new name. In my boyhood I often witnessed this dance, usually called the medicine dance, although in particular forms it was called the sun dance. The ghost is only another name for the latter form. The dance I best remember was held in Kaposia, (South St. Paul), about the summer of 1849. Its chief object was the initiation of new members into a secret society, the Waukau order, into which only favored individuals were admitted. Members came from many other bands. They stated that, in some of these dances, the dancers actually became, for the time, by transmigration of souls, the very animals they worshiped, and involuntarily and necessarily they imitated them; they acted not as men, but as these animals, while under the spell. The buffalo and deer ate grass, panthers, wolves, bears and foxes raced and quarreled over the small animals and fishes brought into the enclosure for the purpose, tearing them with their teeth, and eating them raw. At another time some malignant spirit, it was supposed, took possession of the one to


†Catlin has also described a dance of the Mandans called the bear dance which was in reality a dramatization of a prayer. He says, "Many in the dance wore masks on their faces made of the skins from the bear's head, and all with the motion of their hands closely imitated the movements of the animal, some representing its motion in running, some its peculiar attitudes and hanging of its paws when it was sitting upon its hind part and looking out for the approach of an enemy." The same was true also of the buffalo dance for in this the dancers wore the head and horns of the buffalo and also imitated the motions of the buffalo when they were hunted. The women in both these join in a peculiar song to the bear or buffalo spirit which must be consulted and conciliated before success can be gained. See Catlin's Indians, Vol. 1, p. 246.
be initiated, and he must be exorcised and destroyed, so the
dancers, with guns and bows and arrows, were ready to shoot
the evil spirit as soon as the signal was given. Whatever the
object of worship, whether animal or bird, tree or stone, they
were always careful to state that it was not the object itself, but
the Waukau, the god that was accustomed to haunt the object,
which they worshipped. In some cases the soul of a departed
ancestor had entered into the animal, and they worshiped that.
They stated that the gods not only haunted the animals, but in
an especial manner were present in the pictographs and images
which represented the animals and which were used in the
dances. They also spoke of particular localities in which they
fancied a natural resemblance to some object, either animal or
other form, and therefore in an especial sense the seat of the god
or spirit of that animal. If the god could dwell in a little picto-
graph, how much more potently might he be expected to present
himself in an immense effigy. In the days of the full sway of
superstition not only the members of the Waukau society, but the
whole people were under the domination of the leaders, ready
to do anything that might be demanded, and all that was neces-
sary was for some leader of the Waukau to command the people
to build the effigies and they were sure to be erected.”

3. The superstition that the divinity was transformed into various
objects in nature, making them “myth-bearers,” was common.
Many illustrations of this have become familiar to the author
from frequent observation of the effigy mounds. It was the cus-
tom of the native tribes throughout the Mississippi valley to erect
effigies of various animals, especially serpents, upon the cliffs
and hill-tops, with the purpose of bringing out the resemblance
which had been recognized in the shape of the hill. In this way
the hill was transformed into an animal effigy and it was shown
that the spirit of the animal actually haunted the hill. This, how-
ever, was the same superstition which recognized the shape of
the animals in the rocks and rivers and trees, and which affixed
a myth to these objects to account for the resemblance. The
work of art in the case of the effigies, the rock inscriptions, and
the standing stones, was only designed to bring out the thought
the more clearly, but the eye of superstition was always ready to
recognize the resemblance. Various authors have spoken of this.

Col. Garrick Mallery says: “In many parts of the United
States and Canada rocks and large stones are found decorated
with paint, which were regarded as possessing supernatural
power, yet not directly connected with any special personage of
Indian mythology. One such was seen by LaSalle’s party in
1669 on the Detroit River. All the Indians of the region be-
lieved that the rock image would give safety in the passage of
the lake.” He also says that in Nova Scotia there is a class of
incised figures illustrating the religious myths and folklore of
TRANSFORMATION MYTHS.  

the Indian tribes. One of them indicates an episode of an adventure of Glooskap, the hero-god of the Abenakis. The story is that the fox, who was Glooskap's friend, through his magic power heard the song of Glooskap miles away, beyond forests and mountains, and came to his rescue. Another pictograph refers to the story of Atosis, the snake, who appeared out of the surface of a lake as a young hunter, with a large shining silver plate on his heart, covered with white brooches as thick as a fish is covered with scales. This snake, which had such wonderful powers of transformation, married an Indian girl and took her to dwell with him beneath the lake. There is a variation of the same story among the Iroquois, but this time it is the wife which appears above the water. The story runs that a young hunter was seeking for his friend who had been lost. He met eight chiefs, who wore white plumes on their heads and who dwelt in eight tents by the side of the lakes. These chiefs called up the snake-woman. The lake boiled, great waves rolled upon the shore, and the serpent's wife came out of the water, shining like silver and very beautiful, her long hair hanging around her as if it had been gold. The snake woman disappeared, and then the chiefs swept in the form of a white cloud across the water. It was the cloud in the lake and not in the sky. Thus the conception of the natives transformed the objects of nature into living beings, and invented beautiful myths to account for them. The pictographs are oftentimes nothing more than the mnemonic reminders of the myths.

In West Virginia there are rock sculptures in which are serpents, death-heads, animal figures, birds, human hands and various other designs, undoubtedly designed to represent the animals which were subject to the power of the medicine man. These inscriptions are on the walls of a shelter cave, which was probably once used as a shrine or medicine lodge. They show the communion which the medicine men had with the different species of animals and the superstition felt towards the pictures or figures of these animals wherever seen. The fabulous creature called the Piasa, which was seen by Marquette on the rocks near Alton, Illinois; was another of these myth-bearers, which embodied in themselves the element of transformation, the very grotesqueness of the figure and the variety of its parts, the horns of the deer, the head of the tiger, the scales of the fish, the feet of the panther, the tail of the wildcat, showing the shapes which this caliban might assume. Many such creatures may be seen
upon the rocks, but they only perpetuate the myths which have prevailed. The Dakotas were remarkable for their manner of representing their divinities under animal forms. They picture the ancestors of the Hanga as a giant buffalo moving under the water. They also picture the chief god as a thunder bird resting on the rocks. The anti-natural god they picture as a man carrying a bow in his hands. Mrs. Eastman has given a drawing of this. In this the giant is seen using the frog for an arrow point. He is surrounded with lightnings. He has different animals, the bear, deer, elk, buffalo; also meteors. His court, or house, is ornamented with down. He has a whistle and rattle, bow and arrow, and other objects in his hands.

There are many other illustrations of this peculiar superstition that the spirit of the Divinity was transferred to the images which are presented in the different localities. This superstition was not confined to the figures of animals, but was also attached to every object which resembled the human form, and was especially strong toward those objects which contained the human and the animal semblance in combination. This will explain the existence of the idol called the bear idol. In this the bear's head and skin covers the human face and form, but the mask in the shape of the human face hanging in front is a peculiar sign of the transformation process.* It also explains the meaning of the various figures of birds, with human heads and animal claws, which are so common on the northwest coast, as well as those remarkable idols in Guatemala, in which human forms are covered with massive and gigantic tigers.

In fact, it is to this idea of transformation which explains nearly all the nondescript creatures which have been seen in the various parts of the continent, and which makes them so suggestive and significant of the divinities which were worshiped.

Schoolcraft, Catlin and others have spoken of the animal figures which are depicted in the Mida songs and charts, to which peculiar significance was given. They have also described the transformation, which was supposed to take place in the various dances and dramatizations. But it is to later writers, such as Mr. Walter Fewkes, Mr. Frank Cushing, and Drs. Brinton and Mathews, that we are indebted for a knowledge of the deeper significance which was given to many of them, and especially to the occultic and divinatory power.

There were several classes of animal figures in which the transformation element was contained, some of them being totemic, others mythologic, others fetichistic, others occultic or divinatory, and still others largely anthropomorphic. The class to which they belonged is made known by the preponderance of one or another element, the totemic prevailing mainly in the

*See Chapter on Personal Divinities, p. 383, 304, Fig. 2, Bear idol.
hunter tribes of the east; the mythologic among the fishing tribes of
the northwest coast, the fetichistic among the village tribes of
the interior, the anthropomorphic among the civilized tribes of
the southwest, and the divinatory especially among the ancient
Maya race. Different classes are found in each locality, but one
class predominates in one region and another in another, so that
we are never at a loss to decide as to the form which the myth-
ology has assumed, or to understand the peculiar significance
which the figures may possess.

We have given charts and cuts taken from the works of
various authors to illustrate these different symbols, but have not
undertaken to describe them all. Yet the reader can easily dis-
tinguish between them and readily recognize the peculiarities
of each cult from the various representations of it which are thus
offered, the totemic always being the simpler figure, but the
mythologic and occultic being the more complicated and con-
ventional.

4. The transformation of the nature powers into birds and of
birds into human beings, who were warriors and heroes, was
also common. There was a reason for using the bird as a sym-
bol of the nature powers and for making it a myth-bearer, for
it was very suggestive in its habits and shape of the sky divini-
ties, and so was likely to be taken as a representative of the
thunder-cloud, and the personal divinity who made the thunder.
Various authors have noticed this.

Dr. Brinton says: "Beyond all others, two subdivisions of
the animal kingdom have so riveted the attention of men by their
unusual powers, and enter so frequently into the myths of every
nation of the globe, that a right understanding of their symbolic
value is an essential preliminary to a discussion of the divine
legends. These are the bird and the serpent. We shall not go
amiss if we seek the reasons for their pre-eminence in the facility
with which their peculiarities offered sensuous images under
which to carry the idea of divinity, ever present in the soul of
man, ever striving at articulate expression. The bird has the
incomprehensible power of flight, it floats in the atmosphere, it
rides on the winds, it soars toward heaven, where dwell the gods;
its plumage is stained with the hues of the rainbow and the sun-
set; its song was man's first hint of music; it spurns the clods
that impede his footsteps and flies proudly over the mountains
and moors where he toils wearily along. He sees no more
enviable creation; he conceives the gods and angels must also
have wings, and pleases himself with the fancy that he, too, some
day will shake off this coil of clay and rise on pinions to the
heavenly mansions. All living beings, say the Eskimos, have
the faculty of the soul, but especially birds. As messengers
from the upper world and interpreters of its decrees, the flight
and the note of the birds have ever been anxiously observed as
omens of grave import. In Peru and in Mexico there was a College of Augurs, corresponding in purpose to the horuspices of ancient Rome, who practiced no other means of divination than watching the course and professing to interpret the songs of owls."

"But the usual meaning of the bird as a symbol looks to a different analogy to that which appears in such familiar expressions as 'the wings of the wind,' 'the flying clouds.' Like the wind, the bird sweeps through the aérial spaces, sings in the forests, and rustles on its course; like the cloud, it floats in mid-air and casts its shadow on the earth; like the lightning, it darts from heaven to earth to strike its unsuspecting prey. Therefore the Algonkins say that birds always make the winds, that they create the water-spouts, and that the clouds are the spreading and agitation of their wings; the Navajoes, that at each cardinal point stands a white swan, who is the spirit of the blasts which blow from its dwelling; and the Dakotas, that in the west is the house of Wakinyan, the Flyers, the breezes that send the storms."

"As the symbol of these august powers, as the messengers of the gods, and as the embodiment of departed spirits, no one will be surprised if they find the bird figure most prominently in the myths of the red race. Sometimes some particular species seem to have been chosen as most befitting those dignified attitudes. The great American eagle is the bird beyond all others which is chosen to typify supreme control. Its feathers composed the war flag of the Creeks, and its images carved in wood, or its stuffed skin surmounted their council lodges. None but an approved warrior dare wear it among the Cherokees, and the Dakotas allowed such an honor only to him who had first touched the corpse of the common foe. The Natchez and Arkansas seem to have paid it even religious honors, and to have installed it in their most sacred shrines; and very clearly it was not so much for ornament as for a mark of dignity and a recognized sign of worth that its plumes were so highly praised."*

These remarks are very suggestive, and yet much more might

*See Myths of the New World, p. 105.
be said about the bird as a "myth-bearer." It would seem that the aborigines were all very imaginative in their worship, and that they looked upon the powers of nature as if they were full of the activities of the supernatural beings, and so represented them under the figures of birds and other active creatures of the sky. There is no class of myths which is more expressive than the one which has regard to the bird, and none more widely distributed than this. The figure of the bird is, in fact, conventionalized and made to serve as a symbol in every part of the land—being drawn in the pictographs of the wild tribes of the north, inscribed upon the tablets and gorgets of the Mound-builders, painted upon the shields and ornaments of the Cliff-dwellers, carved into the stucco tablets of the civilized races and placed within their shrines as an object of adoration, and yet it always signifies the same thing, namely, the transformation of the sky-god into a personality which has assumed the bird-like shape. Illustrations of this are abundant, in fact, too numerous to even mention, so we select from widely scattered regions. Among the Alaskans the thunder is caused by an immense bird, whose size darkens the heavens, whose body is a thunder-cloud, the flapping of whose wings causes the thunder, and the bolts of fire which it sends out of its mouth are the lightning. Rev. M. Eells says: "The Twanas and some other northwest tribes invest the animal with a two-fold character, human and bird-like. According to them the being is supposed to be a gigantic Indian named in the dialects of the various coast tribes, Klamaths, Thlinkeets and Tinnehs. He lives in the highest mountains, and his food consists of whales. When he wants food he puts on a great garment which is made of a bird's head, a pair of very large wings, and a feather covering his body, and around his waist he has the lightning fish, which slightly resembles the sea horse. The animal has a head as sharp as a knife, and a red tongue, which makes the fire. He then flies forth, and when he sees a whale he darts the lightning fish into its body, which he then seizes and carries to his home. Occasionally, however, he strikes a tree, and more seldom a man."

The same thought of the thunder-bird prevails among the eastern tribes. According to Mr. J. Walter Fewkes, there were, among the Passamaquoddies, men who were able to pass through the rocks. They went to their wigwams and put on wings and took their bows and arrows and flew over the mountains to the south. They could not get home because the bird Woochowsen
blew so hard that they could make no progress against it. This bird was the north wind, which Glooskap was said to have caught and tied. Thus the thunder-bird was here an Indian, as in the northwest coast. The lightning from him never strikes one of his kind.* The legend of the "thunderers" prevailed among the Hurons. The story is that a youth in the forest heard a murmur of voices behind him. He turned and saw three men clad in strange, cloud-like garments. "Who are you?" he asked. They told him that they were the thunder, their mission was to keep the earth, in order to bring rain, destroy serpents. The great deity, Hamen diju, had given them authority to watch over the people to see that no harm came to them. They gave him a dress like that which they wore, a cloud-like robe, having wings on the shoulders, and told him how they were to be moved. They said, we will leave the cloud dress with you. Every spring, when we return, you can put it on and fly with us to be witness to what we do for the good of man. In the spring the thunderers returned and he took the robe and flew with them in the clouds over the earth. This young man learned from his divine friends the secret, which he communicated to two persons in each tribe. From him came the power of making rain, which was transmitted.†

The Pawnees hold that Tirawa is the great creator, who lives up in the sky. Attius lives upon the earth. The wild animals are the servants of Attius. They are called Nahumac. They personify the various attributes of Attius, but have the power of changing from an animal’s shape to that of man. The black and the white-headed eagle and the buzzard are the messengers of this Attius. The four cardinal points were respected by the Pawnees, and so they blow four smokes—first to Attius, then to the earth, and last of all to the cardinal points. They sacrifice to the thunderer in the spring-time ‡

Among the Omahas there was a society which had a peculiar regalia. They cut their hair so as to make it resemble the crow and trimmed it with crow-feathers; they blackened their faces, and on their backs had white spots, to make them emblematic of the thunder-clouds and their destructive power in their advance over the heavens. Even so the warrior, as he approaches his enemy, deals his death-darts.

The thunder bird among the Klamath Indians is the raven, but it was able to transform itself into many other animals. Gatschets says, the earth (Kaila) is regarded as a mysterious shadowy power, who deals out gifts to her children. Her eyes are lakes and ponds scattered over the green surface, her breasts

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† An interesting engraving by Catlin pictures the rain-maker standing upon the tent, bow in hand, and shooting into the clouds. See Horatio Hale, Journal of American Folklore, Vol. IV, No. 15, p. 289.
TRANSFORMATION MYTHS.

The hills and hillocks. The rivulets and brooks irrigate the valleys. Besides the earth there is the genius of the underworld (Munatalkni) and the ghosts which represent the souls of animals and spirits of mountains, winds and celestial bodies. The common belief is that after death the soul travels the path of the sun to the west, there joins in the spirit land the innumerable souls which have gone that way before. The shooting stars are regarded as the spirits of the great chief whose heart can be seen going west, and the polar lights are supposed to represent the dance of the dead. The prairie wolf is the animal which represents the creator and culture hero of all the tribes of the northwest coast. His doleful, human-like cries heard during moonlight nights set him up in the esteem of the Indians.

![Fig. 12—Bird, Sun and Human Figure.](image)

appears in sun and moon stories as running a race with the clouds. He always attends another person, his shadow going by his side, and so is double; but the raven is the chief subject of their mythology.*

The Moquis also have pictographs of a great bird on the rocks near their village. In this pictograph is the symbol of the face of the sun, also the symbol of the dome of the sky with zigzag lightning, four heads of serpents and a frog. And another pictograph of a mythologic bird with feathers like crest, eight small circles. This is called Kuettuqui, the war bird. The god of the earth among the Moquis is a god of metamorphosis. He is the deity who controls growth.†

Another good representation of the metamorphic thunder-bird is the one which is depicted on the shield of the priest of the

†American Anthropologist, Vol. V., No. 1, p. 16.
bow. In this shield we find the human form with the wings made from knife-bladed feathers. The lightning serpent beneath his feet, the human rainbow spanning like an arch above his head, a bear on either side. The conventionalized terraced cap or mask with the feathers crowning the turrets or peaks also symbolizes the clouds and the sky and the thunder as does the bird itself.

The thunder bird is also seen among the symbols of the ancient Mayas. Here it is associated with the cross, which is a symbol of the wind, and has many ornaments attached to it, the idea of transformation being suggested by the bird being headless.

The best illustration of the bird as undergoing transformation and carrying the semblance of a human being is the one which was seen by M. Habel sculptured on the stones in Cosumala-huapa. See Fig. 12. Here the bird has the flaming sun on his breast, a human arm projecting from its side with claws instead of a hand. It seems to be a bird of the sky and of the earth and at the same time human. No explanation of this figure has been given, yet the probability is that it symbolized the transformation of the bird into the sun and of the sun into a human being, the sculptor retaining all the symbols, as the combination would the better express the thought. It was not a mere fancy that led to the drawing of a mythologic figure by a native artist, but, on the contrary, he was always controlled by a definite purpose and had in his mind the myth as it was told. His effort was to make the figure as graphic as possible. There came, at last, a conventionality in the manner of representing a myth, and so the figures which are found upon the various relics, such as the shell gorgets and copper plates of the Mound-Builders, the shields of the Cliff-dwellers and the sculptures of the civilized nations, have all the force of a sacred record. They show the progress of thought as well as of artistic skill, but at the same time show that the same religious conception of transformation was retained through all the changes.

5. The transformation of the divinity into trees was another superstition which prevailed extensively among the aborigines of America, specimens of the human tree being found in nearly all parts of the country. We may say that no symbol in America is more interesting than is this, and none that more thoroughly reminds us of the old world stories. These all may be mere coincidences, yet the analogies are certainly very striking and the figures are the more worthy of close and candid study on this account. We would, therefore, call attention to the different specimens of human trees. The superstition about the tree spirit was very common in Europe and was frequently symbolized by the early inhabitants, conveying the idea that there

*In another figure we have the eagle with his wings spread, two serpents, their heads toward their wings, and a figure of a bear above the head of the eagle.
was the same transformation myth there as here. The transformation myth also existed in Egypt, and was embodied in the story of Osiris and Isis and their various adventures, the spirit of life hidden in nature being personified in this way. We find also in Assyria and Chaldea that the tree of life or the sacred grove was set up in their temples, and priests were represented as presenting offerings to it as to a divinity. In fact, there is no land on either continent where there are not stories concerning the tree, and very few places where there is not the same conception that the tree spirit was a divinity or a personal being.

We have already spoken of the tree and star contained in the Dakota pictograph and its resemblance to the Scandinavian tree of life, Igdrasil. There are relics, however, which suggest that the human spirit was transformed into a tree, very much as the spirit of Osiris was buried in the pillar of the house of the king at Biblos. The Gest tablet is an illustration of this. This is made up of a variety of symbols, among which we may recognize the face and form of a man, but hidden in the semblance of a tree, the branches of which form the legs and arms, the leaves form the feet and hands, also the hair, nose and mouth, circles form the eye, the human face looking out from the network of leaves and branches as it sometimes does in the modern picture puzzle. It reminds us of the sacred groves or trees which were common among the Chaldeans of the east. Another tablet has also been discovered, which may perhaps embody the same conception, but in a modified form, for the lines upon the tablet seem to represent an animal head as hidden among the branches of the tree, instead of the human face, although the general form of the symbol is retained.

These various tablets were taken from the mounds in the Ohio valley, and so suggest that the superstition about the tree spirits prevailed among that mysterious people. A similar figure of a tree containing a human face is found in the tablet of the cross, at Palenque, usually called "Malar's cross." The peculiarity of this cross is that its arms are made up of the long leaves of corn, each of which, according to the photograph taken by Charnay, contains a human face hidden away among the leaves. The standard of the cross is made up of a solid bar, which supports on its summit the consecrational form of the thunder-bird, but on the bar, at the junction of the arms, there
is a face with a peculiar bulging eye, and below the face a necklace with a medallion suspended to it hangs against the standard.* Another peculiarity is that two human figures clad in priestly robes stand on either side and present their offerings to the bird on its summit, exactly as they do in the two other tablets at Palenque; the same symbols also cover the bird and the human form. This cross was, like all the others, contained in a shrine or temple, which was evidently devoted to the worship of a chief divinity, and may properly be regarded as representing the god of agriculture of the Mayas. It will be noticed that on the facade are two figures; on the head of one (the priest) there are leaves,

*Charnay has given a picture of the cross which shows several human laces in the arms of the cross, thus making the idea of transformation more vivid than that given in the engraving by Stephens. Taking the three crosses at Palenque, we find in the one the symbol of the sun-god, in the other the symbols of the war-god, in this, the third, the symbols of the rain-god. The face of the sun looks out from the center of the Saint Andrew's Cross. The war club can be seen on the ends of the arms of the second, and the forms of vegetation with the human faces are scattered over the third. Human figures accompany the three crosses and the same thunder-bird surmounts the last two.
ent figures in the shrines of Palenque, with their symbols, convinces us that the nature powers were all personified, but that their activities were interchangeable, the sun-god, the rain-god and the god of agriculture having symbols that were similar. This was common, however, among other nations, for in the Shinto religion the goddess of food was also the producer of trees and the parent of grass, and in the Egyptian religion the chief gods, Isis and Osiris, were but the personifications of the spirit of life, and every part of the story was suggestive of the changes of the seasons.

*The identifying of the symbols with the points of the compass and with the elements and the seasons has been attempted by many writers, but no two of them agree—as may be seen from the tables given in the Third Annual Report. Still, the eight figures on the four sides have associated with them hieroglyphics for the cardinal points, and symbols for the elements, so that we conclude that they represent the gods who preside over the seasons and the feasts which were given to them. It will be further noticed that the hieroglyphics for the days of the month, whether for the thirteen days or for the twenty days, were also associated with the symbols made up of the human figures, the crosses and the flints, and these were associated with the tree on the codices, showing that the tree, as well as the circle and the rectangular chart, was used as a calendar, and in connection with the system of divination. Charnay's arrangement for the Mexican calendar was as follows: 1. Tochtli—Rabbit, blue, earth, south. 2. Acatli—Cane, red, water, east. 3. Tecpatli—Flint, yellow, air, north. 4. Calli—House, green, fire, north. Still, Gamelli, Duran, Boturini, Torquemado, Orozco y. Berra, Schults von Sellick all have different arrangements.*
There are many other specimens of the human tree. Among these we would place the remarkable figure which is seen on the façade of the palace at Uxmal. This has baffled explanation, though it is sometimes called a Manitou face. See Fig. 14. May it not be a combination of the symbol of the sacred tree with the human face—the eyes and nose and ears, all of them blended with the branches of the tree, the idol, crowned with a nimbus, representing the divinity, its position in the house showing that it was a household god.*

The best illustration of the use of the tree as a symbol of transformation is the one which is found in the codices of the ancient Maya and Nahua races.† These codices contain various symbols, the cross, the bird, the serpent, the tree, and the human figure, all of them arranged differently and having a different position or prominence, according as the intent was to emphasize one or the other symbol, the serpent being the most prominent in the Borgian codex, the serpent and bird in the

*Descriptions of the palace have often been given, but no one has thus far given any interpretation of this symbol, and yet it corresponds with the many ornaments found on the facades of palaces, especially those which contain the projecting hook with rosettes on either side, and at the same time corresponds to the trees and crosses and human figures contained in the codices of the Mayas.
†We have spoken of these codices under the head of the serpent and of the cross. See chapter XII, p 1, and chapter X.
TRANSFORMATION MYTHS.

MSS. Troano, animals and birds in the Vatican, the circle in the wheel of Duran, the cross in the Palenque tablets, and the tree in the shape of the cross, with a human figure attached, being very prominent in the Cortesian, the Vatican and the Fejevary codex. We begin with the Cortesian Codex. Fig. 15. This has been explained by Rosny, by Dr. Forschammer, Dr. Cyrus Thomas and others, and the following is the analysis of the different parts of the chart. The picture presents four divisions: 1. In the middle of which is a representation of the symbolic tree; beneath are the figures of two personages (male and female) seated on the ground and facing the Katunes, among which the symbol of day is repeated three times. 2. The central image is surrounded by a sort of frame or belt, in which are the twenty cyclic characters of the day calendar (day symbols). 3. In the four compartments, four groups, arranged according to the order of the cardinal points. Two of these figures have a flaming torch, or possibly an incense vase in their hands. Two others seem to be attending a sacrifice in which a human victim is offered on an altar; two others are seated in a temple (Calli), on which are the symbols of a cross, and two others are facing a figure resembling a bound mummy, the significance of which is unknown. 4. At the outside of the picture are the rows of dots which run along the borders, also day characters, which are grouped together at the corners, making, perhaps, a record of the feasts, or a chart of certain ceremonies, or a calendar system of the year and the days.*

As to the meaning of the tree in these codices and on the tablets, we may say that it was the tree of life as much to the Mayas and Nahuas as the ash-tree (Igdrasil) was to the Scandinavians, or the sacred grove (Ashurrah) was to the Babylonians, or the tree in the Garden of Eden was to the Hebrews. As to its origin, there are great differences of opinion, some supposing that it was the mere outgrowth of the nature worship which prevailed, and others ascribing it to the result of a prehistoric contact with the eastern continent. It is remarkable, however, that the same symbols of the serpent and the human form are so intimately connected with it, and that the significance of the tree should be so similar. We are

*That the tree was used as a calendar, as well as the sun-circle and the serpent symbol, is evident from examination of this chart, with its various time marks and day symbols. The five hieroglyphics on each of the four sides denote the secular month of twenty days, which was divided into four weeks of five days each. The ten hieroglyphics in the corners with the dots denote the sacred year, which was made up of twenty months of thirteen days each, as there are twenty symbols denoting thirteen days, which equal 260 days. The Fejevary Codex is arranged also in squares and loops, with four trees in the squares, with twenty hieroglyphics in the corners, which, with the dots between, make 260 as before.
to remember that there was an extensive calendar system and an elaborate system of divination connected with the tree, as with the circle and other symbols, the system of occultism having prevailed as well as in the east, and even a similar resort to caves having been common.

6. The transformation cult was also embodied in human figures, especially those which are in combination with tree figures. In reference to the human figures in this chart, no explanation has been given, yet some of the old authors, such as Veytia and Gemelli and Gomara, have thrown out hints which help us to solve the problem. These authors speak of the four symbols, the flint, Tecpatl; the house, Calli; the rabbit, Tochtli; the reed, Acatl, and say these are allegories by which they set forth the four elements which are understood to be the origin of all things, the torch symbolizing the fire; the house the element of earth; the rabbit, or mummy bound, the air; the reed, water. It is to be noted that most of the old calendars were arranged in squares or in circles to represent the cycles of the days, years and months, and the four divisions were the symbols of the four seasons that made up the year. Having found an analogy between the seasons and the elements, they would carry the similitude to the age of fifty-two years, as well as to the elements, making the same symbols in their combination represent the divinities, Tochtli being dedicated to the god of fire, Acatl to the god of water, Tecpatl to the god of air, and Calli to the god of earth. Thus the symbol of the tree became the center of a mass of symbolism which was very expressive of the events of the national history and of the fundamental points in their cosmogony and in their religious systems. The same is also true of the other codices, such as the Fejeváry and the Vatican. In these the tree is repeated four times, each time having a different color, the branches of the tree being loaded down with fruits and flowers of different colors, the trunk being grasped by a human figure in a novel attitude.

Secret rites were celebrated in Central America which had transformation as their chief element. These were held in caverns or subterranean "temples." The intimate meaning of the cave cult was the worship of the earth. The cave god, the heart of the hills, really typified the earth, the soil from whose dark
recesses flow the limpid streams and spring the tender shoots of the full plants as well as the great trees. The cave god was the patron of the third day, also lord of animals, the transformation into which was the test of his power. Tlaloc, god of the mountains and the rains, was represented by the symbol of a snake doubled and twisted on itself, carrying his medicine bag, his robe marked with the sign of the cross, to show that he was lord of the four winds and of life.

In Southern Mexico and Central America the trees seen near the villages are regarded as the protecting genius of the town. Sacred trees were familiar to the old Mexican race. They are said to have represented the gods of woods and waters. In the ancient mythology the tree of life is represented by four branches, each sacred to one of the four cardinal points. The conventionalized form of this tree in the Mexican figurative paintings resembles a cross.

In Alaska, according to Niblack, the wind spirit, who causes the changes in the weather, is represented by a figure which has the ears of a bear and the face of a man. On the right and left are the feet, which symbolize the long streaming clouds. Above are the wings, and on each side are the different winds, each designated by an eye, and by patches of cirrus clouds. The rain is indicated by the tears which spring from the eyes of Tkul, the wind spirit. The best illustration of these mythologic changes is the one given by the Haida myths. The story is that there was a war between the raven and the thunder-bird. In order to overcome his enemy, the raven let all kinds of animals go into the whale, and they went to the land of the thunder-bird. When this bird saw the whale, he sent out his youngest son to catch it, but he was unable to lift it. He stuck to the gum that was on the whale, and the animals killed him.

This same use of the human figure as a symbol of the clouds and winds and sky is also illustrated by the idols which are common among the ancient Hopi or Moquis. In these the feather is the symbol of the cloud; the stripes on the face and form are the symbols of the sky; the terraced headdress is also a symbol of the houses above the sky; the arches are also symbols of the arches of the sky. See Fig. 17.
The same conception is also represented by the vase described by Dr. Hamy, Charnay and others, and by the idol described by M. Biart and several others. The vase was found by Charnay at Tenepeanco, and the idol at Oazaca, Mexico, and is now in the Trocadero Museum. Both represent Tlaloc, the god of rain, who was always accompanied by the god of air. This represents the rain god as furnished with eyes in the shape of sun circles; mouth lips and teeth in the shape of wind circles; the whole form containing the various symbols of the nature powers. These two images as well as the figure on the facade of the palace illustrate the prevalence of the transformation cult among the ancient Mayas. See Fig. 19.

The use of a winged human figure to represent the "transformation myth" is illustrated by the statue which Dr. Hamy has described as standing upon the summit of a pyramid at Uxmal. This is the statue of Quetzacoatl, the air god or sun god of the ancient Mayas. He is generally represented as a white man, clothed in a garment decorated with crosses and wearing a beard. Here, however, his garments as they shake in the wind appear like wings, but are covered with crosses, which are also symbols of the wind as well as the cardinal points. At his feet is the figure of a feather-headed serpent, also having the shape of a wing. See Fig. 20. On his head are the four plumes, which also represent the winds. The attitude of the god is very suggestive, as is the crook or staff in his hand, but the human face and form are the most expressive of all, for these show that he was a personal god as well as a representative of the various nature powers.
CHAPTER XII.

THE WORSHIP OF THE RAIN-GOD.

The worship of rain as one of the "nature powers" was very prevalent throughout the continent of America in pre-historic times, and has survived among certain tribes even to the present day. It had its greatest development in the arid regions of the interior, and here it still abounds in great force. The supply of rain was appreciated in other parts of the country, but here it was so much a necessity that the minds of the people were constantly exercised about it, and so they made it the one element of their religious ceremonies. It is interesting to study the cult and see how many methods of expressing the desire for rain were invented, and to notice the manner in which the rain was personified and symbolized, and how elaborate the ceremonies were which embodied this personification. It appears that the rain-god was not only personated, but that all the operations of the rain were dramatized and imitated. The other nature powers, such as the lightning, the cloud, the colors of the sky, the four points of the compass, even the sun and moon and stars made subordinate to this, and yet by their combination these set off the supremacy of the rain as a great divinity.

We propose therefore to take up the various ceremonies, customs and symbols which prevailed among the so-called "sky-worshippers" of the interior, and especially those which consisted in the dramatization of the rain. There is, to be sure, a great sameness to these ceremonies and customs as practiced by the different tribes, yet the variety is sufficient to warrant a description of each one in turn, for the repetition is found as significant as the variation. The following observations on the rites and ceremonies practiced by the aborigines and their significance by Mr. William Wells Newell are valuable: 1. Tribal, gentile, social, religious festivals or dances depend in part on myths which are dramatized in the rites. 2. The rites are performed by secret societies, possessing initiations in different degrees, which constitute what may be called mysteries. 3. Of the ritual, some portions are intended to be in public, while others are wrapped in secrecy. The manner of the celebration as well as the significance of the rites is only comprehended by the initiated persons. 4. The dance is performed by masked or costumed personages, who enact the part of the divine beings whose history is recounted in the myths. 5. The actor was originally considered to be identical with the being represented. In
other words, the god, in his own person appeared on the stage and performed his own history, in characteristic representation. The following also, from Dr. Washington Matthews, on the connection between mystery and ceremony, has considerable force: "The rite-myth never explains all the symbolism embodied in the rite, though it may account for all the important acts. A primitive and underlying symbolism which probably existed previous to the establishment of the rite, remains unexplained by the myth, as though its existence was taken as a matter of course and required no explanation. Some explanation of this foundation symbolism may be found in the "creation" and "migration" myths, or in other early legends of the tribe, but something remains unexplained even by these. The wearing of masks, however, seems to have had but one significance. The person who wears the mask of a god, and personates him, is, for the time being, actually that god. The rain ceremonies gen-

![Fig. 1.—Medicine Bowl with Rain Symbol.](image)
erally consisted in a dramatization of the rain, under the figure of an immense snake, who is supposed to represent the rain-god and his efficiency in bringing the needed supply of water, as well as his influence over the different crops. The drama, however, combined the migration myth and the creation myth with the popular conception of the source of the rain, and these made the variation in the ceremony's almost equal to the myths which were embodied in them."

I. One of the most interesting of the dramas is that which is called the "screen drama," as the screen bears an important part in it. A description of this ceremony has been given by Dr. J. W. Fewkes. It consists mainly in carrying various figures or effigies of snakes from the village on the mesas to a pool in the valley below and back again to the kivas, thus making them represent the rain cloud which rises over the mountains and drops its refreshing showers upon the mesas.

At the beginning of this ceremony, the young men brought quantities of sand and placed it in boxes, moistened it, and planted in the sand kernels of corn of different colors, yellow, blue, deep
THE WORSHIP OF THE RAIN-GOD.

red, white, black, speckled and pink. After a few days they unrolled the screen on which were sun emblems and openings; they then took several serpent figures or effigies, placed them near the fire. These serpent effigies were made with protruding eyes stuffed with seeds, a head made of a gourd, a collar made of corn husks and feathers, and a projecting horn on the top of the head. The body was hollow and so arranged that the arm of the dancers could be thrust into them, and so make them move about as if they were alive. A procession was formed in which nineteen men, some with trumpets, others bearing the effigies, and others with pipes and a slow match and trays of sacred meal. These proceed down the mesa to a pool where they place the effigies at the edge of the water on the east and north sides, and meal and feathers on the west side.

After various ceremonies, such as lighting pipes and smoking a few puffs to the sun, repeating prayers and trumpeting to the water, pouring water, dipping the serpent's heads into the edge of the water, sprinkling meal, they again take up the effigies and ascend the mesa, go down to the kiva and thrust the struggling serpents through the screen which has upon it the sun symbols, making the serpent effigies dance to the measure of a song which is sung by a chorus. As the serpents were thrust through the sun disks in the screen and sacred meal was placed before them, each dipped its head as if eating the meal. The life-like struggle of the serpent was imitated in a surprising manner.

Before the screens were rows of sand cones, in which corn plants were inserted, making them resemble rows in a corn field. The serpents were made to dance over the cones. These represented the rain-god as arising from the water, floating in a cloud and hovering over the corn fields. The dances which followed carried out the same thought. In these the men called disk-hurlers came out from the "corn mound" kiva and the "oak mound" kiva, and distributed baskets among the spectators. A "kiva chief" planted a small spruce tree in the court and suspended
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

upon its boughs numerous ornaments, and at its base blue "prayer plumes." In the screen the four larger disks were called sun pictures and the two small ones moon pictures.* The panels on the upper part were surrounded with rainbows with lightning between each panel. The snake-like figures rising from the clouds are thunder bolts; the birds surmounting the conventional clouds represent the water birds; two figures in the center represent the divinities called sky-gods, or "the heart of the sky;" two figures in the outer panels represent the female companions of these sky-gods.

These were symbolic of the rain-god and his power over the winds, but there were many common articles used by the Zunis which represented the "world-quarters," rainbow and lightning. They sometimes decorated garments with the stepped figure, sym-

Fig. 4.—Zuni Prayer-meal Bowl.

bolizing the clouds, sometimes with scrolls, which symbolized the winds. These scrolls resemble the scrolls and circles made in the sands of the desert by the wind driving weed stalks or red top grass round and round, for they believe these sand marks are the tracks of the whirl-wind-god. They also decorate their pottery with circular spaces, which resemble the sun disk, and in the spaces draw figures in the form of stepped pyramids and other curious designs, always careful to leave open spaces or outlets to each ornament. These "terraces in the sky horizons are the mythic" ancient sacred places of the spaces.

The stepped figure was perhaps the consequence of basket weaving, but became a symbol to the superstitious people. The lifted line of the mountain was a ladder to the regions of the sky-gods, which was heralded by the thunder-god at the rising and the setting sun, and so afforded a graphic symbol of the

* No representation of the screen is given but the altar of the Mam-mau Society seen in the plate contains the same symbols. See plate taken from Dr. Fewkes' pamphlet.
"sacred spaces." The figure when applied to the pottery by the supple hand of a Zuni woman, was believed to be endowed with a spirit which bore the title of "made being" for whose ingress and exit the encircling lines were left open.

(1.) The ancient Pueblo medicine jar also contains the symbols of the sky-gods and the rain, and other nature powers. There are circles and several spaces on this jar, and in these the "ancient place" of the spaces, A; the region of the sky-gods, B; the cloud lines C, and the falling rain D. These are combined and depicted to symbolize the storm, which was the object of the worship in the ceremonials to which the jar was an appurtenance.* See Figs. 1, 2 and 3.

(2.) Another symbol representing the rain, storm, cloud, and lightning is very common among the ancient Pueblos. It is woven into the garments and painted upon the pottery and is prominent in their sand paintings. It consists of three arches with a horizontal space below with a zig-zag arrow above, and perpendicular lines for the rain. See Fig. 3.

(3.) The Zuni prayer-meal bowl illustrates this conception. The bowl is the emblem of the earth,—"our mother." (Fig. 4.) We draw food and drink from it. The rim of the bowl is round, but also terraced, as is the horizon, which is terraced with mountains whence rise the clouds. The handle of the bowl is also a symbol of the rainbow, as it is arched over the terraces and painted with the rainbow figure. The two terraces on either side of the handle represent the "ancient sacred spaces." The decorations of the bowl are significant. As the tadpole frequents the pool in spring-time it has been adopted as the symbol of the spring rains; the dragon fly hovers over pools in summer, and typifies the rains of summer; the frog maturing later symbolizes the rains of the later season; the feather-headed serpent also typifies the water and the rain. Sometimes the figure of the sacred butterfly replaces that of the dragon fly, which symbolizes the beneficence of summer, for the Zunis think that the butterflies and birds bring the warm season from the land of everlasting summer.

It is a singular circumstance that a jar or vase has been found among the mounds which contains a figure of a plumed serpent which is furnished with wings, the lines on the wings being in the form of arches and those on the body being in the form of terraces or notched passages, the spaces being left open as they were on the Zuni pottery. Was this vase a specimen which was brought by some wandering Zuni into the Mound-builders' territory, or was it the product of the Mound-builders' skill, making the ornament represent the ancient myths which were extant? It would seem as if the figure represented the "water

AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

divinity" or the "rain spirit," though it is the only specimen
where the serpent, which was always among the Mound-builders
a water-god, is figured with wings and with step-lines.

II. A rain ceremony occurs at the initiation of children. There
was a tradition among the ancient Zunis that their ancestors
migrated from a distant point, but on their way they were obliged
to cross a stream, and in crossing the children fell into the stream
and became transformed into frogs, ducks, water-spiders, snakes
and butterflies, and were transferred to a kiva which was situ-
ated under the water in a spirit lake. After their arrival in the
village, certain supernatural messengers were sent to this village
under the water, who found that the children were again trans-

![Symbols](image)

Fig. 5.—Butterfly, Dragonfly and Bird Symbols.
formed into supernatural beings and had taken upon themselves
the likeness of the chief divinities of the Zunis.* The children
were alter that time worshiped as ancestral gods, and were called
the Koko. They dwell in the depths of the lake, where are
"waters of everlasting happiness," and are reached only by
passing through the interior of the mountain by a passageway
which has four chambers in it. The Koko repeat the prayers
for rain, making their intercessions to the sun, Ya-to tka, and
by them the plume-sticks are sent to the same great god. The
offerings of plumes to the sun are so numerous that at night the
"Sacred Road" can be seen filled with the feathers, for the "Soul
of the Plumes" travels over the road just as the soul from the
body travels from Zuni to the spirit lake.

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*The first divinities were Ko-ye-me-shi, and Ko-mo-ket-si. They originally were a
brother and sister, but were afterward transformed into supernatural beings which dwelt
upon the mountains, the youth into a hideous-looking creature and the maiden into a being
with snow-white hair (probably personifications of the black storm-cloud and the fleecy
rain-cloud).
THE WORSHIP OF THE RAIN-GOD.

One of the most important characters in Zuni mythology, is called the *Koklo*. This divinity visited the spirit lake, where is the home of the *Koko*, and entered the kiva and viewed those assembled there, but found that the “plumed serpent,” whose home is in a hot spring, was not there. He accordingly sent two of the *Koko* called *Soo-ti-ki*, for the plumed serpent *Ko-lo-wit-si*. They soon appeared, for they did not travel upon the earth but by the underground waters that passed from the spring to the spirit lake. Upon their arrival, the *Kak-lo* (tribal divinity) issued his commands, that certain of the “children-ancestors,” whom he designated as the *Sa-la-no-bi-ya*, should go to the north, west, south, east, the heavens and the earth, to procure cereals for the Zuni, and ordered that the serpent should carry these with water to the Zunis, (Ashisi) and tell them what to do with the seeds. He then visited the Zunis, instructed the people regarding the children-ancestors and told them that the boys must be made members of the *Koko* society.

Such is the myth which lies at the basis of the ceremony of initiation and which explains the different parts of it, but the true significance of the drama as a personified account of the rain god is better shown by the ceremony itself, for in these the actors both personate the gods and the operations of nature in the process of rain making. The first actor is the representative of the chief god, *Koklo*, who is the heralder of the coming of the plumed serpent, *Ko-lo-wit-si*, and may be regarded as the personification of the wind or cloud that advances before a rain storm. He arrives at the village and divides his time between the kivas which represent the cardinal points, the zenith and the nadir, and gives the history of the *Koko* and the gathering of the cereals of the earth. The next actors who arrive upon the scene are the impersonators of the *Koko*, “child ancestors,” who prepare plume-sticks and get ready for the initiation. After them ten men who personate the rain clouds, *Koyemshi*, on the mountains, pass through the village and inquire for the boys who are to be initiated. The *Sa-la-no-bi-ya* of the north, west, south, east, heavens and earth, and a number of younger brothers, who are the personators of the cardinal points and the bearers of the plumed serpent or rain cloud, also appear on the occasion. They wear masks of different colors. Those from the north, yellow; from the west, blue; from the south, red; from the east, white; earth, black; the heavens, all colors.* These take the plumed serpent, which is the emblem of the rain cloud, and is accordingly (as stated below) painted black above and with white stars below, to the “kiva of the earth,” and here leave the image. This kiva is already decorated with two serpents which

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*The following is a description of *Ko-lo-wit-si*. The serpent is made of hide, his abdomen is painted white, his back black, and is covered with white stars, the tail end of which is held by the priest, who constantly blows through a large shell, making the sound which represents the sea monster.*
extend around the inner wall of the room. At sunrise the actors go to this kiva and present to the image, whose head is seen projecting through an opening in a side wall, the plumed sticks, which symbolize their prayers, and ears of corn, which symbolize the objects which they want blessed.

The ceremonies for the initiation of the children follow this. These consist, for the most part, in pouring water through the body of the serpent into sacred bowls, and afterward pouring different kinds of grain and seed into the blankets, which are held before its mouth. Another part of the ceremony is that which has regard to the sacredness of fire as well as of rain. In this the representatives of the war god sit near the fire altar, which is in the center of the kiva, and feed the sacred flames. The actors, as they enter the kiva from above, turn a somerset over the fire, by placing the head upon a stone slab, which stands near the fire, and throwing their feet from the opening of the kiva to the floor beyond the fire. They also pass out of the kiva by a somerset; placing the head upon the slab, and so go out of the opening feet foremost.

These singular ceremonies are kept alive by certain secret societies, some of the members personating the mountain divinities, Ko-ye-me-shi, others personating the winds, who are the cloud bearers, others personating the divinities of the cardinal points, still others the thunder-god, and the lightning. Each of these societies has a kiva for itself, but the kivas represent the different houses of the sky and have symbols which correspond.

It appears from this ceremony that the children of the Zuni were brought to the worship of the rain-god in connection with the other nature powers at their very initiation, and that there was a supernatural air thrown over all the operations of the rain-cloud, which must have impressed them through the remainder of their life. It would be impossible for a child to pass through this scene, in which the chief members of the tribe were the actors, and in which his own relatives and godfathers were engaged, without feeling that it was the most sacred event in his life, and yet the whole interest was concentrated upon the part which the rain-god had in the sacred drama.

III. The "solstitial" ceremonial of the Zunis also represent the worship of the rain-god and dramatize the effect of the rain upon the corn crop. These have been described by Dr. J. W. Fewkes. He says: Both solstices are marked epochs in the Zuni calendar and are celebrated by appropriate ceremonials. The sun, at the approach of the summer solstice, is watched with care by the priest of the sun, who determines the time by noticing the light shining at sunrise through a depression in the mountains called "the gate of Zuni," across the gnomon or sun-post, which projects a few feet above the soil on the plain of Zuni, and then announces the time for the rain dances to begin.
THE WORSHIP OF THE RAIN-GOD.

The first of the solstitial rain dances is the most important, but it is preceded by a singular ceremony, which is probably designed to imitate the effect of the pouring rain, but is really a burlesque rather than a serious ceremony. It is called "the ducking of the clowns." The clowns are persons who wear peculiar mud-head masks and who march single file under the walls of the pueblos. While they march the women and girls stand on the roof of the pueblo with jars full of water and pour it upon their heads, thus completely drenching them.

There seem to have been three classes of dancers and three kinds of dances. The most important were the Koko, who were the intercessors for rain. These wore masks with heavy beards of horse-hair and carried turtles that were said to have been gathered at the sacred lake. They were painted with zig-zag markings said to be rain symbols, and had upon their legs rattles made of small hoofs and turtle shells. Some of them had helmets, on which were figures of the sun and crescents and other symbolic devices. These represent the beings called Koko, who are supposed to live in some far away region. They approach the village a little after sundown and repair to one of the kivas; the squaws file up the street with bowls full of food and present it at the skylight of the kiva to the hungry Koko below. A boy who personified the god of fire accompanied the procession. Over his shoulder he carried a quiver and in his hand a fiery wand. His breast was ornamented with shell necklaces; he moved the fire wand back and forth as if it were incense.

Another dance is named from those who bear tablets with three upright projections, each ornamented with a feather and gaudily painted with figures in the form of crescents and birds. Their heads were wholly covered with cedar boughs; around the neck were strings of shells made of turquoise and coral. These tablets were all of them symbolic of the rain-cloud and the lightning.*

The ceremonials for rain are continued during the month of August and culminate in a corn dance, as the corn is now ripening. It is followed by a very ancient dance called O-to-na-wey. In this Ko-ye-me-shi (ancient builders) appear as clowns carrying a great abundance of cedar boughs. The final ceremony was a procession of the priests of the bow, who visited the shrines and placed prayer plumes in them. Here then we have the rain ceremonies in which the sun at the solstices, according to the calendar, and the zig-zag lightnings, the fire, various animals and birds, objects of nature, cedar boughs and shells were personated, all nature being drawn upon, but the effect of the rain was a special object of the dramatization.

IV. The snake dance is the most remarkable of all the rain ceremonies. This dance has been often described and its ghastly

*See Plate. A description of these tablets will be found in the note at the end of this chapter.
scenes depicted, but its significance is poorly understood. It was, however, nothing more nor less than a rain ceremony and differed from all others only in that live snakes were used instead of snake effigies. One ceremony was practiced by the Moquis or Hopis at their village by the particular organizations which exist there.

The following is a description given by Mrs. Matilda C. Stevenson: The "snake dance" is introduced by the male members going to the different points of the compass for six days gathering snakes and depositing them in four vases. On the fifth day a sand painting is made on the floor of the kiva; fetishes of the cougar and bear are placed near it; the snakes are deposited on it and are kept there by the novitiates, who use wands made of eagle plumes. The Indians declare that the eagle possesses the power to charm the snakes by flying about him and gently caressing him with his wings. The out-door ceremony begins with the process of placing the live snake in the mouth of the novitiate. This is done by the chosen father, who grasps the snake and places it before the face of the novitiate and prays while he inhales the breath of the snake. After the snake is put in his mouth the novitiate dances while an attendant caresses the serpent with the eagle plumes. It is the ambition of the men to prove their skill in the handling of the snakes, for by this means they become the greatest jugglers and arise in the order. This ceremony is repeated four days in succession. Afterward an all night ceremonial occurs in the kiva for a final initiation of the young men—when their power of endurance is taxed to the extreme.

The legend of this people is interesting, but is too long to give complete. In the legend the voyage of a young man, a son of the high shaman, is described, and his visit to the house of the spider woman. He passes four sentinels, equidistant from one another, each a huge serpent, who held his head erect and hissed at the youth. He enters into a rocky cavern, where are many young men and maidens dressed in white blankets. He is led to the house of the "mother of the sun" by the spider woman, who lives under the great waters. He separated the great waters with his large wand, and made a dry road by which he passed to the house. Here he saw all the plume offerings of his people to the sun. He was welcomed by the "mother of the sun," who told him that the sun would return presently. He is startled by a great noise, caused by the sun passing through the waters to his house. His descent was through a huge reed. Putting a foot on either side of the reed, he descended head foremost.*

*The figure of a person descending head foremost, with feet spread, is common in the codices of the Mayas. May not this refer to the same legend, or one similar to it, which prevailed among this people?
The spider woman said we will go with the sun to his father's house in the east, for the mother's house was in the west. They in company with the sun passed under the earth and afterward ascended the reed that penetrates the eastern waters, and passed over the world and looked down upon his people in Canon de Chelly, and could read their hearts and could tell the good from the bad. Returning to the earth the youth visited the cavern of the snakes and took for his wives the two beautiful daughters. On reaching his father's house he told him his adventures. His father then said, "we will have a great feast to the snake and antelope people in sixteen days." To this feast they invited only those good in heart. The snake people came in four delicate showers, each shower bringing the people; the showers were however invisible to the Hopitu. On the eighth day the people danced, holding green corn stalks in their mouth, but the youth was horrified to find that the snake people had been transformed into snakes and that one of his wives had also become a snake, and their children became snakes.

The legend of the flute people differs from that of the snake people, but it is nevertheless the "foundation myth" for a rain ceremonial. It celebrates the migration of the flute people and their encounter with the snake people and the alliance of the two people.* It runs as follows: Lelanguh was the director of the flute people. The music of his flute drives away the winter and brings the summer rains. He was the director of many people, and his insignia of office was the crook Pa-a-ya-a, which was symbolic of longevity, to which were attached four rattles ornamented with fluffy feathers of the eagle. The rattles were used by him when he sang for rain, to water his lands. The songs were sung to the rain people of the north, the west, the south, the east, the zenith and the nadir. The six songs brought the rain, and Lelanguh blew his whistle into the water which fell upon the earth, making it bubble, at the same time praying for more rain; and the earth was well watered.

Then follows the story of the migrations of the flute people. It appears that these migrations were in obedience to the direction of an oracle, which was carried with the people very much as the "ark" was by the Israelites in their wanderings and the sacred boat among the Egyptians.† This oracle was in the shape of a portable altar with a fetich of an ear of corn before it. This altar Lelanguh erected upon his advent into this world. The corn was trimmed with eagle and parrot plumes and had bits of

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*See Mrs. Stevenson's account; also article by Mr. J. Walter Fewkes in American Anthropologist.
† This carrying a sacred oracle was a common thing among all the aboriginal tribes. It was not always the same thing, but nevertheless served the same purpose. Among the Chippewas it was the shell which went before the people; among the Dakotas it was the "sacred pipe," which was kept in the pipe-keeper's tent; among the Pawnees it was the "sacred bundle"; among the Choctaws it was the "leaning pole"; among the Cherokees it was the "sacred box"
abaloneshells and beads of turquoise suspended to it. Wherever
the people went this oracle was set up. The flute people came
at last to the home of the snake people and had four talks with
them. At last Lelanguh told the director of the snake people
that he knew "the secret of the rains" and could water the land
for them. "Well," said he, "if you can command the rain people
and know the secret of the rains we will be glad to have you
with us. If you know the secret you and your people must be
first, I and my people second. If you, indeed, know the secret,
hasten this rain that our land may be watered." "Wait," said
Lelanguh, "in eight days I will return to your village, and we
will go into the kiva." At the end of the eight days the director,
Lelanguh, returned with two young virgins and a youth, who
went into the kiva. The virgins and the young man were dressed
peculiarly, being covered with symbols which showed them to
be the personators of the rain cloud. The virgins wore white
blankets and the lower portion of their faces was painted black,
a white line across the mouth extending from ear to ear bordered
the black, symbolizing the rain cloud; their feet and hands were
colored black; their arms and legs in zig-zag of black, which
symbolized the lightning. The youth wore a white breech cloth
and eagle plumes in his hair. These remained in the kiva of
the snake people, (perhaps as personators of the rain cloud which
was to come.) On the fifth day the flute people feasted and sang.
At midnight they had sung four songs, when the rain slowly
approached. It came not in showers from the heavens but walked
over the earth. The waters were invisible to all but Lelanguh.

The people then painted their bodies and limbs white and put
on white blankets and breech cloths and followed Lelanguh, who
was accompanied by the "twin war heroes"* and carried the five
large wands, or prayer plumes, and advanced to the land of the
snake people. All the men had sunflowers on their heads and
carried corn and seeds of melons, beans and peppers. As they
neared the village the rain began falling around the land of the
snake people, but not upon it. After the fourth song, the rain
began falling upon the land of the snake people and the land
was well watered. The snake people wept for joy. Then Lelan-
guh gave to the snake director all the cereals that his people had
brought, and he was greatly pleased and said, "You are indeed
my father; you have brought us rain; you know the secrets of
the rains; the land shall be yours." Songs were then sung, on
alternate years to the west for rain, to the south, the east, the
zenith and the nadir, and invocations were made to the cougar
of the north, the bear of the west, the badger of the south, the
white wolf for the east, the eagle for the heavens, the shrew for
the earth, to intercede for rain. Different colored corn was depos-

*These war gods are common personages among all the Pueblo tribes.
HE WORSHIP OF THE RAIN-GOD.

The plumes carried prayers for all thigs good.

Upon leaving the kiva the flute people saw their women sitting on the hills around the village. The women wore white blankets and the children had white plumes, which were probably the symbols of the rain-cloud. In a little while the land was abundant with melons, beans and other vegetation, though nothing had been planted. In this way the snake people and the flute people became allied. The personating of this myth in the drama of the flute society takes place every year. In the flute drama the flute people and the snake people both appear.

V. The "snake dance," which occurs at the village of Walpi, is more interesting than that which occurs at the Tusayan pueblo, which was just been described. This is also a rain ceremonial, and is pronounced very ancient by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, who

![Snake Kilt](image)

says: "The reason for the whole ceremony lies far back in the past, but has become more or less obscured by the progress of time." The celebration of the snake dance lasts eight or nine days, during which there are various preparations for the ceremony, the preparations being generally symbolic of the rain. Among these we may mention: (1.) The making the charmed liquid. (2.) Making the sand mosaic or dry painting on the floor of the kiva. (3.) The smoking the sacred pipe and the distribution of the prayer plumes. (4.) The beginning of the snake hunts. (5.) The invocation to the four world-quarters. (6.) Introduction of the snake boy and snake girl, who were the personators of the rain-cloud. (7.) The snake race, which was a race through certain sand paintings which represented the clouds and rains, of the different cardinal points. (8.) The washing of the snakes. (9.) The snake dance itself. In all of these ceremonies the dress and decorations were symbolic of the rain-clouds and of the falling rain.

The most interesting of these ceremonies was the race which symbolized the passage of the wind through the rain-clouds, though the washing of the snakes and the snake dance were the most tragic and thrilling in their performance. In this snake
race there were about forty runners and about eight priests, the snake priests and the antelope priests moving in pairs. One part of the ceremony consisted in placing the plank in which was the si-pa-pu or "place of beginning" on the ground near a shrine, each of the actors stamping upon it as they marched by. Another part consisted in the priests taking corn stalks and vines in their mouths and marching slowly through platoons of the actors. In another part four priests stood with crooks in their hands and with white paint upon their bodies at intervals along the trail made of colored meal, over which the actors were to run; near the priests were sand paintings which represented the rain clouds of the four cardinal points. The runners as they passed the priests and went through the symbolic rain clouds, were expected to strike the ancient crook, held by the priests. All of this ceremony was a dramatization of the history of the people and the operations of the rain.

The decorations of the priests and the symbols resemble that which was used in the flute dance, the young man and the virgins having exactly the same white garments and black lines upon the face and body, but the main difference was that the ancient relics which had been used by the Walpi were brought into the ceremony. The articles used in connection with the ceremonies were symbolic. Among these were (1) "the snake pipe," on which was a rain symbol. This was smoked in silence. (2.) The eighteen stone implements which were brought up by the ancients out of the earth. (3.) The fifteen bent sticks, which were called crooks. (4.) The plank, in which was the hole called si-pa-pu, through which the ancients ascended. (5.) The plumed prayer sticks, which were deposited in the shrines. (6.) The various sand paintings or sand altars. These sand paintings were all made in the same way. They contained four rows of semi-circles, each row having a different color to represent the clouds, with zigzag serpents shooting from the clouds, two of them male and two of them female, with black parallel lines to represent the rain.

(7.) The sand painting referred to above was another symbol. This was placed immediately above the plank in which was the opening called Si-pa-pu, which symbolized the place of emergence for the ancestors of the people. The border of different colors was symbolic of the "world quarters." Around the altar or sand pictures were fetiches of the animals of the "world quarters," which faced the figures of the clouds. This opening in the floor was suggestive of the creation myth, but the sand paintings were suggestive of the sky and the operations of the rain clouds, thus making a combination of that which was below and of the world above in one symbol.

(8.) Another article was the "whizzer," which was a thin wooden slab, the faces of which were decorated with zigzag bands; this was dipped into the charmed liquid of the sacred
bowl, which symbolized the rain, and rapidly twirled so as to imitate the sound of thunder. The snakes were not so symbolic as the decoration of the priests and dancers, though the fact that they were carried in the mouths of the dancers and were kept from biting by the feathers in the hands of the attendants, made them significant perhaps of the lightning and the clouds, being controlled by the gods or by those who personated the gods.

The decorations of the Zunis and Hopis deserve attention in this connection. Many of these were symbolic of the rain. They are as follows:

(1.) The dance kilt. This was a symbolic garment, which had a black band with a white border running zig-zag through its center, representing the plumed snake, with arrow-shaped marks representing the foot-prints of the duck, and short parallel marks representing foot-prints of the frog, both water animals. On either side of this band were two sets of parallel bands, representing rainbows. There was a fringe on the kilt composed of little triangular metal plates. See Fig. 6.

(2.) Snake kilts were worn by snake men who carried, in their
hands, snake-whips made of eagle plumes. The kilt of the antelope priest differed from this in that it was a plain woven garment, but had a border at either end which was ornamented with stepped figures, to symbolize the clouds, zigzag lines to represent the lightnings, parallel lines to represent the rain; an embroidered sash was attached to the belt of the antelope priest.

(3.) The decorations of the priest consisted of white, zigzag lines on the legs, arms and body, and the chin was painted black, the body a bluish color. He wore a white embroidered dance kilt, held in place by a white girdle, and a white feather was tied to his scalp lock, a wreath of cotton wood leaves about his head, string of beads of shell and of turquoise about his neck. He wore buckskin anklets and red moccasins, thus making the symbolic colors complete. In his right hand he carried a rattle and in his left hand he carried a bowl filled with liquor. On his right arm was a bundle of cottonwood twigs, in his left a plumed wand.* See Fig. 7.

*A Tusayan ceremony has been described by Mr. A. M. Stephens, in which some novel rain symbols appeared. A number of ancient slabs of wood were displayed, on which were painted designs which represented the sky divinities under human forms. Some of these had faces covered with arches; others had arches and rain symbols upon the skirts which cover the body; others had faces surrounded with feathers; still others had a rain symbol attended with the phallic symbol, but no faces; one had a single corn plant and no rain symbol; one had the human form richly dressed and decorated with many symbols, the face surrounded by stepped figures and the rain symbols above the face. These tablets were carried in the final dance by about thirty girls who were dressed in white and blue tunics, and who also carried a quantity of corn stalks, thus showing that the rain gods were personified and worshiped as human beings. The dancers at the close stationed themselves in such a way as to form a horse-shoe. The phallic symbol on these tablets was made up from the different parts of the rain symbol, which were skillfully arranged so as to make it resemble a phallus. It had a small arch on either side and one above the phallus, and lines below representing the rain. See plate.
CHAPTER XIII.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RELIGIONS AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

The review of aboriginal religions which we have been giving has convinced us that there is a large amount of symbolism which belongs to prehistoric times, and that there was a geography of religion, as well as a history. This position is confirmed by the study of the map, for we find that most of the symbols were confined to certain limited districts, and were very uncommon outside of those districts, thus making certain grand divisions which are suggestive of a previous development. The boundaries which limit these districts are, perhaps, not quite as definite as those which now separate grand political provinces, but they are more closely conformed to the physical peculiarities of the continent, and more distinctly marked by material barriers, such as mountain ranges, forest belts, climatic zones, altitude, and soil, all of which seem to have had an effect upon the condition of society, and so upon the form of religion.

This is a very important point, for it reveals to us the wonderful and mysterious law which prevailed in native society, and which unconsciously molded all institutions and customs. It shows that there was a religious sentiment in the native mind, which could not be hindered by any amount of social privation, and which was not helped by educational privilege, but was greatly influenced by natural surroundings. This sentiment was constantly pressing upon the native mind, and was calculated to bring it out from the lower grades and the darker superstitions into a higher life and light. We do not know its source, but imagine that the spirit of the Almighty through it is affecting human creatures with the spiritual life which is in Him, as in a great reservoir, this having a constant tendency to bring up human thought to a higher level, and to reveal through nature His own attributes and being. This does not do away with the doctrine that there was a revelation, but, on the other hand, shows that there was a necessity for it; and yet it furnishes a key to the problem and enables us better to enter into the study of comparative religions. The review of geography will therefore be appropriate at this time. We are to study the subject of ethnographic religions, but shall take ancestor worship as one of the series.

1. Let us take up the map of the continent and study out the localities in which each form of religion has had its chief development, notice the boundaries within which the symbols have been discovered, and ask why it was that within such boundaries
the particular cult should have had its history. That there was an evolution of one form of worship out of another, is one of the first lessons taught us by the map. If we begin with the localities where society was at its lowest stage, and where human nature was in its most degraded condition, we shall find each form of religion corresponding to the physical surroundings as well as to the social status. The process of development, however, appears as we go out from one district into another, for we may see that in those localities where society reached a higher stage, and where the surroundings were more favorable to human growth, there religion partook of the social status, and itself reached a higher grade. We find, then, that we are taking steps upward, are following an ascending series, coming out of the darkness into the light, out of the uncertain and indefinite into the positive and well defined, each geographical district furnishing not only a new phase of religion, but also one that was more highly developed and more complete in its outline. The districts in which the different systems have been identified are very instructive, for they show that there was a law of correlation everywhere prevalent, and a conservation of influence everywhere at work.

The different religious systems may generally be arranged according to the belts of latitude, and the order of succession may be traced from the north to the south, each zone having its own particular form of worship as well as its social status, mode of life, and grade of development. The figure of a pyramid may be employed in the case of aboriginal religions as well as in the case of the architectural structures, for these stretch across the continent in parallel lines, but arise in successive steps, their advance keeping pace with the advance of society. We notice that the personal element grows more intense with each successive stage, and that that which in the lower stages was a dim and shadowy animism, or spirit and demon worship, comes out at last in the worship of a divinity whose attributes are entirely personal. Monotheism does not seem to have been reached, yet there was an approach to it, for the personality of the divinities becomes more and more prominent, and the influence of the great "culture hero" is at last almost supreme. Personality does not belong to ancestor worship alone, for it appears in every locality, a personal spirit having been ascribed to the rocks and the trees, to animals and nondescript creatures, to the various nature powers—rain and lightning, wind, to the heavenly bodies, the sun and moon—as well as to the culture heroes and ancestors. The lowest stage was found among the Eskimos of the north, who feared the demons, and the highest among the Mayas of the south, among whom the personal divinity was symbolized.

The arrangement of the different systems of religion according to the belts of latitude is very suggestive; it shows that the
climate had an effect upon them as well as the soil; the influence, perhaps, being first felt by the employment and the mode of life; the social status, the religious beliefs and the customs being correlated to these. We may take the different zones and arrange the tribes or races according to their languages and location, but we will find that there are certain centers in which the mythology, the symbols and the customs show a certain religion as supreme. The following are the systems which have been recognized in the symbols, traditions and customs prevalent among the aboriginal tribes, and now laid down on the map as an approximate geography of the aboriginal religions on the continent. There were two or three lines of development, one which followed the east coast, another the west coast and another passed down through the central axis. Local tribes had their particular forms of worship, but the steps or grades will be recognized in the parallels which correspond to the belts of latitude. The following is the order:

1. Shamanism. This was the religion of the fishermen of the Arctic regions. It may be regarded as the lowest form, though it varied in its character according to the locality and tribe. It was a system which prevailed through the entire Arctic regions, including Greenland on the east, and Point Barrow on the west, and extending down to the Tinneh tribes on the Hudson's Bay, and the Aleuts in Alaska. Among the Tinnehs and Aleuts it was in the extreme of degradation, the myths being full of vulgarity, the customs senseless, and the superstitions numerous. Here the shaman was a sort of religious juggler or magician, who exercised absolute control over the people by means of his arts and pretensions. The people themselves were divided into castes, which were said to have originated when all fowls, animals and fish were people. The fish were the Chitsah, the birds were Taingees-ah-tsah, and the animals Nat-singh.* These were the ancestors of the different tribes, as well as their divinities. The shaman had great power over these animals. The evil spirits were under his control and demons were exorcised by his magic. He seemed to dwell in the midst of the supernatural and to have power over all the elements, and yet there was always a spirit which was beyond his control, which the people recognized as the great ancestor of all. This spirit assumed different shapes in different localities and had different names given it by different tribes. Some have called it the Great Spirit, recognizing monotheism here among these darkened and degraded people as they do among the hunter tribes and more advanced races of the south. The term Great Spirit has been objected to as conveying the wrong idea, but it is nevertheless suggestive in this connection, for the Great Spirit is always identical with the great ancestor, though the

*See "Notes on the Tinneh Indians of British America," page 315.
character of the ancestor is conformed to the character of the people who worshiped it. Some authors maintain that a benevolent being, who ruled over all and was the great ancestor of all, was recognized by even the most degraded tribes. Others maintain that there was a type of religion prevalent called henotheism, and that this has been mistaken for the worship of the Great Spirit. Henotheism consists in the exalting of one divinity above all others, making that one supreme. This divinity was often a local one, and became the divinity of a tribe or district, and was unknown beyond the tribe. It was often regarded as the tribal ancestor, and so ancestor worship was introduced by it, and yet the henotheistic conception was equally strong where ancestor worship did not exist.

Shamanism was the religion of the Eskimos. They imagined that their ancestral spirit dwelt in the rocks, and that the shamans had power to open the door. The Eskimos of Point Barrow have many tales in which a mythical person is described. This person is sometimes a dog, sometimes a cruel man called Kagsuk, sometimes a woman, sometimes an animal with six or ten legs, called Kiliopak, and sometimes a fabulous beast. In Greenland the great ancestor of all was a woman called Sedna, a woman whose home was in the sea and who had control of the sea animals. The legend is that this woman was pushed into the sea; she clung to the boat on both sides, but her husband struck her with a knife; each time her fingers were transformed to sea animals. He killed her and covered her with dog skin, and the floodtide took her. Her home is now in the tide. The man assumed the shape of a bird, but the woman is the spirit which haunts all things. We may say then that ancestor worship began even in the midst of shamanism.

2. Totemism was the second form of religion. This prevailed, as we have shown elsewhere, among the hunter tribes. Its chief development was in the district which was bounded by the Arctic Circle on the north and the fortieth degree on the south, the district in which is Hudson’s Bay and the chain of the Great Lakes, and which may be called the forest belt of the north. Totemism consisted in the worship of ancestors or of ancestral spirits which assumed the form of animals and were called by animal names. It was the religion of the hunters; they always carried with them either the skin, or the skeleton, or head, or some part of the animal which they regarded as their personal divinity. They also placed the figures of animals, either painted or carved, over their houses, near their villages and in their cemeteries, and ever lived under the protection of these animal ancestors. It was a mysterious and complicated

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* We call attention to the plates which represent the symbols found in the Easter Islands. These pictographs should be compared to those found among the Aleuts and the Thleinkets of the north, for they convey the idea that similar systems prevailed in both localities.

† Esquimaux Tales and Songs, in Journal of American Folk Lore, page 132.
system. It had great sway; we may regard it as the second stage through which ancestor worship passed on its way to its complete development.

The symbols of animal worship or totemism convince us that the animals were elevated to the position of ancestors and were often regarded as the heads of houses, the leaders of the tribes and the guardian divinities of the nations. We sometimes find among them human images, but these are generally mythologic creatures which perpetuated tribal myths, or were the representatives of ancestors, and were recognized as such. The real divinities were the animals, which were changed to mythologic creatures.

A specimen of this mythologic totemism can be seen in the figure which is presented herewith—a figure which is in itself quite mysterious. See Figs. 1 and 2. This has been described by Thomas Wilson. It is an image which has the head of a bear, the form of a man, but the symbols of sun worship on the form. The image was found in a mound near Newark, Ohio. It represents a human form clad in bear's skin, the head being
brought over the crown and serving as a sort of head-dress after the fashion of the lion's skin of Hercules and Alexander. "The entire head of the bear is on the top of the head of the man, while the arms of the man appear inserted within the skin of the fore legs of the bear. He holds in his right hand an amputated head. The hair of this head is strained tight away from the face and drawn together and held at the feet of the statue. The features of this face and of that of the image have no resemblance to that of the Indian. There are ear ornaments in both figures which have resemblance to those from Mexico and Central America. In fact all the peculiarities of this figure point to such a resemblance."

We class this image along with mythologic totems, for the mask reminds us of those engraved on the shell gorgets and copper plates from the mounds of Georgia and Tennessee and on the so-called Exeter vase found in Nebraska. The bear skin and head also remind us of the idols found in Nicaragua, in which the human figure is covered with the monstrous head of a crocodile
ETHNOGRAPHIC RELIGIONS AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP. 305

It was an old-world custom for the priest to wear the skins of animals when they went to the sacrifice. The medicine men in America wore the skins of animals, but this image suggests the idea that they practiced human sacrifice.

3. The third stage was sun worship. This prevailed among the agricultural tribes of the central and southern states. It was the cult of that ancient people called the Mound-builders. It also prevailed among the Indian tribes which lived in the same region at the time of the discovery. There is evidence that ancestor worship prevailed among the sun worshipers, as its symbols are mingled with the sun symbols, which are so numerous. Certain customs which represent it were practiced by the living tribes, especially by the Natchez and the Muskogees. These rites and ceremonies illustrate the point which we have in mind. The sun was personified and was worshiped as a person. The attributes of the sun divinity were symbolized under the semblance of human images or idols, as well as under the form of the sun itself.

The early explorers have described human images as very common in the Gulf States. These images were generally found in the dead houses or ossuary temples, and were supposed to represent the ancestral divinities of the people. The images were placed inside of the doors, and not only guarded the bodies of the dead, but the treasures of the living, for the dead houses were often the places where the treasures and sacred things of the people were deposited.

We furnish a cut to illustrate this point, though the image was found on the West India islands. See Fig. 3. It has been described by Prof. O. T. Mason. The carving represents two individuals seated on a canopied chair. The chair has a high back, ornamented with scrolls and concentric rings. Both individuals have embroidered skull caps, resembling the close-fitting embroidered caps of the Indians. The legs have bands of embroidered cotton just above the calves, which resemble those bands which were common among the Caribs, at the time of the discovery. They may have been portraits, for the description given of the natives is as follows: Their eyes were encircled with paint so as to give them a hideous expression, and bands of cotton were bound firmly above and below the muscular parts of the arms and legs, so as to cause them to swell to disproportionate size. This image was 31 inches in height.

Another figure, carved from a single log of wood, represents a human image resting upon arms as well as legs. There are on it earrings, or ornaments, and bands around the arms similar to those on the seated images. The length of this is 43 inches.

‡Washington Irving. History of Columbus.
The discovery of these images in the West Indies suggests a connection between the island and the continent in prehistoric times, or at least conveys the idea that a similar custom of making idols which should represent ancestors, prevailed in both regions. The distinction of sex among the nature divinities is often shown by the idols. The sun and moon were regarded as male and female, and all the nature powers were arranged according to sex. The mythologies of the aborigines were full of stories with regard to the pairing of divinities and with regard to miraculous births. These myths were sometimes embodied in the idols.
We notice that such images were common, especially at the south, showing that the southern races were all idolaters, but animal figures or totems were more common at the north, suggesting that the northern races were animal worshipers, the difference between the two arising from ethnic causes as well as from the influence of environment. Still there is nothing unreasonable in the theory that both systems were prevalent in all parts of the continent, even if they originated in separate centers and found their full development in particular districts, for the spread of symbolism from one district to another was very natural. If we take the different religious cults of the Mississippi Valley, we shall find that some of them were purely local and never went beyond the bounds of their first habitat. Others were widespread and became almost universal.

4. Sabaeanism, or sky worship, is the fourth form of aboriginal religion which we are to consider. This was also a local cult. It found its chief development among the Pueblos of the interior. It consisted in the personifying of the nature powers and in making them divinities. There was perhaps not as much of the element of ancestor worship in this cult as in those which we have just considered, yet when we analyze the system and study the symbols we shall find that it was not entirely lacking. The chief peculiarity of sky worship was, that the sky was a house, or rather made up of a number of houses; the four quarters, and the upper heavens or the zenith and the lower earth or the nadir, each of them constituting a house or habitation for the divinity. The houses all had different colors; that in the north was yellow, in the east white, in the south red, in the west blue, the upper sky spotted, the lower black.* The houses were guarded by animals, each of which had a color corresponding with that of the house.

The divinities of the Pueblos were varied. Some of them were represented by rude images in the shape of animals which were called fetiches, others by human images, which were really idols, but at the same time reminded the people of their ancestors. The symbols of nature worship are peculiar. They represent all the nature powers personified, but personified under the semblance of animals, birds, serpents and nondescript creat-

*These are the colors of the houses among the Zunis. The fetiches or idols of the Zunis were, yellow limestone mountain lions for the north, coyotes for the west, red wild cats for the south, white wolves for the east, eagles for the upper regions and moles for the lower. The human-headed divinity was the tutelar god of several of the societies, and was the hero of hundreds of folk-tale tales. His dress consisted of the terraced cap representing a dwelling place among the clouds. His weapons are the rainbow, the lightning, and the flint knife. His warriors are the mountain lion of the North and of the upper regions. The shield had the image of a white bear, eagle and two serpents upon it, all of them beings of the skies. The shield had different colors—red, blue, green, yellow, white, black. Different symbols were used by other tribes, and the colors differed, but there was the same conception of personal gods ruling the sky. See Third Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology. The sun itself was a divinity whose beautiful house was under the waters—his father's house in the east, his mother's house in the west, and he passed under the eastern waters and passed over the world to the western waters. See Tucayan Legends, by Matilda Cox Stevenson.
ures, the human form apparently being the ruler of them all. The forces of nature, however, are represented in this way: The lightning by serpents, the thunder by a bird, the sky by a dome, the heavens by a turreted figure, the rainbow by a human image bent in the form of an arch, the clouds by wings furnished with feathers resembling knife blades, the water by certain platforms or rafts, the four quarters of the sky by certain animals;

but in the midst of all and ruling over all was the image which represented perhaps the human ancestry as well as the priesthood. The idols of the Pueblos were numerous, and were covered with the symbols of the active nature powers. While the images were silent and motionless the symbols on the images always suggest the activities of nature about them. Sometimes the faces of the images are obscured by dark bands and white lines, to symbolize the clouds and lightning. But the symbols of the nature powers are always conspicuous and represent action. We may imagine that the divine being is surrounded by the elements, but is serene amid them all. The lightnings
may play, the clouds lower, storms may rage, the rain fall, the rainbow appear above the clouds, the turret sky may be filled with feathery plumes, but a personal divinity controls them all. Even the Moquis, a living tribe, have divinities of this kind. The god of the surface of the earth is called Ma-cau-a. He is the god of death, as well as the god of life, who controls growth. The priest who personified him wore a mask with corn husk eyes and

[Image: Fig.-5.—Idol from Guatemala.]

his body was daubed with blood. They have a virgin god called Mana, who was the bride of the sun, Dawa, and called the spider woman. She was the mother of the war god, Pi-ho-kong. The plumed serpent was the rain symbol among the Moquis. The coil is a whirlwind symbol; triangle, a phallic symbol; the cross, a sky or weather symbol; stairs or steps, cloud symbols; the shield, a star symbol; the suastika, perhaps a fire symbol.*

5. The fifth form of aboriginal religion is what we may call

*See J. Walter Fewkes on Tusayan pictographs, American Anthropologist, Vol. V., page 18. They have dolls with round face, crested head, and two horns, and many idols which were personifications of the nature powers.
hero worship; this prevailed, to a certain degree, among the savage tribes of the northwest, such as the Haidahs, but was especially manifest among the civilized tribes of the southwest. Its chief development was represented in the so-called "culture heroes," the lawgivers, which have made such an impression upon the aboriginal literature of the country. There was, however, an element of ancestor worship in this hero worship, for many of the heroes were transformed from their original characters as law makers, into ancestors. We find many sculptured figures in Guatemala, which represent culture heroes as ancestors. We present here two such figures from Pantaleon, Guatemala. These figures have also been described by Prof. O. T. Mason. See Figs. 4 and 5. The description of this idol is as follows: On the head was a turban with banded edge; on the front of the turban an arrangement of plumes secured by a double knot; ear-rings, gorgets and mask were suspended from a necklace; braided folds as of cloth fell from the turban behind the ears, and a medallion shaped ear-ring in front of it; from the upper margin arose a crest, which curved over toward the front and ended in a tassel. The head of the old man in one of them had deep lines on brow and cheek; nearly the whole of the ear was taken up with cylindrical ornaments. The head-dress was composed of the body of a bird with outstretched wings. In the other head the eyes were represented as hanging from their sockets; the long ears were adorned with heavy ornaments; on the top was a small cap, jauntily placed to one side. There is upon these images a variety of symbolism which is suggestive of sun worship and nature worship, but there is a prominence to the human face which convinces us that human art has worked free from the symbols of nature worship into the realm of portraiture.

We do not know their history, but there is one peculiarity about these portraits which is very suggestive, conveying the idea that ancestor worship was mingled with the hero worship. There is the appearance of great age in some of the idols. This may be owing to the fact that a venerable appearance would heighten the spirit of devotion and so the idols would be held in greater reverence. But it shows that ancestor worship was a more elevating influence than either animal or nature worship, and that it had even a more sacred character. We call attention to the contrast between these figures or idols from Guatemala and those which were images of the nature gods in Mexico. In the latter the images are covered with the most horrid objects in nature, crotalus jaws, serpents' fangs, serpents' tails and rattles, the claws of beasts, grinning skulls, horrid looking eyes, mutilated hands, the ensigns of royalty placed upon them as if in mockery, the whole figure the shape of a cross, making a travesty of the most sacred symbol of religion. These idols of Guatemala are far more serene and kindly, and show the mild form
of religion which prevailed among the Mayas. We call them portraits rather than idols, for they have a life-like appearance, and are free from the symbols with which the idols were generally covered. They were not the portraits of the culture heroes of the Mayas or the Mexicans, for these culture heroes were mainly the personifications of the nature powers, and exhibit the symbols of these powers in great profusion.

As to the localities where hero worship has been identified, there is scarcely a city in all the region between the city of Mexico and Lake Managua where the shrine of some of these hero divinities is not found,* and scarcely a tribe which has not an immense store of tradition concerning the same. The names of the culture heroes differ according to locality and age; yet when we come to compare their character and history, we find that they were nearly identical. To illustrate: The city of Cholula, the capital of the ancient Toltecs, was the city which tradition fixes upon as the seat of the worship of the great culture hero Quetzalcoatl and the place where the greatest temple to his name was erected. This is the place where the divinity found refuge from his fierce enemy Tezcatlapoca, and the place where, according to tradition, the "waters of the great deluge were stayed." The pyramid of Cholula is the monument which commemorates both events. The feather-headed serpent is the symbol of the city, and represents the god of air among all the nations of Anahuac. From this city his worship extended over the whole country. Here was the image of Quetzalcoatl. It was adorned with a mitre, a short, embroidered tunic, a golddn collar, the legs enclosed in a garter of tiger skin; a shield hung from the left arm, and in the right hand a scepter, which terminated in a crook like a bishop’s crozier. Many of the ancient cities of Central America, such as Palenque and Uxmal, also had shrines to these culture heroes. This worship of the culture heroes was nothing more nor less than a form of American paganism, and resembles, both in its highly developed ritual and in its elaborate symbolism, and especially in its varied mythology, the paganism of the ancient cities of Greece and Rome and of the lands farther east.

6. This leads us to the sixth form of religion, viz: the worship of the elements and the various nature powers. This was one of the most important of the ethnographic religions, for it shows to what extent the people were accustomed to carry their inventions, and with what complicated symbols they covered their divinities. These were: (1.) The feather-headed serpent, which probably represented the rain cloud. (2.) The cross for the four parts of the sky. (3.) The circle for the sun. (4.) The eye for the rain drop. (5.) The garments for the clouds. (6.) The

* See p. 402, chapter on Culture Heroes and Deified Kings.
312 NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

hair and head-dress for the fire. (7.) The leaves, cones and vines for the growing vegetation. (8.) The head or beak of birds for the creatures of the sky. (9.) The heads of animals for the creatures of the earth, and other symbols for the elements—fire, water, earth and sky.* Specimens of these have been given in the chapter on "Culture Heroes;" others in the cuts representing the figures described by Habel as portrayed on the sculptured tablets of Cosumalhuapa † These tablets are covered with a great array of symbols in the form of flaming suns, winged circles, human faces with streaming locks, human arms with birds' claws, the whole intertwined with serpents and vines, death heads, masks made from animals' heads and human heads—all of these symbols of the nature powers; not a single face among them which can be recognized as a portrait. These tablets evidently represented the nature powers, while the idols found at Pantaleon represented the portraits of ancestors.

Naturism was very prominent among the Mayas, but it was also one of the most widespread and powerful religions of America. It was well-nigh universal, and might be called the religion of the American race. It consisted in the worship of the elements—the earth, air, fire and water, the operations of nature, such as the wind, rain, lightning, sunshine, water. It also filled the world-quarters and the cardinal points with guardian divinities. It defied the seasons, and made the days, weeks, months and years to revolve around a central core, called the kernel of the year, and had a calendar of its own separate from that which was regulated by the sun. It was, to be sure, a worship of the sun and of the cosmic powers, but was also accompanied by a worship of the sky, and gave colors to the different parts of the sky, which were sacred to the sky divinities. It introduced mountain divinities and made sacred the colors with which the mountains were covered. It also made known, by means of its symbols, the divinities which controlled the sea, the air and the earth, fire and water, the seasons, the crops, the plants, the animals, the trees, the grain, the epochs of creation, the events of history, as well as the destiny of man, making all the elements subservient to their power. It gave also a local cult to each city, as well as province, each temple and shrine having the symbol of the nature powers in the shape of crosses and masks and serpents and vines, all of them being suggestive not so much of the personal divinities or the culture heroes as of the unseen and supernatural beings which were supposed to inhabit the sky and air and fill the universe with their presence. It pervaded all the departments of life having control over the different employments, such as agriculture, trade and the

* See Plates of the Rain-god and Air-god, pp. 414-415; also Fig. 1, p. 403; also Air-god and Rain-god, Fig. 20, p. 279.
† See page 271, Fig. 12, and compare with Fig. 5, p. 309, also with those on p. 279.
various arts. It also ruled over all classes, making them subject to the power of the priest as well as the king. It even controlled the various events of every individual's history, beginning with the earliest period of infancy, going on through the different ages of each individual, and gave the control of destiny, of time and eternity for every person, into the hands of the priest, who personated the gods of nature and who had access to their secrets, and controlled even the seasons, as well as the future state.

Naturism introduced an elaborate system of symbolism—a system which differed entirely from that of hero worship, as it was founded altogether on the deifying of the powers of nature and presented the cosmic divinities as always present. These symbols or conventional forms were not confined to one stock or race, but seemed to have been adopted by all tribes and races, and were understood by all as having about the same significance. The rude tribes had mainly animal totems; the mountain tribes had more of the symbols of the sky; the Maya tribes had more of the "cosmic symbols". Nature divinities among the former were represented under the animal semblance, such as the serpent, panther, bear, eagle, raven, quetzal, or parrot, and owl, and other zoömorphic divinities, but were represented among certain tribes under the form of tadpoles, toads, lizards, butterflies, and beetles, as well as snakes. Among the mountain tribes the symbols were supposed to represent the storms, the clouds, whirlwinds, snow and rain, and mountain divinities. Some of these were composed of arches and crosses, parallel lines and zigzags, each of which stood for a different element—the arch for the sky, the cross for the winds, the zigzags for the lightnings, the parallel lines for the falling rain, the stepped figures for the mountains, which were supporters of the sky, the feathers for the clouds, the suastika for the revolving sky, the scroll for the whirlwind, the Jerusalem cross for the water or sea, the tortuous line for the rivers, and the bird-tracks for the creatures of the sky.

The "cosmic" symbols among the Mayas represent the epochs of the world. These are often combined with "time" symbols of months and years and seasons, so that it is difficult to distinguish the longer from the shorter period, for they are all mingled together in a mass of symbolism and can not be separated and scarcely analyzed, but generally they are very common objects which are used for the time symbols, such as circles, crosses, animal heads, serpents, plants, reeds, grains of corn, flint axes, arrows, battle axes, machete, feathers, and occasionally human faces, each object having received an arbitrary significance and being represented in conventional shape.

Among all the tribes there were figures which represented the motions of the sky and earth and the order of the seasons, the very shape of the figures giving to us the idea of revolving
seasons and the turn which all nature takes, the bend of the arms of the cross, or the turn of the scroll, the beak of the birds, the coil of the serpent, as well as the circles, indicating the motion of the sky, so that we have a map of the heavens, with its sun and moon, winds, stars, seasons, currents, as well as a map of the earth, with its caves, mountains, rivers, and four quarters, also its various seasons, all of the movements of the universe being plainly represented as in a modern orrery.

Different colors were also ascribed to the nature powers and the heavenly bodies—the four quarters of the sky, the mountains, seas, the upper and lower worlds, caves, all having colors which were significant. The various objects in nature, which have different colors, such as precious stones, shells, turquoise, gems, crystals, mosses, leaves, grains of sand, feathers, reeds and plants, were used as symbols of the nature divinities, and were supposed to have a peculiar charm, especially in the healing of disease and in securing the aid of the supernatural gods. There were also certain symbols which represented spiritual things—the feathers arranged upon a staff, called Pahos, were prayers which were materialized.* The sacred tree stood for the spirit of life or the soul; the serpent stood at times for the spirit of evil, the malignant spirit; the arrow also stood for prayer which penetrated the sky; the vine with nodes upon it stood for speech or prayer which reached the ear of divinity. There were symbols also to represent the state of the soul, a passage through the mountain for the journey of the soul; shrines in the mountains for the resting place of the soul; the clouds and the turreted hills, which were the sacred spaces in the sky, or the city beneath the water, which formed the home of the soul.

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*The use of feathers as prayer symbols was common with nearly all of the aboriginal tribes, but was especially common among the Tusayans. They are explained by Mr. J. W. Fewkes in his pamphlet called "Tusayan New Fire Ceremony," reprint from the proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History. Every breath moves them, and so they are the symbol of the breath of the body and the breathing of the soul in prayer. As the sun travels across the sky he sees the Paho in the shrine, places them in his girdle and carries them to his western home, and distributes them to the world-quarter chiefs. These world quarter chiefs are the same as divinities or cloud chiefs; their servants are the six plumed snakes, all of which are addressed in the prayers. In warrior society celebrations game gods are addressed. Altars and shrines were also the symbols of the meeting place of Divinity and the soul. These with the Tusayans were of three kinds. (1.) Cloud Charm altar with a medicine bowl at the junction of the six lines, and ears of corn at the ends of the lines. (2.) Sand-painting altars with fire slabs. (3.) Symbolic figures made in meal used in the flate ceremonial foot races. Reredores is a term used to represent the upright frame work back of the sand pictures.
ANTHROPOMORPHIC DIVINITIES.

CHAPTER XIII—CONTINUED.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC AND MOUNTAIN DIVINITIES.

We have now passed over the different ethnographic religions and have spoken of the districts in which they predominated as local cults, and the symbols which embodied them. In giving this geography of religion and of mythology, we would not be understood as claiming that the various forms of religion were confined to the districts mentioned, or even that they predominated to the exclusion of all others, for many forms of religion prevailed in all parts of the continent, and the symbols and the myths which served as drapery to them were also widely distributed. There was, to be sure, a striking correlation between each form of religion and its environment, the mythology always partaking of the material surroundings, and the symbols also being affected by them; but there was nevertheless a common basis for them. These all reveal the force of the religious sentiment which prevailed among a people who were so remote from the ordinary fountains of thought and the sources of religious influence. They prove that man is naturally religious: and if he is not furnished with a religion, he will make one for himself and will gather inspiration from the works of nature about him.

There was one form of religion we have not touched upon, a form which brought in the element of personality and gave to the symbols a new significance and introduced others, so that we have in it an entirely different set of myths and a distinct system of symbolism. To this religion we have given the name of Anthropomorphism. The term is derived from two Greek words, *anthropos*, "man," and *morpha*, "shape." It means the representation of a deity in human form and with human attributes. This is the type of religion to which we shall invite attention.

I. Let us consider the character of anthropomorphism as it existed in America. It was one of the prominent ethnographic and religious systems in the world, but had a greater influence here than anywhere else. It was prevalent throughout the continent, though its highest development was among the semi-civilized races of the southwest, where the symbolism reached its highest perfection. It was also prevalent throughout the

*The Mide charts and songs of the Ojibwas and the sand-paintings and mountain chants of the Navajos furnish us with illustrations in this chapter: but the idols of Mexico and many of the sculptured figures of the Mayas are nothing more nor less than images of anthropomorphic divinities.*
eastern continent and was there among the highest types of religion, only one higher form having been reached by the pagan nations, viz.: monotheism. It was, in fact, the connecting link between the prehistoric and historic religions, and was one of the most familiar types among the ancient nations. There was, to be sure, often connected with it a degraded system of idolatry, which receives condemnation from enlightened consciences; but notwithstanding this it resulted in a view of the personality of God, which, upon the whole, was a benefit to mankind. This only shows how the human mind works in the matter of religion, for it rises at one time to the greatest heights, but at another falls into the most debased and degraded condition, but somehow the religious sentiment advances with each movement, heaving in tide waves the thought of man to a higher stage, where the truth seems to be better apprehended. This is illustrated beautifully in America, for here the aboriginal mind worked according to its own laws and forces, without the influence of the historic faiths and without the aid of revelation; and yet it seemed to have come with each advancing type nearer and nearer to the apprehension that there was one supreme and personal God. The type of religion which we called anthropomorphism is removed but one step from this conception, and was itself in the process of growth.

The natives of America were, some of them, bad enough in their practices. They were full of cruelty, and some of them were carried to extreme frenzy; the dog-eating shaman, among the Thlinkeets, would take the live dog in his hands, and while followed by others as crazy as himself would tear it to pieces with his teeth; the Eskimo in his hut would tell tales of the bestial indulgence and cruelty of Sedna, his female divinity of the seas; the Thlinkeets would repeat the myths of the strange amours of Ne-kilt-luss, the great creator, and represent the ancestors of the race as coming from the cockle-shells upon the shore; the Navajo would tell about the hermaphrodite which was born out of the union of the clouds and the sky on the mountains, having no semblance except that of the dark storm cloud and the fleecy cloud combined; the Zuni Indian would tell the story of creation, and say that the creator lifted the sun and sky from the earth, and was to be worshiped under the semblance of the feather-headed serpent; the Aztec would repeat his myths about the god of war, death and hell, and fill temples with the images or idols which were covered with the ghastly array of skulls; and even the Maya devotee would erect the image of the serpent, with open mouth and protruding tongue, and worship this mask as the embodiment of his divinity; still, notwithstanding all these cruel practices and degraded customs, the conception of god was constantly rising. The habit of ascribing human attributes to the divinity was only one evi-
dence that progress was being made toward the truth. We may regard then this habit of clothing the divinity in the drapery of the human face and form as a positive aid to devotion, for it enabled the people to conceive of God as a personal being, and to represent him not only as a national divinity, but as one who ruled all nations and peoples.

We do not find in America any such conception of a holy being as is contained in the Scriptures; nor do we find the thought of one true and living God ruling over all things, but so far as symbols and myths could express it we may say that the conception of God as a personal being, having personal feelings and bearing a human semblance, was similar to that which was common among the nations of the east and that which may be easily recognized in the language of the word of God. To the benighted and belated sons of men who inhabited this continent, anthropomorphism was a great boon, for it brought them to a higher conception of God than the mere nature worship ever could have done. Though there was no Moses among them who could go up the mountain's height and talk face to face with God, nor was there any gift of law, revelation, or religion, yet those who worshiped the humanized personal divinities were much nearer the truth than those who either worshiped animals, or ancestors, or even culture heroes, for they had a view of his personal attributes and were on the way to apprehend the unity of God and his sovereignty over all creatures.

II. Let us turn to anthropomorphism as found among the wild tribes. There were different phases which anthropomorphism assumed in the various parts of the continent. Its chief development was in Guatemala and among the ancient Mayas, but it also prevailed among the lower and ruder tribes, though it was here associated with animal worship and totemism, the zoöomorphic and anthropomorphic divinities being strangely mingled in their pantheon. It is a matter of surprise that so much of the advanced forms of anthropomorphism existed among the rude and savage tribes, and that even the gods of the world-quarters were so frequently represented as personal beings which bore the human semblance. The majority of them were, to be sure, zoöomorphic, as would be natural with the totemistic tribes; but there were many divinities among them which had the human semblance, for we find everywhere pictographs, rock inscriptions, inscribed shells, carved relics and masks, as well as idols, containing the human semblance.* There are also many charts which contain human figures or faces, and the chief divinities are represented in this way, but the subordinate divinities under the

* Here we would speak about the human hand, which has been recognized as an ornament on the pottery and in the shells of the Mound-builders. This is different from the human face and form, and yet it was expressive of the same thought, and was a very widespread symbol.
animal semblance. There were also dances and feasts among the wild tribes in which the individuals personated the divinities, sometimes imitating the animals which they worshiped and mimicking their motions; sometimes the birds; sometimes the nature powers; sometimes the motions of the serpent, which was the symbol of the seasons, especially spring, at its appearance after the long bondage of winter. The highest style of dramatization was that in which the supernatural powers were represented as personal beings. Moreover, the gods who represented the four elements, and who ruled the world quarters and bore the sacred colors, assumed the human form for the sake of conversing with their devotees, though they were capable of transforming themselves into any shape.

We can not look upon these different manifestations without believing that the personality was an element in the divine being even in the minds of the untrained savages, and that all the mysteries which were celebrated had regard to this element. Some believe that the future state of the soul was often in the minds of the initiates, and that much of the symbolism brought out the thought of the unseen world, for the religious customs which were practiced at the burial of the dead were in accord with this. The spirits of the departed were regarded as still in existence, and food must be placed within the grave, or in the house which was placed over the grave, and articles for use within the grave. Moreover, the myths and symbols which were perpetuated by the sacred mysteries bring out the thought that an unseen spirit, who was perhaps equivalent to the Supreme Being and Great Spirit, directed the mysteries and designed to bestow gifts upon the people. There are many illustrations of this among the different tribes, for there are charts and symbols, as well as myths and traditions, which perpetuate the religious views of the aborigines. Some of these seem to have been affected by the views which were brought in by the white man, but others are purely aboriginal. The best illustration is that which is found among the Ojibwas, an Algonkin tribe which still dwells on the borders of Lake Superior and the head waters of the Mississippi River. The following is a summary of their beliefs: The chief or superior manito is termed Kitshi Manido, approaching to the idea of the God of the Christian religion. The second in importance is Dzhe Manido, a benign being, upon whom they look as a guardian spirit or good spirit. Another is called Dzhibai Manido, shadow spirit, or ghost spirit, for he rules the place of shadows. Aside from these, there was the chief animal spirit, who is supposed to be the national god and culture hero, represented as the giant rabbit, called Minabozho, who was subordinate to the Kitshi Manido, but was the means by which his gifts came to the people. Opposite to these various divinities, but subordinate to them, were
certain evil or malignant spirits, which assume the shape of serpents and bears and birds.

The manner of securing supernatural gifts and favor with the Kitchi Manido was by passing through the four degrees of the sacred mysteries. These were guarded by certain malignant spirits who assumed the shapes of serpents, bears and panthers, and who opposed the passage of a candidate into the sacred lodge, where he would receive the gift of immortality. These were, however, under the control of the good spirit, and opened the passage into the lodge at his command. When the candidate passes into the second degree he receives from Dzhe Manido eyes to look into futurity; ears that can hear a great distance; hands that can touch those which are remote; feet which can traverse all space. When he has passed to the fourth degree he is able to accomplish the greatest fêtes in magic, and to read the thoughts and intents of others. His path is beset with dangers and points to which he may deviate from the true course of propriety; but at the end of the world his soul is permitted to pass from the Mide-wigan to the land of the setting sun, the place of the dead, upon the road of the dead. An illustration of these different points will be found in the charts which perpetuate the Mide songs of the Ojibwas,* which have been preserved as very sacred, and which represent the ancient mysteries, still so sacred among them.

We shall call attention to these charts, for they are the "sacred books" of the Ojibwas and perpetuate the sacred songs, or the Mide songs, exactly as the sand-paintings do among the Navajos and the codices do among the Mayas. What is most remarkable about the charts is that they represent about the same fundamental truths or beliefs as those contained in the sacred books of the east, and like them are given in poetical language and were attended by songs that were designed as interpretations. They are, in fact, the Vedas of this aboriginal tribe, and represent the religion as well as the literature of this people.

Nearly all of these charts begin with the story of creation and end in the passage of the soul into the sacred lodge in the heavenly spaces, but represent the processes by which the candidate is to appease the great divinity, who is unseen, but who has revealed these mysteries to the people. The interpretation of the chart reveals the fact that there was a foundation myth which prevailed among all the tribes of the Mississippi Valley, and, with variations, appeared among the tribes of the interior.

*Schoolcraft says: The North American Indians have two terms for their pictographs—Kekeewin, such things as are generally understood by the tribe; Kekeenowin for the teachings of the Mides or priests. The knowledge of the latter is chiefly confined to persons who are versed in their system of magic medicine or their religion, and may be termed hieratic. The former consists of figurative signs, such as are employed at places of sepulture or hunting or traveling parties. It is also employed in the rock writings, mezzinabiks. Many of the figures are common to both. This results from the figure of the alphabet being precisely the same, but the devices of the medicine (Wabeno), hunting and war songs are known solely to the initiates, who have learned them.
and even may be recognized among the more civilized tribes of the southwest. Let us first take the chart furnished by Henry Schoolcraft:

It begins with the picture of a bird under an arch (No. 1). This represents the medicine lodge filled with the presence of the Great Spirit. (2) Next is the candidate for admission, holding the pouch from which the wind is gushing out. (3) A man holding a dish in his hand. (4) Next a lodge in which the Mide men are assembled. (5) Next the arm of the priest. (6) The Mide tree, or the tree of life. (7) The crane, which is the totem o’ the tribe. (10) An arrow, which penetrates the entire circle of the sky. (11) A small hawk, which is capable of flying high into the sky. (12) The sky, with the Great Spirit looking over it, a suplicating arm inside of it. (13) A pause. (14) Wabono tree. (15) A drumstick. (16) The sun pursuing his course until noon. (17) The Great Spirit, filling all space with its beams. (18-19) A drum and tambourine. (20-21) The raven and crow, symbols of the nature powers. (22) A medicine lodge and the master, holding in his hands the clouds.

Let us next take the one given by Dr. W. J. Hoffman, and the myth or legend which is attached to this. It is as follows: Minabozho, the great rabbit, was the servant of Dzhe Manido, the good spirit, and acted in the capacity of ancestor and mediator and was the friend of the Indians. He looked down upon the earth and beheld the ancestors of the Ojibwas occupying the four quarters of the earth, and saw how helpless they were. The place where he descended was an island in the middle of a large body of water. He instructed the otter, whose home was in the water. Here he built a sacred Mide lodge, “Mide Wigan,” and took the otter into the “Mide Wigan” and shot the sacred migis into his body that he might have immortal life.* This is the myth. The following is the chart which embodied it:

The circle with the four projections (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4) represents the world at creation, with the four quarters inhabited by the people (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8). The two oblong squares (Nos. 11-12) represent the lodge guarded by two malignant manidos (Nos. 9-10). Four human forms (Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16) represent the four officiating priests. Cedar trees are represented by Nos. 17, 18, 19. Nos. 21 and 22 represent a bear spirit. Nos. 23 and 24 represent a sacred drum. Nos. 28 and 29 represent the entrance of the first and second degrees. Nos. 30-34 represent the five serpent spirits who oppose the progress, one of which raises its body to form an arch for the candidate to pass

* The “migis” is considered the sacred symbol of the Mide Wigan,” and may consist of any small white shell,
under. Nos. 35-47 represent the four malignant bear spirits. Nos. 37-38 represent the door of the lodge. Nos. 39-45 represent the seven Mide oriests. No. 48 the candidate receiving supernatural powers. No. 50 the Bad Mide. No. 53, the third degree. Nos. 61-67, the Mide spirits who inhabit this degree. Nos. 59-60, the bear spirits. Nos. 69-80, the fourth degree. Nos. 81-84, 88-95, malignant animal spirits. No. 99, the angular pathway. No. 101, the end of the road. Above the fourth degree (110-114) are the ghost lodge and the path of the dead. No. 113, the owl, which represents the soul passing from the Mide Wigan or ghost lodge to the land of the setting sun.

It would appear from this chart that even the savages had a conception of a supreme being and creator, of a mediator, of an evil spirit and of a divine or supernatural gift which came in answer to offerings and prayer. They had also a view of a future state and the passage of the soul after death into the sacred abodes, which was not derived from the white man, but was aboriginal and was perpetuated by the medicine men from generation to generation. This conception accompanied the worship of anthropomorphic divinities far more than that of the animal divinities. The Ojibwas were not the only tribes which had charts and symbols in which the human face and form were used to represent the personality of God and the super-natural being. The Dakotas, Omahas, Ponkas, Winnebagos and Pawness all used the same semblance. These tribes combined them with the symbols of the nature powers, such as the lightning, water, air and wind, in such a way that the human features could hardly be recognized; yet when we come to understand the symbols we see that the human semblances are given to the nature powers, and that human attributes are ascribed to the supreme divinities, the animal gods being subject to these, though they acted as guardians to the sacred mysteries.

III. This brings us to the "mountain divinities," which were worshiped by the tribes of the interior, such as the Zunis, the Moquis, Pimas, and especially by the Navajos. These were always regarded as personal beings, having human attributes, and were represented under human semblances, though they were nothing more nor less than the nature powers personified. They inhabited the mountain rocks and caves, and had the appearance of animals, with human faces and hands. These divinities or spirits dwelt in different houses; but they were houses which were hid away among the mountains, or water of the lakes, or amid the clouds above the mountains, and can be called nature divinities or mountain divinities. They, however, all possessed the human form, or at least had faces, feet and hands like human beings and could talk and act as if they were human.

It appears that the universe was peopled by supernatural beings, and there was not a living creature, nor even an imaginary object, which did not have its representative in the varied "pantheon." The clouds, the rainbow, the storm, the thunder and lightning, the snow and rain, the rocks, and the caves among
the rocks, the crystals formed among the rocks, the water, the
streams, the trees, the foliage on the trees, the birds, and the
feathers and the plumage on the birds, the animals, and even the
fur on the animals, were personified and made objects of worship.
The colors were especially dwelt upon as representing divinities,
and were regarded as the clothing with which the nature powers
were arrayed. There were not only divinities of the water, sky,
earth and fire, but there were divinities which represented the
different colors and the different elements.

It was a very brilliant and highly colored universe which the
people inhabited and which they imagined were also the habita-
tions of the anthropomorphic divinities. The houses of the
divinities had different colors—the black water and the white
water, the blue sky and the red sky, the yellow sunbeams and
the black rocks, the white lightning and the red lightning. The
colors had much to do with the worship of the divinities among
the eastern tribes, but here they were magnified and exalted to
a higher rank, and they had a great force in the religious cere-
monies of the people. The points of the compass were regarded
as sacred and had different colors, which were sacred to certain
divinities; but there were added to the four points three more,
to represent the zenith, nadir and the central point around which
the universe revolved, making seven spaces, six of which were
occupied by the divinities, the central one being the place where
the divinity and humanity met. Among some of the tribes there
were double spaces, making two worlds—the celestial and the
terrestrial. Both worlds revolved about the central space exactly
as the nine worlds of the Chinese revolved around the throne of
the celestial emperor, and as the four peaks of the Hindoo
mountain stood around the central mountain of Meru, which
was regarded as the pillar of the sky and the navel of the
universe. The celestial spaces were occupied by the anthropo-
morphic divinities, but the terrestrial spaces were guarded by
animal divinities which were represented in the red stone
fetches,* which the people worshiped. There was a central
space in the sacred geography of the ancient natives of the east.
There it was always located in the city, and in the temple in the
midst of the city. With this people it was located in the pueblos.
Sometimes seven pueblos were built, perhaps to symbolize the
different spaces.

We would notice further that the dwelling place of the

*The central mountain among the Navajos, as well as four mountains surrounding it.
(See the mountain chart by Dr. Washington Matthews.)
There were six pueblos among the Zunis, one of which was the seat of dominion, or
central power. (See Bandelier.)
A checkerboard village with a larger edifice in the center was noticed at San Carlos,
Arizona. (See Investigations in Southwest, p. 417.) This was of the Mexican type. Clus-
ters of the checkerboard pattern were found near Phoenix, Arizona. P. 444. Not only
from the discovery of totemic devices, but from other evidences, it is supposed that each
was the abiding place of a particular clan or gens. Casa Grande shows three stories, with
a third story like a tower—one of them subterranean, making four. (Sighted from Bartlett's
divinities differed among the different tribes, the Navajos representing them as dwelling on top of the mountains and above the clouds, while the Zunis and Moquis represented them as dwelling beneath the waters and below the mountains. Still the houses in which the divinities dwelt, which were pictured out by the Navajos, were formed of the clouds and were built in terraces resembling the terraced houses of the Pueblos, but had different colors, very much as the Babylonian pyramids had. These many colored clouds were guarded by animal divinities, but they could be reached by human beings, especially when attended with the supernatural beings as companions. One of the most beautiful tales, or myths, of the Navajos is contained in the description of an individual who was seeking after his spiritual body and who was led by two of the divinities through the different clouds, the grey cloud, and the red cloud, to where the body was lying. According to the myth each bank of clouds contained a chamber which had a different color and was guarded by some animal with a color corresponding to the cloud. The house in which the soul body was lying was situated in a field beyond the clouds; it had a door and sill, front part and back part, each of which are mentioned as if they were sacred. The body itself seemed to be held in its place by a secret spell or charm which was broken by the presence of the supernatural divinities and taken up part by part—hands, feet, body, hair, even to the spittal, and carried back to the habitation of the human being, who, as a soul, seemed to be disembodied. The story reminds us of the Dakota myth of the souls of their ancestors which passed up through the different terraces, which were supported by the tree of life, and took the bodies of birds. It required the greatest formality for these attended divinities—the one before, the other behind the soul in its passage through the clouds, and the myth is stretched out a great length in its repetitions, but is very striking. This differs from the mythology of the Zunis, who imagined that the houses of their divinities were beneath the waters of the sacred lake, and were to be reached by passing through the secret path through the mountains. These houses, themselves, resembled the pueblos in all particulars. Thus, we see that the different tribes drew their ideas of an unseen universe from their surroundings. The same contrasts are perceptible in the story of creation. With the Navajos the gods were born upon the top of the mountains; with the Zunis and Moquis their original home was in the cave beneath the earth.

There are many myths extant among these partially civilized tribes which exhibit their conceptions in reference to the appearance of the humanized divinities. They are very beautiful and full of poetical fancies; the imagery of them having been drawn from the magnificent scenery of the region and is resplendent
with the colors with which the rocks and mountains were clothed and sparkles with the jewels and precious stones which abound, and is as varied and striking as the vegetation which covered the mountains. The symbols also of the different tribes were derived from the scenery; many of them were invented to express the operations of nature, though the tribes borrowed symbols from one another as well as myths. Many of these myths and symbols were embodied in the sand paintings, which for a long time were unknown, but are now proving to be very interesting objects of study, for they are like the missals written during the middle ages. They are not only very beautiful, but they perpetuate the ancient traditions of the people; in fact, have preserved the sacred book from destruction.*

These sand paintings show a wonderful taste for color, and at the same time reveal an elaborate symbol which represents the various nature powers—such as the wind, rain, lightning and four points of the compass—also a familiarity with the sacred plants; but the most remarkable thing is that the gods of the sky are always represented as having the human form clothed with the sunbeams and the colors of the sky and adorned with rainbows, but controlling the nature powers and guarding the plants. This is one peculiarity of anthropomorphism. The divinity who has the human form is really master of the creation and reigns supreme over all the other powers. The best illustration of this is given by the ceremonial and sand-painting called Hastjelt Dailjis. This ceremonial was founded upon the story of creation, which is as follows. Hastjelti and Hostjoghen were the children of Ahsonnutli, the turquoise and the white shell woman, who were born on the mountain where the fogs meet. These two became the great song makers of the world and were the rain gods.† These two gods were the mountain divinities which were worshiped by the Navajos. They stand upon the mountain tops and call the clouds together around them. Hastjelti is the mediator between the Navajo and the sun. He communicates with the Navajo through feathers, so the choicest plumes are attached to the prayer sticks offered to him. They gave to the mountain of their nativity (Henry Mountain, in Utah) two songs‡

*These sand paintings were first discovered by Dr. Washington Matthews, but others, have added to the descriptions furnished until quite a mass of literature has accumulated—Mr. James Stevenson, Mrs. Mati da Stevenson, Mr. F. H. Cushing, Lieut. Bouke, Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, and others having furnished many articles in reference to them.
†They may be regarded as personifications of the white and yellow corn, for they were conceived of ears of corn—the male from the white corn and the female from the yellow—though they are also rain gods, the effect of the rain being confounded with the cause, as it is frequently the case.
‡The Tusayans, according to Dr. Walter Fewkes, had sand-paintings and song makers, which served an important part in their rain ceremonies. The Tusayans also had many idols which were distinguished by their head dresses, most careful attention being paid to the colors. The gods and goddesses of the Egyptians were principally distinguished by their head dresses. These idols were placed before the altars and set in piles of sand. They were sprinkled with meal and adorned with feathers. In many of the houses there are large stone images standing in conspicuous places. A large collection of these idols of the Tusayans and Zonis has been gathered at Washington, in the National Museum. (See Tusayan Indian Dolls, by J. Walter Fewkes, Boston, Mass., 1894.)
OJIBWA MEDA SONG.

CHART OF THE MIDE SONG—SCHOOLCRAFT.
and two prayers; then they went to Sierra Blanca (Colorado) and made two songs and prayers and dressed the mountain in clothing of white shell with two eagle plumes placed upright upon the head. From here they visited San Mateo Mountain (New Mexico) and gave to it two songs and prayers and dressed it in turquoise, even to the leggings and moccasins, and placed two eagle plumes on the head. Hence they went to San Francisco Mountain (Arizona) and made two songs and prayers and dressed that mountain in abalone shells with two eagle plumes upon the head. They then visited Ute Mountain and gave to it two songs and prayers and dressed it in black beads; this mountain also had two eagle plumes on its head. They then returned to the mountain of their nativity to meditate, "We two have made all these songs."

The myth which served as the foundation of some of the sand paintings has relation to a song hunter and the Colorado river. A Jerusalem cross was formed out of two logs—a solid one and a hollow one. The song hunter entered the hollow log and Hastjelti closed the end with a cloud. The raft was launched upon the waters, but the Hostjobokon (river gods), accompanied by their wives, rode upon the logs—a couple sitting on the end of each cross arm. They were accompanied by Hastjelti and Hostjoghon (divinities of the mountains), and two hunchbacks, Naaskiddi (cloud divinities). These hunchbacks have clouds upon their backs in which seeds of all vegetation are held, and were perhaps the gods of vegetation. After they had floated a long distance they came to (the ocean) waters that had a shore on one side only. Here they found a people who painted pictures and who taught them how to make sand-pictures. See Plate.*

In making their sand-paintings the Navajos prepared a sweat-house and painted the rainbow on the outside. This rainbow had the head and body, which hung down at one side of the lodge, and skirted legs upon the other side. The entrance to the lodge was covered with a black and white striped blanket, which symbolized the black and white cloud, and two buckskins, which represented daylight, or the twilight, or the dawn. Preparations for the sand-paintings were very elaborate in some cases, as in that of the ceremonial called Daljii; there were deer skins, reeds and colored tubes filled with feathers tipped with corn pollen and lighted with crystal, corn husks containing bits of turquoise, beads and abalone shells, baskets filled with pine needles and corals, rugs covered with feathers, medicine tubes and crystals. The actors or personators of the gods adorned themselves with scarfs, belts, masks, eagle wands, rings

*In this we see the suastika as well as the cross; the one representing the points of the compass, the other the revolution of the sky. Also the staves, by means of which the goddess kept the logs whirling around with a constant motion. The chart is called the "Song of the Whirling Sticks."
and gourds. The bodies and limbs were painted white. One wore knee breeches and a skirt of black velvet ornamented with silver buttons, a robe of mountain lion skins fastened around the waist with a silver belt. Another wore a red woolen scarf and silver belt; grey fox skins hung from the back of the belt.

The first sand-painting was made up of three figures representing the divinities, as follows: Hastjelti's chin was covered with corn pollen and his head was surrounded with red sunlight, red cross lines on the throat, earrings of turquoise, fringed leggings and beaded moccasins. Hostjogbon has eagle plumes, ear-rings, fox skin ribbons, beaded pendants, carried feather wands brightened with red, blue and yellow sunbeams. Hostjobokon, was similarly dressed and ornamented. The second painting represented the raft of sunbeams which brought back the song hunters. This raft is the shape of a Jerusalem cross, and was composed of black cross bars, which denote pine logs; white lines, the froth of the water; the yellow, vegetable debris gathered by the logs; the blue and red lines, sunbeams. The blue spot in the center denotes water. There are four divinities—Hostjobokon with their wives upon the arms of the cross or upon the logs. They carry rattles and pinon sprigs in their hands, which bring the rains. Their heads are ornamented with eagle plumes, and they wear turquoise ear-rings and necklaces. A line of sunlight encircles the head; white spots to represent ears; the chins are covered with corn pollen; red sunlight surrounds the body; the skirts have a line of blue sunlight. Hastjelti is to the east and has a white skirt; he carries a squirrel skin filled with tobacco; his head is ornamented with an eagle's tail. Hostjogbon is to the west and has a black skirt; he carries a staff, colored black, and his body is covered with four colored stars. The Naaskiddi (cloud divinities) are to the north and south; they carry staffs of lightning with eagle plumes and sunbeams. The hunch upon the back is a black cloud, and on the cloud are eagle plumes, for eagles lived with the clouds. The lines of red and blue which border the black cloud denote the sunshine which penetrates storm clouds. The white lines in the clouds denote corn and other seeds. A black circle with zigzags of white around the head denotes the cloud basket filled with corn and seeds. The mountain sheep horns, tipped with tail feathers of the eagle are cloud baskets filled with clouds. A rainbow surrounds the picture with the feet and skirts upon one side, the head, arms and body on the other side. See Plate.

There are other sand-paintings which accompany the ceremonies in which the medicine men undertook to cure the patients who were wealthy and could afford the expense.* Of these the following is especially worthy of notice, because of the number of human figures and the beauty of the colors:

In this sand-painting there are twelve figures beside the corn-stalk; four of them are the hunch-backed cloud-bearers, with lightning staffs in their hands, called Naaskiddi; four of them are the goddesses of the white lightning called Ethsethe, and they carry in their hands the plume and circles which symbolize the clouds, and they have their bodies painted white; four of them represent the people of the white and the red rocks, called the Zenichi. Their homes are high in the canyon walls. The deli-

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*It is said that the Navajos borrowed their ideas in regard to sand-paintings from the Pueblo tribes. The Zuni and Tusayan tribes, the Mission Indians of California have sand-paintings and also the Apaches. The prominent feature in them all is this: The divinities are represented in the human shape, and the nature powers are symbolized in the ornaments and colors.

†The superstition which represents the rocks as abodes of spirits was common among the Eskimos, as well as among the inhabitants of the Easter Islands. This led them to carve the human face upon the rocks, and the rocks themselves into the shape of animals with human faces. This was a species of animism, but it was owing to the animism which prevailed that it was mingled with ancestor worship and animal worship.
Cate white lines indicate their houses, which are in the interior or depths of the rock,† and can not be seen from the surface. The people of the rocks move the air like birds. They are painted in parti-colors, two of them having one side of the body, including the arms, the legs and face, red, the other side black, with cross-hatching or zigzags of black; the other two having one side blue, the other yellow. The red denotes the red corn; the black, the black clouds; the blue, vegetation in general; the yellow, the pollen of vegetation. The white zigzag lines represent the white lightning; the circles around the head zigzagged with white are cloud-baskets, which are in the pyramidal form and capped with three eagle plumes. A lightning bow is held in the left hands of these figures; the right hand holds a rattle ornamented with feathers and decorated baskets. They wear white leggings and beaded moccasins.*

The myth or sand-painting which best illustrates the belief in anthropomorphic divinities is the one which accompanies the myth called the "Mountain Chant," which has been described by Dr. Washington Matthews. This myth celebrates the exploits of a Navajo who was taken captive, and who was delivered by Hastjelti, the great mountain divinity. In delivering him the mountain god led him through the different houses which were inhabited by the animals and various creatures which hide among the mountains, such as the mountain bear, the mountain rat, rabbits, porcupines, serpents, all of which were supposed to have the human form. The various powers of nature are also personified—the water, lightning, wind, storm and rainbow. The following is the story: Hastjelti appeared to the captive while he was bound in the tent of his enemies, and encourages him to escape. He bestows upon him some magic bags which he is to carry as a passport to the houses in the mountains. He even volunteers to lead him and help him make his escape and puts forth most miraculous feats of power to make his escape easy. Their first adventure was when they reached the summit of a steep precipice, near which is a tall tree growing; the divinity flings out the white lightning like a lasso, which fastens around the tree, and he brings it up near the precipice. On this they descend. They next came to a deep cañon, which seemed to be impassable, but Hastjelti blows a strong breath and instantly a great white rainbow spans the cañon. He orders the Navajo to cross on this. He points to a small hole in the cliff and says, "This is the door of my lodge, enter." He blew on the rock, and instantly the mountain opened and closed again, and saved him from his pursuers. They passed through three rooms and stopped in the fourth, when Hastjelti went out, and presently the voices of the pursuers died away and were heard no more. When all was silent Hastjelti returned and said: "Your enemies have de-

* These different colors in which the mountain divinities were painted remind us of the tattooing and face painting of the Ojibwas and Dakotas. Mandans and other eastern tribes. Among the Ojibwas the face painting was done in connection with the sacred mysteries or secret societies and was a sign of advancement through the different degrees. With all totemistic tribes the personating and the painting were designed to represent animal divinities rather than mountain divinities. The Mandans paint themselves as deer, putting white stripes on their limbs, or as bald eagles, with whitened faces. They rub green earth on the face from the ear to the mouth and put Indian red on the body in spots. They place white feathers on their heads, which wave slowly in the dances. See Catlin's Indians.
parted; you can leave in safety.” So, taking a tanned elk's skin to cover his back, a pair of new moccasins, a pair of long, fringed leggings and a shirt, he set out.

The Navajo, thus clothed, hastened on until he came near the foot of a high pinnacle of rock, on which was a mountain goat who bade him to go around the mountain, and then led him into the mountain, where there were four departments, over which the rainbows extended in all directions. From this place the Navajo went to the house where was an old man, with a sharp nose, little bright eyes and a small moustache, who led him to the home of the bush rats, in which were a little old woman, two sons and two daughters, who offered him food; but the wind god, in a low voice, bade him not to eat it, lest he be turned to a rat himself. In the next adventure he came to a hill which was difficult to climb. The divinity bade him ascend, but to close his eyes as he took the last step. When he opened his eyes he stood on the summit of a great mountain peak, seamed with deep cañons, from which he could see the place where he had lived. As he went on his way, the wind god, Niltci, walked beside him. He brought a great dark whirl-wind, which dug a hole in the ground, and a cavern with four chambers. The wind god said, in a low voice, descend into this retreat. He went down and rested secure, while the dark cloud and the rain passed over him. He heard overhead the great peals of thunder, the rushing of the tempest, and the pattering of the hail-stones. The wind god then told him that his enemies had been dispersed. He accordingly went on, until about sunset he reached the top of a mountain, when the snow began to fall and the wind to blow. Here Hastjelti appeared and commanded him to go down a spruce tree and pointed to a distant glen beyond the valley, in the side of the mountain. Here, again, the god put forth his power and spanned the valley with a flash of lightning and led the man into
ANTHROPOMORPHIC DIVINITIES. 329

...a cavern, in which was the fire. There was no wood on the fire, but four pebbles lay on the ground, which were gleaming with flames, and around the pebbles were four bears, who were colored like the pebbles—black, blue, yellow and white. These bears brought out stores, and offered him food to eat. They also unrolled a great sheet of cloud, and on it painted the forms of cultivated plants—the same plants which afterward appeared in the sand-paintings. In the next adventure the Navajo beheld a tornado; the air filled with logs and uprooted trees. He cried out to the storm and the tempest recognized him and subsided. Before the next adventure the wind god said to him, "those whom you meet are evil ones. I will go before you." The two then came to a hole in the rocks, which was guarded by two great rattlesnakes, which shook their rattles and struck at them. Within the rocks was a bald-headed old man, who had a little tuft of hair over each ear. This was Klictso, the great serpent, who taught the Indians how to make sacrifice to the great serpent.

From the home of Klictso they went to a place called Wind-Circles-Around-a-Rock, and where they heard loud peals of thunder. They entered a house of black clouds. It was the house of Icni, the lightning god. He was also bald like the great serpent, having only a little tuft of hair over the right ear.* At each side of the house was a lightning bird—that in the east was black; south, blue; west, yellow; north, white.† From time to time the birds flashed lightning from their claws and the lightning was the same color as the bird that emitted it.‡ The next place that they reached was a dwelling filled with butterflies and rainbows. Here the butterfly woman brought a beautiful white shell filled with water and soap root, and bade the Navajo to wash his body and dry himself with meal, and paint his face with white earth. When the painting was done she worked his body over until she moulded him into a youth of the most beautiful form and feature. She gave him fine white moccasins and a collar of beaver skin, and put plumes on his arms to represent wings, and adorned him as the courier Akaminih is adorned.§

*This shows the identity of the lightning with the great serpent, and makes it probable that the Maya god, Xmucani, was also the lightning. This god is represented in the Cortesian Codex as having a bald head and a tuft of hair over the ears. He is seated under the Tree of Life, and is accompanied by the figure with the scroll about his eye, called Cuculcan. Dr. Brinton thinks they represent our first parents, the divine pair, called in the Popol Vuh the creator and the former.

†These colors of the cardinal points varied with the different tribes, as will be seen by the table given by Rev. J. O. Dorsey.

‡This conception of the bird throwing lightning from its claws is common among the Dakotas and corresponds with the conceptions of the emblem of the American eagle, which holds arrows in its claws.

§This courier is the one who summons the people to the dances or sand-painting. The legs and forearms are painted black to represent the storm cloud, with white zig zag streaks to represent lightning, and had white spots scattered over their bodies, and eagle feathers in their hair, necklaces of shell, collars of beaver skin, plumes on their arms to represent wings, lawn-skin bags in the hands, a girdle of shell around the waist, a short skirt covering their loins. (See Mountain Chant, p. 424, §fig. 53).
The butterfly woman laid two streaks of white lightning on the ground and bade him stand on them with one foot on each streak, "for the lightning is yours," she said. She then pointed out the lightning trail. This trail he followed until he arrived at the house of the holy woman (Estsan-cigini), whose door was of trees. Within on the east wall hung the sun and on the west hung the moon. Here he was shown the kethawn, or sacrificial stick, and was told how to make it. The next house that he entered was two stories high, with four rooms on the first and four in the second, and had four doorways with trees of different colors for doors. Here dwelt four bear maidens; their faces were white, with hands like human hands, but their arms and legs were covered with shaggy hair and their teeth were long and pointed. The bear woman was a great warrior and invulnerable.

He then entered a house made of water, and found eight holy young men, with arrows hanging on the wall, two standing at each cardinal point, thus representing these points. He next went to the house of the big oaks, whose door was made of red sunbeams, and of which the walls were made of logs of different colors. The east wall was black; south, blue; west, yellow, and north, white. Here were young men and women in the form of squirrels, with red and black stripes on their backs, who taught him to make kethawns. He went to a house whose door was of darkness, and was guarded by the bat, and was the home of the skunks. He then passed to the home of the porcupines, which was colored according to the cardinal hues. He next entered a house made of black water, with wind for the door, which was the home of the frog, water snake and the animals of the water, and here learned some of their mysteries. The next place was a house built of white rock crystal, the door being made of all sorts of plants, and was the home of the supernatural young women.

He also went to the house of cherries with a door of lightning. Here he found the gods arranged around the fire holding arrows made of the cliff-rose in their hands, and afterward to the leaf mountain and found a house made of dew drops, with a door made of plants. This was the home of the goddesses who had long bodies. They had plumes on their heads and were so very tall they seemed to touch the heavens. Leaving the house of dew he came to the white water and the great spring, where there was a house of corn pollen, the door of daylight. The ceiling was supported by four spruce trees and rainbows ran in every direction, making the house shine within with beautiful colors. Hastjelti next took him to the house of brown water, and led him to the top of a high hill where he could see his own home. When he arrived at home it took him four days and four nights to relate his adventures and to instruct his hearers in
ANTHROPOMORPHIC DIVINITIES.

the mysteries which he had learned. On the fifth day they sent out couriers to invite the neighbors to a great feast and dance, and then the sand-paintings were introduced.

There are four sand-paintings which embody this mountain chant, each representing the visit of the Navajo chief to the different houtes in the rocks and the people which he there met, with the various objects which surrounded them.

The first represented the home of the snakes, which was a house made of the dark water. In the center of the picture was a circular cavity to represent the water, which was sprinkled with charcoal.* Surrounding this are four parallelograms representing the rafts of sunbeams.

This figure of Hastjelti, the divinity who befriended the Navajo prophet, differs from the wind god in appearance. He is represented as wearing a white skirt, bordered with black lines, to symbolize the black clouds. He carries the squirrel pouch in his hands, in which is the food of the gods. He wears on his head plumes, which are also symbols of the clouds. He has moccasins of different colors and garters. He is the chief mountain divinity of the Navajos.

The second picture represents the painting which the prophets saw in the home of the bears in the Carrizo Mountains, and contains the figures of the mountain divinities and the plants which they protect. There is in it the same rainbow, sunbeams, rafts, and the same water bowls. But on the rafts are the four gods which have the human form; each one with the feet placed upon the raft and the head extending so as to represent the cardinal points. These divinities are painted different colors also, to represent the world waters—blue, black, white and yellow. The arms are half extended and are adorned with lines to represent lightning, and black to represent the clouds. They carry in their hands, suspended by a string, a rattle, a charm, and a basket. They have skirts of red sunlight, adorned with sunbeams, also ear pendants, bracelets and armlets, made of blue and red turquoise, the prehistoric jewels of the Navajos. Their forearms and legs are black, to symbolize the rain-clouds, zigzag marks to represent lightning. At the side of each of the gods is a plant which has the same color of the god, a stalk of corn in the southeast painted white, which belongs to the eastern god, which is white; the bean stalk in the southwest belongs to the southern god, both painted blue; the pumpkin vine in the southwest belongs to the western god, both of them yellow; the tobacco plant belongs to the god of the north, both of them black. Each of these four sacred plants are represented as growing from five white roots in the central waters, but

* The water is the abode of the spirits of life, and the water-jars were regarded as sacred. Cushing says: When a woman has finished a vessel, with its ornaments and symbols, she will tell you, with an air of relief, "It is a made being." The space in the ornaments was the exit trail of the or being. When the vessel cracks you can hear the voice of this "made being," supposed to be the voice of the associated being as it escapes.

† These rafts are called, according to Dr. Washington Matthews, "ebitola," or "rafts of sunbeams," the favored vessel on which the divine ones navigate the upper deep. When a god has a particularly long journey to make, he takes two sunbeams, fastens them together and is borne off whither he wills. Red and blue represent sunbeams and the morning and evening skies. External to the sunbeam rafts, standing on them, are the figures of eight serpents—two white ones to the east, two blue ones to the south, two yellow in the west and two black in the north. These serpents cross one another and seem to stand on the arms of the gods. The back is blue crossed with four bands of red. Outside of the eight snakes are four more of greater length, which form a boundary to the picture. These have different colors and may represent the rain-gods of the world-quarters. In the west is a black figure representing a mountain, in which the snake divinities dwelt. From the summit of the mountain to the central waters is a line on which are four first-prinits which represent the track of the bear, one of the mountain divinities. In the northwest of this picture is the figure of a wind-god, who awpeased to the young man and went with him to the home of the snakes. He is called Niltci.
spread out from the center to the circumference—alternating with the gods. The gods form one cross and represent the four cardinal points. The plants form another cross and represent the intermediate points of the compass. The gods carry beautifully embroidered pouches in their hands, the pouches being the shape of birds. Near the gods is a figure of a suastika,* which is formed by crossing the center, the arms of the suastika being made of plumes; these are the cloud baskets which are carried by the gods. Surrounding the picture is the rainbow deity, with the body painted in different colors, to represent the rainbow, and the hands and feet black, to represent the black clouds and the white lightning. The rainbow is always a female and reminds us of the Iris, the Greek goddess, who personated the rainbow. The third picture commemorates the visit to the lodge of the dew, whose door was made of plants of many kinds, and contains the figures of the goddesses with long bodies.

The third picture of this series was made in accordance with the instructions received in the house of cherries with the door of lightning. In the picture the naked figures of the goddesses were first drawn and colors given to them appropriate to the points of the compass which they occupied in the house of the dew-drops—white for the east, blue for the south, yellow for the west, black for the north. To indicate their great height the figures were twice the length of any in the other pictures. Each is clothed in four garments, one above another, for no one garment could be made long enough to cover such giant forms. The appendages at the sides of the heads represent the head-dresses made of skins of different colors, which the goddesses are said to wear. Each one bears, attached to the right hand, a rattle, a charm, and a branch of choke-cherry in bloom. Some other adjuncts of the picture—the red robes embroidered with sunbeams, the forearms and legs clothed with clouds and lightning, the pendants from wrists and elbows, the blue and red armlets, bracelets and garters—are properties of nearly all the anthropomorphic gods shown in these pictures. The rainbow, which encloses the group on three sides, is not the anthropomorphic rainbow; it has no head, neck, arms or lower extremities. Five white eagle plumes adorn its southeastern end; five tail-plumes of some blue bird decorate the bend in the southwest; the tail of the red-shafted flicker is near the bend in the northwest; and the tail of the magpie terminates the northeastern extremity. Throughout the myth not only is the house of dew spoken of as adorned with hangings and festoons of rainbows, but nearly all the holy dwellings are thus embellished. It is the task of the shaman, when the work of painting is completed, to put the corn-pollen, emblem of fecundity, on the lips and breast of each divine form, and to set up the bounding plume-sticks around the picture. Then the one who gives the feast enters and is placed sitting on the form that belongs to the east—the white form—and looking eastward. Then the colored dust from various parts of the divine figures is taken and applied to corresponding parts of the patient, and many other ceremonies are performed which it is not my purpose to relate here. When the patient has departed many of the spectators pick up the corn-pollen, now rendered doubly sacred, and put it in their medicine-bags. Some take dust from the figures on their moistened palms and apply it to their own bodies. If the devotee has disease in his legs, he takes powder from the legs of the figure; if in his head he takes powder from the head, and so on.

*The suastika, with bent arrows for arms, is novel but this indicates that it is a sky symbol—probably denotes the revolving sky. The circles denote the sun and the crescent, the moon and the central cross the cardinal points, the colors the different colors of the sky,
CHAPTER XIV.

COMMEMORATIVE COLUMNS AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

The custom of erecting columns which were commemorative of the departed is as old as history and widespread as the human family. It, in fact, began in prehistoric times with the earliest race, but has continued into historic times and still survives as the custom among all nations. The pattern or style of monument varies with different nations, but perhaps the earliest style is that which developed into the standing stones of Great Britain, Northern Europe, Western Asia and India, and which still survives in the gravestones and monuments which are found in our cemeteries everywhere. There were other styles which appeared at a very early date, perhaps as early as the standing stones, and which spread over the different continents from a common center. It becomes, then, an interesting task to study the different types, and to follow out the lines along which they were transmitted. The starting point of these monuments may not be very easy to find, yet we may begin at almost any point and trace them from race to race and from continent to continent, and make them objects of study. When we do this we find problems arising which are the most perplexing and difficult, problems concerning the origin of man, the spread of the human race, the progress of art and the development of symbolism, and many others equally as important. These must be heeded as we start in upon the broad field, and must be borne in mind as we advance, for we may find clues to their solution as we study the different monuments.

I. Let us consider the general custom. 1. The main question which arises here is the one which relates to the history of commemorative art and its spread among the different races. We find this illustrated in the monuments of Europe. This habit of erecting a column as commemorative was introduced at an early date and has largely prevailed.

The erection of the standing stones in the form of a circle was very common in Europe, but wherever it appeared was evidently symbolic of sun worship; and yet, strange to say, the circles almost always surround some central burying place, and are in reality both commemorative and symbolic. The decoration of these standing stones, with cup marks and channeled circles and loops and intaglio battle axes was a second stage in the same art. Angel faces and wings, crosses, wreaths, circles, and other em-
blems and symbols, came in after historic times. These mark the third stage and show the change from Paganism to Christian symbolism. Mr. Joseph Anderson, the author of "Scotland in Pagan Times," has given some very interesting facts in this connection. He says: "The typical form of the stone age burial custom was the chambered cairn, but we find these occasionally encircled by stone settings or circles of standing stones, but when the circle is associated with a cisted cairn the circle always appears as the principal member while the stone setting originally rose as an adjunct of the chambered cairns of the stone age. It acquired its dignity and importance in the subsequent age, by the degredation of the stone structure, and came at last to stand alone as the most distinguishing and characteristic mark of the bronze age burial. The burial ground is fenced off from the surrounding area by a circle of stones, sometimes mere natural boulders, rolled into their places, at other times tall slabs, set erect on their ends, and at still other times surrounded by a trench and embankment of earth. Occasionally the stone circle is doubled, the inner circle being formed of smaller slabs. From the frequency with which these burial circles are found to contain a plurality of interments, it is obvious they are not the monuments of single individuals, but family or tribal burial grounds. The stone setting then is the external sign by which the burial ground is distinguished from the surrounding area. Like the cairn, it is the visible mark of the spot of earth to which the remains of the dead have been consigned. The colossal size of their pillar stones, the magnitude of the area enclosed, the care and labor expended in trenching and fencing are features which give to these singular constructions a peculiarly impressive character. This impressiveness is especially characteristic of such a circle as that of Stennis in Orkney. It stands within a trench-enclosing an area of two and one-half acres. The diameter of the area is 366 feet, the trench 29 feet, the stones 17 feet apart, the highest 14 feet. 23 in all. We are unable to define the limits of the area in which stone circles are found, but they are not confined to either Scotland or Britain, or even Europe." The best specimen of stone setting in circular form is that contained in the memorable works at Avebury, England, which we have several times described, but without giving an explanation of its use. See Fig. 1. Another class of monumental stone settings, much more rarely met with than the circular groups, consist in the group of upright stones or alignments.

Mr. Anderson also speaks of the standing stones which are found arranged in alignments* rather than in circular groups, and classes them under the same head of commemorative columns. He says: "There is a relationship of type between

these monumental stone settings, for the cairn is associated with both classes, those arranged in alignments and those in circles.” He speaks of the alignments found in Scotland, and says there is a relationship of type. The cairn is associated with settings of standing stones when they are arranged in alignments. These are, like the circles, adjuncts to a sepulchral cairn. On the hill side of “many stanes,” in Caithness,* is a group that consists of twenty-two rows of standing stones, one hundred and fifty feet in length, the number exceeding four hundred. Looking at the magnitude of the work, and the immensity of the masses of individual stones, we discern indications of confidence of power to overcome the forces of nature, of organization, and co-operation which are the necessary concomitants of civilization. This is an explanation of the standing stones in Scotland and Great Britain, but it may be applied to the standing stones and alignments of the north of France, especially those at Carnac,† in Brittany.

These consist of eleven rows of unhewn stones, the largest being 22 feet above the ground. The avenues originally extended for several miles, but at present are 3378 feet in length, 328 feet in breadth and tapering to 200 feet at the tail. There is at its head a cromlech of 62 menhirs—thus confirming Mr. Anderson’s position. The province of Brittany has 23 alignments, one half of those in all France. They are generally associated with either dolmens or cromlechs and may have marked the burial places of the common people, or battle fields, but this is only conjectural. They are the monuments of the bronze age, and are associated with the dolmens which were burial places through that age. The relation of the standing stones to the summer solstice has been studied by Mr. A. Lewis and others, and it is held that the northeast opening of the circles was designed to admit the rays of the rising sun at the time.

Miss A. W. Buckland has spoken of the proximity of these

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alignments, circles and dolmens to the sea coast, and says that they are not found in central Europe, thus furnishing a hint as to their origin. The theory once prevailed that they were introduced along with the other tokens of the bronze age by Phœnician voyagers, but this like the theory of their having been erected by the Druids, is now rejected by many. Sir John Lubbock says megalithic monuments resembling these are found all over Europe. There are stone avenues in Moab. Standing stones were erected in memorial of some particular event. Arctic travelers mention stone circles and stone rows among the Esquimaux. Even in Australia, stone circles are said to occur. Laistau figures a circle of upright stones in Virginia, carved at the top to rude representations of human faces.

2. Another question is, were they ethnographic lines which were followed, or shall we recognize a process of development which had no regard to the races. In answering this question we shall avoid all theory and shall only study monuments which have appeared among the different races, and especially those which are known to have been commemorative. We shall begin with the far east and shall follow the lines which have been marked by the great races in their various migrations, making it a point to study the different types of art which were adopted by each, and especially the symbolism which was peculiar to each. We think by doing this we shall certainly ascertain the line of transmissions which ultimately reached this continent and introduced the art into America.

(1.) There were three different lines of transmission: one by the Aryan, the second the Semitic, and the third by the Turanian race. We can hardly tell which was the earliest, though the simplest type is seen in the northwest part of Europe, where we find the standing stones and the other commemorative monuments of the widespread Aryan or Indo-European race. We trace the same custom in its transmission through the commemorative art, which spread into Egypt and Phœnicia and many parts of western Asia, and are preserved in the various monuments, commemorative columns, obelisks and sculptured stones of the Mediterranean coast.

(2.) We can see the Semitic line illustrated by the burial customs of Egypt. In early historic times the mastaba of this race contained the body, which was placed in a sarcophagus and buried in the depths of the tomb. This mastaba was undoubtedly the same as the stone cist, and was an outgrowth of the same custom of burial. Whether the obelisk was placed outside of the mastaba is uncertain. A little later the mastaba changed to the pyramid and the body of the distinguished dead was buried in its depths. This, however, obscured the memory of the deceased. While the portrait of the deceased was painted on the case or coffin which contained the mummy, and the deeds were recorded in
COMMEMORATIVE COLUMNS.

the hieroglyphics upon the cell inside of the pyramid, there was nothing to remind the living of the exploits of the dead. The obelisk was then a necessity, and soon became conspicuous as a commemorative column. It was covered with hieroglyphics and contained the record of the dynasty. The portrait of the king was carved into the statues, and often proved as commemorative as the obelisk; but these were monuments for the living, while the obelisk was designed as a mortuary record. The same custom was observed by the Phœnicians, but in a different form, for the Phœnicians were base idolaters.1 There are sculptured figures near Kana which resemble portraits. These are placed along the foot of the mountains, or in the side of the valleys, or on the rocky terraces, and are in lonely and wild places, near large natural caves. The history of these is unknown. They all look toward the rising sun, and are hewn out of the rock.* Other tablets have been found in Phoenicia which contain animal figures, some of them standing erect and contending with one another. These may have been totems, or possibly they represented the divinities. We do not class them with the mortuary records. The obelisk was common also in Assyria. The one from Nimroud, now in the British museum, is an ancient specimen. The rock-cut tomb in Lycia has two columns in front of the door, but they are in the Ionic style and are modern. The monuments of Amrith are much older. They are called spindle columns, but are truly majestic. They are cylinders which arise from a square platform and terminate in a cone. The propylon of Xerxes at Persepolis is another specimen which, though modern, contains the column. At the gate of the lions at Mycenae is a column which is supposed to have been symbolic as well as commemorative. Many other specimens might be cited, but enough has been said to show that the custom was prevalent among the entire Semitic race, and that it influenced also the Hellenic race.

(3.) Another line will be found in the Turanian race, who were ancestors of the great Mongolian race, and perhaps also ancestors of the Malay race, though there is some uncertainty as to the identity of these two. The Turanians have been regarded, however, as the so-called ground race. The custom of erecting mortuary columns was the basis of the art of all these races, and it may be that we shall yet trace the line of transmission back to a common center, making the Phœnician and Hittite monuments the outgrowth of the same custom prevalent among Egyptians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Chinese, Malays, and the wide spread Indo-European races, thus proving not only the unity, but also indicating a connection between the races of the west with those of the east in prehistoric times.

*The work is very rude, but was quite ancient.
II. The custom of erecting commemorative columns prevailed in America. How do we account for this? Was it introduced from some other continent, or did it originate here? It is a singular fact that there are few commemorative columns in the eastern part of this continent. A few standing stones have been discovered situated in the Mississippi Valley. We do not know that they were commemorative. There are many specimens of ancestor posts, however, on the northwest coast, which give rise to the thought that the custom must have been introduced from some other continent. If we place these along with the so-called portrait pillars found in the southwest provinces, we shall have a confirmation of the thought. We shall it for granted that the Turanian stock is to be located in the northeast and southeast coast of the continent of Asia, and that it formed the underlying stratum of the entire Polynesian race, though the lines of migration have not been followed up. The commemorative columns of the entire region will come before us for our study. These connect closely with the totem posts or ancestor posts of the northwest coast. This race seems to have migrated eastward and may be divided into two great branches—one located in Mongolia, the other in Polynesia and perhaps upon the American continent. The religion of the Turanians was largely ancestor worship and abounded in commemorative columns. We do not find totemism as developed in this as among some other races, nor do we find sun worship as prevalent. Ancestor worship and hero worship predominated. This accounts for the difference between the cults which prevailed in the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Atlantic furnishes but little evidence of an ancestor worship, but in the Pacific it prevailed extensively. There seems to have been a transmission, not only of the system itself, but also of the custom of erecting ancestor posts, over the entire region occupied by the Turanian race.

Erman, in "Travels in Siberia," says the Ostyaks and Samoyedes were in the habit of erecting images in honor of deceased parents. These images were set up in their "yurts," and received divine honors for a greater or less time, according as the priest directed. The body was buried with a nart and reindeer for use in the next life, also a tinder-box and pipe and tobacco; but the image in the tent represented the deceased husband, and at every meal an offering of food was placed before it. The image of Ortik, one of their deities or deified heroes, was also often seen. This was only a bust, without legs, the face made of plated metal, the body a sack stuffed with hair and skins, the whole figure dressed in a linen frock. This suggests the idea that the transmission of the custom of erecting ancestor posts may have been from Siberia to the coast of America, for the use of the copper plates upon the totem posts of the Haidahs was very common in connection with their ancestor posts. Still the evidence is much
stronger in favor of the transmission from New Zealand to this coast, for the resemblance between the New Zealanders and the Haidas is very striking. We here quote from Ensign Albert P. Niblack, United States navy, who has made a study of the Haida totem posts and has furnished the most valuable information in reference to them.

Drawing a parallel between the Haidas and the New Zealanders, he says: "In point of physical resemblance both are of the Mongoloid type and both live on groups of islands whose climates are remarkably similar. Poole says of the climate of the Queen Charlotte Islands that the most graphic comparison he could draw was with that of the northern islands of New Zealand. Their political organization of the tribe, their ownership of land, and their laws of blood revenge are similar. The men tattoo with designs intended to identify them with their sub-tribe or household, and they ornament their canvas, paddles, house fronts, etc., in somewhat the same manner as on the northwest coast." Dixon (1787) is quoted as saying that the cloaks of the Haida and Tlingit were the same as those worn by the New Zealanders. A Haida fortified house on an island of the Queen Charlotte group was built exactly on the plan of those of the savages of New Zealand. The adzes made of jasper, the cloaks of shredded bark, and the paddles from the Queen Charlotte Islands and those from New Zealand are so much alike that it takes a close inspection to distinguish them."

We quote a description of a house, given by Featherman,* for it may be taken verbatim and applied to those on the northwest coast. "The frame was constructed of posts painted red, carved into an ancestral image. The sloping rafters were supported by a ridge pole which was supported in the middle by a post, carved at the base to represent a human figure, who was represented as the founder of the family. In front of the ancestral image was the fire place, which was a shallow excavation marked by four slabs of stone sunk in the ground. A narrow opening, only large enough to admit a man on bended knees, was used as an entrance. The roof was lofty, and projected at the front gable end so as to form a kind of awning, generally occupied by the head of the family. The house was surmounted at the end of the ridge pole by a carved human figure. The sleeping places were partitioned off on both sides of the room by low slabs of wood. There was no chimney; the smoke could only escape through the door or window. The burial place was almost always within the enclosure, near the family dwelling." The description of the war canoes of the New Zealanders will answer for that of the Haidas. They were the property of the whole tribe, and measured from 60 to 80 feet in length, 5 or 6

feet in width, 4 feet deep, and capable of carrying about 80 persons; the bow jutted out in the form of a spur and rose to the height of about 4 feet; the stern was from 12 to 15 feet high, 2 feet wide; both were ornamented with grotesque devices executed in bas relief. At burial the body was placed in a canoe shaped coffin and was interred in some secluded spot in the forest and surrounded by a palisade. The body of a chief was placed in a tomb which was surrounded by carved figures, representing the illustrious dead, with their tongues projecting from their mouths. The funeral ceremonies were concluded by immolating some of the wives and slaves of the dead chief. The corpse was buried. The clothes of the dead chief were preserved in a carved chest, which was considered an heirloom in the family and a sacred relic. All their gods were known by specific names and were recognized either as hero divinities—men who in ancient times had distinguished themselves—or were simply impersonations of the elements.

This description should be compared with the one given by Ensign Niblack. He says: "The carved columns are in front
of the houses, generally in contact with the front, the doorway or entrance being through a hole in the column about three feet from the ground.* The villages are situated along the shore with the houses in a single row, a few feet above high water. The houses are not very far apart. The beach in front of them serves as a street and as a place for hauling up canoes. At the end of the village is the grave-yard with its variety of sepulchers and mortuary columns of ancient and modern form. Scattered through the village in front and at the corners of the houses are the commemorative columns. Each village practically constitutes a tribe. The canoes have projecting prows, high spear-sterns and flaring gunwales, and a gracefully rounding cross-section. The war canoes are said to have formed a distinct class in themselves. The evidence is that the Haidas borrowed their style from the New Zealanders. In confirmation we quote further: The Haidas have been the center of impulse on the northwest coast, and in their development they may have influenced the adjacent tribes to a great degree, but the weight of evidence is that, with no great originality in themselves, they yet present the curious and puzzling circumstance that they extensively borrowed their ideas from the other stocks, but developed what they have borrowed with marvelous skill and independence. They seem in themselves to have typified or intensified the representative characteristics of the Indian stocks of the northwest coast. Whether they have originated or borrowed their ideas can not be made apparent with the data at hand, but it may be well to here state briefly the peculiarities of the Haida as they have struck the writer in their relation to the other Indians of the region.

The details of the method of house-building among the Haidas will be understood from the study of the cuts. See Figs. 2 and 3. The living room was excavated below the surface, as seen in the dotted line. The fire-place was in the middle of the room. The totemic figures will be seen in the column in front. The

*See sketch of house in Fig. 2. Entrance, A; the fire, B, burns on the bare hearth or on a frame-work made of logs; there is an excavated interior; the upper ledge is at the level, D, lower platform at C. See also cut of a village on page 347.
entrance to the house was through the column. The ornamented front of the house above represents the wolf totem. The ornamented front with corner-posts represents an ancient style of house-building. The house to the left has an ornamented front to represent the eagle totem. The column to the right represents the bear totem, with the frog at the bottom. Of the three houses given in Fig. 3, one shows the eagle totem, with the entrance through the whale; another represents the method of roofing and the details of the smoke-hole; the third represents the Thlinkit style of house front.

III. The explanation of the commemorative columns found upon the northwest coast will be in place. We shall find that these contain the same general art forms as those found in New Zealand, but at the same time embody a mythology and a totem system, which was peculiar to the region.

1. Let us consider this totem system. Mr. Frazer says that

"while totemism as a religion tends to pass into the worship first of animal gods, and, next, of anthropomorphic gods with animal attributes, it was often localized." The peculiarity of totemism in North America was that it introduced a relationship, which cut across the kinship of blood and introduced one of religion, and was entirely arbitrary. It was the source of a new lineage which was to be recognized wherever the totem was seen. The crest of one clan was enough to bring the members of all the clans which bore the same totem into a new and novel brotherhood. This relation was generally shown by the animal figure, which constituted a crest or coat-of-arms, though there were tribes—such as the Navajoes and the Apaches of Arizona—which had no animal names, but instead took topographical names, such as red rock, salt springs, black water, grassy hill, coyote pass, cottonwood jungle. Others took the names of plants—walnut, juniper, cottonwood, rush, willow, tree-in-water, arrow reed.*

The system among the savages consisted in the identification of the individual with his totem under a specific name. Adair says: "When his lineage is known to the people his relations, if

he has any, these greet him in a familiar way, invite him home and treat him as a kinsman." The clan totem is a material object, which a native regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every person who bears the same totem a special relation which is equivalent to a blood kinship. They all believe themselves the descendants of a common ancestor, and bound together by common obligations and a common faith in the totem. This is seen in the customs formerly prevalent among the tribes in the Gulf States. The same custom now exists among the tribes on the northwest coast. Here an Indian, on arriving at a strange village, would look for a house indicated by its carved post as belonging to his totem, and make for it. The master of the house comes out, and perhaps makes a dance in honor of his visitor, and protects him from all injury. A captive is brought into the village, but it behooves those of his totem to present themselves to the captors and sing a sacred song, and offer to redeem the captive. Here, then, we have the same system which prevailed among the savages of the interior, but modified, for in this case the father adopts the captive or the stranger, instead of the mother. The person becomes a member of the family rather than of the clan. This constitutes the main difference, a difference which has been brought about by the influence of ancestor worship beyond the sea. The mother rule has changed to the father rule. The clan has changed to the family as the unit of society, and we now have patriarchy with nearly all the features which distinguished that system in oriental countries. It was a change, however, which appeared mainly in the Haidas, for the Thlinkits still retain matriarchy.

It was very rare that human figures were used to represent totems, though they were sometimes used to show the mythologies which prevailed. Wherever the human figure is seen, we may conclude that a higher type of totemism has been introduced. Generally it is a type which has been influenced by sun worship or by ancestor worship, reverence for the animals having been transferred to the heavenly bodies. Among the Puebloes the sky was the habitation of the ancestors and the nature powers were deified, but the clans all retained the animal names, the clans of the Zunis being named the crane, eagle, bear, coyote; those of
the Jemez coyote, corn, pine, evergreen, oak, sun, eagle, water, antelope, and badger. There were no commemorative columns among any of these tribes of the interior; but the fetiches and the diminutive idols, which were adorned with the symbols of the nature powers, were to the Pueblos reminders of their divinities, just as the carved specimens, tablets, inscriptions and shell gorgets with human figures, served as reminders to the people farther east, such as the Indians and the Mound-builders.

2. The ancestral columns are totemic, but they contain figures which illustrate the traditions, folklore and mythology of this singular people. The carved column in front of the model of the Haida house is an illustration. The surmounting figure represents Hoorts, the brown bear, which is the totem of the head of the household. At the bottom is Tsing, the beaver, the totem of the wife and children. Above it is the figure of the bear and hunter, which perpetuates the legend of the liaison of the wife with a hunter, and is a warning to wives to be faithful to their husbands. It shows a belief in the possibility of human connection with animals. Above the bear and hunter is Tetl, the great raven, having in its beak the new moon, in its claws the dish containing fresh water. According to the legend of the creation, the raven stole the dish from the daughter of Kanuk, and flew with it out of the smoke-hole. He also stole from his uncle the new moon, which he imprisoned in a box. Above the raven are four disks, which serve as an index of the rank of the owner. Each disk commemorates some meritorious act.

Another illustration is found at Fort Wrangel. Here there are two posts, one to show the descent on the female side, the other on the male side. The genealogical column of the mother's side has at the top the eagle, the great totem or crest of the family; below that is the image of a child; below that the beaver, the frog, the eagle, the frog, all showing the generation and sub-families of the female side. The male totem has at the top the
COMMEMORATIVE COLUMNS. 345

portrait of a chief wearing a conical hat; below that is the family crest, the crow; next below a child, then three frogs, and at the base the eagle, the great totem of the builder's mother. In front of another chief's house a very natural-looking bear is couched on top of a pole, gazing down at his black foot-tracks, which are carved on the sides of the column.*

Another illustration is found in the plate which represents the columns found on Prince of Wales Islands, Alaska, as compared with the so-called "Tiki," which stands, together with several others, near the tomb of the daughter of the king of New Zealand. Two of the columns from Alaska are evidently modern, for they contain the image of a priest with folded hands, and of an eagle resembling the American eagle. The angel above the priest and the figure of a man with hand pointing upward, signifying that in heaven the god of the white man dwells; The only native totem on this column is the eagle at the top, which is the crest of the chief Skowl, who is said to have erected the column in derision of the missionaries.† The other figure, to the left, represents the head of a European—white face and black whiskers; two figures of children, one on either side. This perpetuates the story of the disobedient children, who wandered away and were kidnapped by the trader. Below this is the crane, with an instrument like a draw shave in its hands. The crane was an expert with tools, but they were stolen, and the crane now utters the cry, "I want my tools!" The next below is Hoorts, the bear, holding in its paws the butterfly. It perpetuates the story of creation. When the raven, the great Tetl, created the world, the butterfly hovered over its head, and pointed to the place where the bear lived. Below this was the giant spider, sucking the blood of a man. The story is that the spider was an enemy to man, but it was taken by Teskanahl, the divinity, and thrown into the fire. Instead of burning, the spider shriveled up and turned into a mosquito and so escaped, carrying a small coal of fire in its claws. The mosquito does not kill a man, but sucks his blood and leaves a coal of fire in the bite. The lowest figure is Koone, the totem of the owner. The New Zealand post represents, in the lower figure, the divinity Mani, who, according to the Maori tradition, fished up the islands from the bottom of the sea. The protruding tongue of the upper figure shows that it is one of the numerous defiant statues which abound on the islands. We notice an approximation to the horrid ornamentation of the Mexican pillars, which represent their gods, but we find the four ornaments which remind us of the sacred number of the wild tribes.

3. We notice in all of these totem posts certain features which are common. First, the tall hat, which resembles that of the

*See Alaska, "The Sitkan Archipelago," by E. R. Skidmore, p. 57. See Fig. 2, p. 340.
†The plate illustrating this will be found in Smithsonian Report for 1888, p. 327.
Chinese, is over the heads of many. Second, the frog is carved upon the post, but is seldom used as a crest. Third, the eagle, the bear, the wolf and the crane, are generally the totems. Fourth, the raven is the great divinity, who was the creator and ruler of all. Fifth, the Orka, or whale-killer, a species of porpoise, the beaver, the dragon fly, sea lions and other figures are used to perpetuate certain legends. These are frequently combined together in a grotesque way, the tongue, generally, protruding from the mouth so as to make a connecting link between the figures, and the large eye being carved upon the different parts of each figure. Sixth, the totem posts are carved so that the figures rise one above the other, making a genealogical tree, but the pipes, dishes, rattles, paddles, mortuary boxes, paint brushes, and other tools, are carved pell-mell on the different sides. Seventh, the nature powers, wind spirit, clouds, man in the moon, thunder bird, are personified and carved in the shape of animals or human beings.

The creator of all things and the benefactor of man was the great raven called by the Thlinkeets Yetl, Yeshl, or Yeatl, and by the Haidas, Ne-kil-stlus. He was not exactly an ordinary bird, but, like all old Indian mythical characters, had many human attributes, and the power of transforming himself into anything in the world. His coat of feathers could be put on or taken off at will like a garment, and he could assume any character whatever. He existed before his birth, never grows old, will never die. Numerous are the stories of his adventures in peopling the world and giving to man the earth, fire, fresh water, life, fish, game, etc.

This story of creation as well as belief in the cause of the changes of the weather, and a thousand other superstitions are noticeable. The imagery is entirely that which is peculiar to the northwest, and contains the figures of whales, animals of the sea; bears, wolves and animals of the forest; eagles, cranes, ravens, creatures of the air, as well as many fabulous creatures, all of them peculiar to this region. Some have imagined that they recognized the monkey, but the grotesque figures with a human form and animal head, such as the wolf, beaver, etc., might be easily taken for a monkey. It is not likely that the monkey was ever seen, or portrayed, by the natives here. The conventional figure of the orka or whale killer, the bear, the sea lion, of the crab, crow, whale and other animals were often carved upon the boxes, tattooed upon the person, woven in the ceremonial blankets, and twined in the basket hats in such a way as to be recognized only by those who were familiar with the figures. Strips of silver (see Figs. 4 and 5) made into bracelets, representing the bear and raven, show the custom of placing their totems upon their personal ornaments. The same custom is seen in the woven garments which cover the bed of the chief.
Shaks and in the Chilkat blankets which hang on the wall above his head. In this we have the bear totem repeated several times—the stuffed bear at the side, the woven bear on his garments, another bear on the wall, a bear's head on the table.

The ornaments are modern, but they contain the same symbolism as the ancient heir-looms. The same may be said of the carved pipes and other specimens. One of these already pictured resembles a totem post. It represents at the top the figure of the eagle; next below, the orka, or whale-killer; next, the raven, known by its beak; lowest down, known by its tongue. The figure of the bear-mother is a slate carving, finished in the round. It perpetuates a legend. The daughter of a chief spoke in terms of ridicule of the bears. The bears descended and took her captive and made her the wife of the chief of the bears. She became the progenitor of all the Indians bearing the bear totem. The carving represents the agony of the mother in suckling her child, which was half bear and half human. The slate disk, (see Fig. 7) represents the orka or whale-killer. This is known by the fins, the nose and the eyes. We see from these specimens that the carvings are designed to perpetuate the legends, but that there was a different style of carving among the different tribes. Mr. Niblack says: "Every carving and pictograph is pregnant with meaning, but the task of tracing out the legends and comparing them with those of adjacent regions is difficult. No idea of the ethnological affinities can be found without comparison of

*See Fig. 3 in Chapter XIII, p. 278.
†See article on Ethnographic Religions, p. 311, Fig. 6. ¶Ibid., p. 312, Fig. 8.
the mythology." Mr. James Deans, who is familiar with the different tribes, and has made a study of the totem posts, says that each tribe has its own way of carving and its own set of myths, so that one is not sure that he is giving the right interpretation unless he knows the tribe to which the carving belongs.

The following is a description, given by Mr. Deans, of the totem posts and carved images which have been gathered from the different tribes of the northwest coast and placed in front of the Haida house, near the Anthropological building in Jackson Park, Chicago. He begins with a post not seen the cut, which contains many carvings of male and female figures. On the above mentioned column, reading from below, the first is the carving of an Indian with his head encircled by feathers. This represents the owner of the house in front of which this column stood. The second figure is the raven, called by these people Caugh. This, the raven, is the phratry or principal crest, along with the eagle phratry, of all these people. The next is the dogfish, which along with the raven phratry, was the crest of the man who had this house built for himself. The third figure is a man, perhaps designed to represent the owner of this totem post. The fifth figure is a woman with head-dress, and is evidently a figure of the housewife. Above her is the figure of a killer or fin-back whale, with two young ones, one on each side of its mouth. The sixth figure is the crest of the wife. The young ones show her to have had a family, which, like herself, would have the whale crest. The next or seventh figure is that of a woman, showing that the wife was connected by birth with the tribe in which she lived. The upper or last figure is the eagle, and designates the phratry to which she belonged.

The second column (Fig. 8) is a Haida column. This house formerly stood in the middle of the Haida Indian village of Skidegat's Town, so called from its chief always taking the title of Skidegat. The house belongs to a man whose name formerly was Choscah, or raven. It was the first house in the village belonging to the Cathlins Coan hadry (point of the waves people), who came and settled in the town of Illth-cah-gutla (hut between streams) called Skidegat's Town, as above mentioned. These people were driven from their home by tidal waves and by ravages of war. When they came to Skidegat they lived all together by building their houses in a row; their descendants live all together in the same style to-day.

The figures on the post are: lowest, the bear with man's head downward; second is the spout-fish (lown); on each side of it is the Chemouse of the Sinesheans, which is a symbolization of a river snag, a floating snag or oftener a tree. To an Indian sailing down the rapid streams of the Pacific slope these snags are dangerous, and a superstitious dread has painted them as monsters of the worst kind; so, in order to be safe, they adopted them as
NATIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

a crest. The Haida tribes borrowed this crest from these Sine-sheans. The next figure is a head with large eyes. It is shown as holding on with its mouth to the tail of the lown. This is the head of a bear as is shown by the tan gue (bear's ears) placed on each side of the head. From this head upward is a large dogfish. It is shown as having a woman on its back.

Above the woman's head is another bear's head, with tan gue. Above all is the tail of the dogfish, shown between two little images. The following I consider to be a correct reading of the carvings on this post: First, the bear with a man's head downward; amongst the natives of southern Alaska symbolized a strange custom. When any one built a house a slave was killed and his blood sprinkled on the post, his body generally being buried beneath it, the bear on the post being the crest of the man who built the house, and the man being the slave who was killed. I have been unable to find that such a thing as killing a slave for
such a purpose was ever done amongst the Haida. In this case I speak knowingly, as I helped to dig up the post, and I found that no slave had ever been buried there. In fact the man who built the house says he killed no slave.

There are two stories told by these Haida people with regard to a man's head being upside down on the post. The first I shall give is the one told by the builder of the house: The bear was the crest of the man Chaouk, by whom the house was built. His intention being not to follow the old usage of his people by having the doorway in the post, he had the man's head put on in order to have no blank space, as well as to exemplify an old story, which runs thus: Long ago, a little boy wandered away and got lost in the bush. A hungry bear found him and ate him up. The second story is founded on a usage common among these people: If a man owed just debts to another, he was politely asked three times to pay it, and if then he refused, no more was said of the debt by the party to whom the money was owing, but he quietly waited until he had money enough to build a house, when, among other carvings, he had the image of the debtor put on in the shape of a man with his head down, and his crest above him, in order that the people might know who it was. A debtor seldom waited until the third time, well knowing the consequences.

The next figure is the lown or spout fish. It was put on to show the crest of Choouto's first wife, who was a daughter of Crosaw, chief of Hieller, on these islands. The Chemouse on each side were put on for ornament more than anything else, although no doubt there was a connection between it and the wife. The two bears' heads above show a double relationship between this chief and the bears, which came about as follows: He inherited his uncle's crest, which was a bear, as well as the bear crest of the village Cathlins Coan (Point of the Waves), in which he was born. Together with these heads is a woman's head and a dogfish. This represents an old legend among these people, the legend of Hathlingzo (Bright Sunshine). She was a woman who, long ago, went to the open country in order to dig roots for food. After she had plenty, she went to the seaside to wash them. While there a dogfish came along and turned her into a sort of mermaid—half woman and half dogfish. This is said to symbolize the storm clouds, which, in that land of mountains, often quickly turn the bright sunshine to a storm. This story may also symbolize the Cathlins Coan hadry or people, when they left their own country and settled at Skidegat. The dogfish being the crest of the town of Illth-cah-gutla, or, as it is generally called nowadays, Skidegat's Town, from the chief, who also takes the name of Skidegat, so by becoming that town's people, they became entitled to the dogfish crest. The two wooden men with the tail of the fish between them, with Taden
Skeelon top, may signify this man and his uncle Clads-an-Coond, and it may not. Probably they meant that he was a chief at two times or places. The three circles, black and white, are three degrees of aristocracy. They also show that he was allowed to have three dances, and to wear circles around his neck while dancing. This carved column is forty-two feet in length and is, like all the others, made of red cedar.

The third post is an Alaskan one from Tongass, on the southern boundary of that country. This one is also about forty-two feet in height. The carvings on it are: 1. The lowest, a bear holding a raven, although it looks more like a fur seal, which I should certainly say it was if the post was a Haida one. 2. Next above is bear, a frog with a bear's tongue in its mouth, and a hat with eight rings. As for the signification of the carvings on this post, I may say that the bear at the bottom was the crest of the people whose house this was. The bear holding the crow or raven, as is shown here, would show that the bear and the raven were foes and that the bear had the best of him, though according to the Haida tribes it would show an old legend about the bear and the fur seals. 3. Next above was the phratry of the man who owned this house. He also was one of the Cauhada gens. 4. Next above is the frog with the bear's tongue in its mouth, which showed the bear and the frog to have been friends. This frog I believe is the bear's wife's crest. The highest figure—the head and hat with eight degrees—must have been the husband, because the hat is on a bear's head. This post is badly finished. A Haidah carver would never put such a post out of his hands, and if he did he would be laughed at by the rest of the people.

The next column, fourth in order, is a Haida post. It is of far better finish, and is worthy of a Haida. This post has for its figures, first and lowest, a scamsun or sparrow-hawk, the doorway to the house being in the belly of the bird. The next is a frog; the next a being with a bear's head and a human body, holding on to the dragon fly; the next a crane; on the top is the Taden Skeel of three men, showing the chief's successors. This one, as well as No. 3, is exhibited by Mr. E. D. Ayer, of Chicago, Ill, to whom, I believe, it belongs. The description given of this post is rather imperfect, and a stranger could glean but little information from it. The large bird on the bottom can hardly be called the sparrow-hawk. It should be called the mosquito-hawk. The Haida legend of its origin is as follows: Long ago the land was mostly covered with water, and when the water left it was very swampy. Then the sun was very hot, far hotter than it is nowadays. This swampy ground bred mosquitoes of an enormous size; they were as large as bats. These bats are well known to most people from their habit of flying about by night. These insects were so large, and their bite so
deadly, that many people died from them. The country was slowly being depopulated from this cause. The people complained until the god Ne-kilst-luss heard their cry, and sent the butterfly to investigate. On its return, it gave a woful account of the people's condition. Hearing this, Ne-kilst-luss sent the mosquito-hawk to live on them and drive them away, which it did. Now that the sun is less hot, and scasums plentiful, the people can live. One legend is that the scasum was an enormous bird, which still lives in the mountains, from which it flies over the sea, in order to destroy the killer-whales, or, as the Haidas call them, the scannah. Its body is the thunder-bird, the clapping of its wings the noise, the lightning a fiery dart sent out of its mouth, in order to kill these whales. The next figure is evidently a frog, showing that the party who had this house was allied to that crest or gens, or, what is not unlike-ly, they might have been connected with Skidegat's family. The next is rather difficult to decipher, owing to the head, which is evidently a bear's, being upside down. It has the tan gue (bear's ears) on it plain enough, showing it was highly connected with the bears. From its mouth to the mouth of the figure above is a band, which is held by the under figure. This shows a connection between the two. In the third post it shows friendship existed between the two figures—that is, the bear and the frog. In this case the animals shown are different. The lower figure I consider to be a bear, and the upper I believe to be either a butterfly or a mosquito, and doubtless symbolizes the old story of the butterfly sent out by the ancient god Ne-kilst-luss. The figure above seems to be intended for the dragon fly, which also is an enemy to these pests; although I consider this portion of the carvings to be neither more nor less than a rendering of the above legend. A number of years ago I saw in the old village Yukh, Queen Charlotte's Islands, a rendering on a very old totem post of the same myth. The figure with the long beak is a crane or heron, and doubtless was the crest of the wife of the man who built this house. The three figures on top belong to the family of Skidegat. The first chief of that name adopted it in order to put on top of his column. It is a mythological tale of the west coast, and is as follows: Long ago the god, Ne-kilst-luss, for a frolic, turned himself into a beautiful woman, and three men fell in love with her and, some say, married her, although this totem post shows it belonged to one of Skidegat family. This ends the totem posts from northern British Co-lumbia.

The next is a house of a different sort and belonged to the Quackuhls of Vancouver Island. Instead of a totem post these people generally paint their crests on the front of their houses. The paintings on this one represent the sun on each side of the doorway, with the thunder bird above the door. This is the style
of this bird, as is shown by these people. This house, the notice on side of the wall says, belonged to the Nu-enshu clan of the Quackuhls, on Vancouver Island, British Columbia. The next carving is a doorway from a house at Billa Coola, in the interior of British Columbia. It is a bear, and was the crest of the people who lived in the house.

4. The study of the ornaments and figures on the mortuary boxes aids us greatly in interpreting the symbols found on the totem posts. These boxes were commemorative, but the figures are largely mythologic. To illustrate: The cedar box (see Fig. 9)

![Fig. 9.—Cedar Box.](image)

used by the Thlinkits as a depository for the ashes of the dead, contains on its front the figure of the bear, with eyes, ears, paws, mouth, breast, all portrayed in an allegorical way. The slate box (see Figs. 10 and 11), an heirloom, contains on the lid two figures or faces. The upper one, with rows of teeth and protruding tongue, is Hoots, the bear. The figures in the upper corners represent the ears, with an eye in each. The lower figure on the lid contains the face and flippers of the sea lion. The head of the sea lion can be seen in the handle on each side of the box. The face in front is that of the bear, having in its mouth the hunter; the paws of the bear are in the lower corners. In the Haida drawings, an eye is placed in the breast, ear, paw, tail and other parts of the body, with the belief that each part has the power of looking out for itself. There are certain conventional signs which indicate to the natives what animals are meant. With the
brown bear, it is the protruding tongue; with the beaver and wolf, the character of the teeth; with the orka, the fin; with the raven, the sharp beak; with the eagle, the curved beak. Certain groupings are generally recognized as portraying certain well-known legends, such as the bear and hunter, the raven and moon. In the Chilkat blankets, the colors are interwoven to form a totemic pattern. These blankets are very common, and have become so conventional in their style that they are recognized. The figure of Hoorts, the bear, is common on them. The same is true of the ceremonial shirts, though sometimes the figure of the wolf is seen upon them, instead of the bear. It will be noticed that all parts of the body of the bear, such as the ears, paws, breast and legs, have eyes looking out. This illustrates the personifying tendency and at the same time shows

the superstition which the people had. They imagined a spirit to be in every part of the body. This spirit was able to rule and direct the part even as the totem spirit did the whole body.

IV. The question of the origin of the ancestor posts here comes up. On this there will undoubtedly be a difference of opinion, for one class will hold that these originated on this continent independently, as the result of the system of development here, while another class will hold that they prove a contact between the races and are the result altogether of a transmitted cultus. Our position, as already indicated, is that the resemblances between the Polynesian and the Haida symbolism is too strong to resist the conviction that much of it was borrowed. While there was an American system which consisted in the widespread totemism or animal worship, yet there was a Polynesian or Asiatic ancestor worship mingled with it, which gave a new tinge to and which ultimately resulted in that very unique system which is now our object of study. We maintain further that there was in Polynesia a very extensive esoteric system, which embodied in itself many of the religious conceptions which prevailed in the far east, and that the very conceptions were by this
means transmitted and adopted by the natives and became embodied in these ancestor posts, the difference between the symbols of the two wide areas being owing to the underlying groundwork, but the resemblances being owing to the transmitted elements. We recognize the resemblances both in the customs and in the symbols, and shall therefore call attention to these and afterward point out the differences.

The resemblances are very numerous. The following have been noticed as common in New Zealand: 1. Cremation of the bodies and the preservation of the ashes. 2. The keeping of the head in a box or carrying it about the person. 3. The cremation of the husband and immolation of the widows and slaves. 4. The burying of the bodies in canoes. 5. Erecting the statues with protruding tongues in the midst of cemeteries. 6. The preservation of garments and making them "taboo." 7. The glorifying the memories of heroes and ancestors by the carved figures. 8. Naming the divinities, and calling them ancestors, and offering sacrifices to them in the cemeteries. We can compare these with Ensign Niblack’s description of the mortuary customs among the Haidas: 1. On the death of a chief the body, after lying in state for a year, is finally burned on a funeral pyre and the ashes and burned bones are deposited in a mortuary box or house. 2. Formerly the head was preserved separately in a box. 3. Certain slaves were selected to be sacrificed at the funeral of their master, and their bodies were cremated with his, that their spirits might accompany his to the next world. 4. In some cases pillars were erected, and the mortuary boxes were placed on them, while at the base of the pillar was the canoe, but in other cases the canoe itself became the burial place. 5. Carved columns and boxes and ornaments on which a protruding tongue connects the various figures are common. 6. The ceremonial apparel of a deceased chief was always placed with his personal property in boxes and preserved for many years. 7. The height and elaborateness of the carved columns were generally signs of the wealth of the individual. 8. The carving on the boxes, sculpturing on
the rocks, and the drawings, paintings and tatooeed patterns were "totemic pictographs" which perpetuated legends concerning the various divinities, which were either animals, birds or creatures of the sea, or in some cases wind spirits and nature powers, each represented by an eye in a wing, or limb, or claw. The symbols, however, illustrate how pregnant with meaning every carving and pictograph was, and how difficult a task it is to trace them out and compare them with those of adjacent regions, and how important a knowledge of the legends is to the proper interpretation of the figures. No idea of the ethnical affinities of the various stocks can be formed without comparative mythologic and ethnologic study. "In the ceremonial institutions, in the elaborate dance paraphernalia, in the carved heraldic columns, in the varied mortuary customs, in all the practices of highly imaginative and inventive tribes of Indians, we have similarities and differences so bewildering, that it is difficult to trace the mutual influence of the different ethnic groups."

Still the commemorative columns of New Zealand and the northwest coast are worthy of study. If they do not prove a contact between the two races, they show at least a transmission of religious conceptions, for there are many resemblances between them. These consist in the position of the hands, the abdominal protuberance, the protruding tongue, the arrangement of faces and figures in stones, and the attitude and location of the images, as well as in the appearance of the phallic symbol. In New Zealand, the abdominal protuberance, the hands usually resting on the abdomen, represents the immortality of the soul and the longevity of the gods. Here, too, the tongue was significant, as it was a symbol of life, the protruding tongue signifying the departed life. It appears that in the act of death, the voice or spirit was drawn out by the god. The word unu means, in the New Zealand language, to pull out. The unas are sacred pieces of carved wood, with which the cemeteries were decorated. The Tiki in New Zealand was a protecting genius, a kind of household god or ancestral spirit.

There were in the Exposition at Chicago two remarkable images which illustrate the distribution of symbols throughout the entire western coast of America and on the various islands of Polynesia. One of these, from the Marquesas Islands, was in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania, in the Liberal Arts building. It represents the god Tiki Akau, and has the same attitude and position of hands that the Tiki from New Zealand have. The peculiarity of the idol is that there are symbols on either side of the wide open mouth like the horse-shoes and the double arches, which are sky symbols with the Zunis and Moquis. The hands also are apparently made to represent the phallic symbols—the four fingers making arches and the middle finger a single line. The other image was to be found in Emmons' col-
lection in the Government building. It was labeled a shaman's guard—a spirit to protect the grave of a shaman. It is a full-length image, and resembles the idol from the Marquesas in the shape of the body and position of the arms and hands, but the expression of the face is more like that of an Indian. The peculiarity of it is that there are on the shoulders and breasts and the hollow of the thigh, carved heads of animals, the two animals' lower heads being near the pelvis, reminding us of the serpent heads which are seen projecting from the thighs of the gold figures of the Chiriquis, depicted by W. H. Holmes. On the northwest coast, the image over the grave of the shaman was supposed to be a spirit which guarded the shaman.*

The phallic symbol is also significant in both regions. Ellis speaks of certain carved figures or batons on which the divinity is represented by the phallic symbol. The same symbol is used on the northwest coast and signifies life as a gift of the divinity. The arrangement of the figures and faces in stories is also significant, for they betoken ancestry and a long line of descent, the number of stories proving the superiority of the family.

Still further details in the symbols of the two regions may also be recognized. To illustrate: the custom of sacrificing a slave at the dedication of a house and planting the totem post over the body was formerly common among the Haidas, and weapons are still preserved which were used for the express purpose of slaying slaves. In New Zealand, Ellis says, some of the buildings for the abode of their Gods were actually laid in human sacrifices, and the central pillar supporting the roof of one of the sacred houses was planted upon the body of a man who had been offered as a victim. Similar resemblances may be recognized between the mythologic creatures of the two regions. There were many such mythologic divinities, some of them creatures of the sea, others of the land, and others of the air, and yet all had nearly the same office—the shark serving the same office which the whale-killer did among the Haidas, a fabulous bird corresponding to the raven, and certain gods or genii serving as protective divinities, as the images protected the graves of the medicine men. The most romantic accounts are given of the god of the sea and his combat with the tempest, while the bird is supposed to dwell by the rock which was the foundation of the earth, and contained within himself the tempest, just as the raven, who was the great creator, was also the thunder-bird of the Haidas. The superior gods and men, the animals, the air, earth and sea were supposed to originate in the procreative power of the supreme god, hence the significance of the phallic symbol.

Illustrations of these points may be found by studying the works of Ellis,† the missionary, and comparing the myths, espec-

*The symbols on the Marquesas idol are given elsewhere.
ially the myths of the deluge, the creation, about the Pleiades, the passage of the sun by a hidden path and many others, with myths which are extant in various parts of North America.

V. The most important feature in the commemorative columns of the northwest coast remains to be considered, namely, the individual totemism which was embodied in them. These columns are called ancestor posts, but they are properly totem posts of individuals rather than of clans. According to Mr. Frazer, there are three kinds of totems: 1. The clan; 2. Sex; 3. Individual. The clan totem is the one which is the most common throughout the hunter tribes of the eastern coasts. The sex totem is more common among the Polynesian tribes, but the individual totem is the system we recognize among the Haidas and the Thlinkeets. In the first system there is no place in a tribe or clan for any person whose kinship is not fixed and only those persons can hold a totemistic relationship who are either born into a clan or adopted into a clan, with the artificial kinship specified. In the last case descent is important, but it is not absolutely essential, for rank and position depend upon one's own property or prowess or personal qualities.

1. Individual totemism cannot be traced from ancestors directly, because it often exists where there is the most unsatisfactory recognition of ancestry, whether it be of paternity or maternity. The confounding of animals with their known ancestors, and reverencing them as they reverence ancestors, was a result of totemism among this people. The belief in a possibility of a human descent from natural objects, such as rocks, animals and trees, exists universally among primitive peoples, but this belief here took the shape of regard for certain creatures of the sea or land or air, and gave rise to a wonderfully varied and grotesque series of myths concerning these animals, which became embodied in the many and elaborate symbols. According to this system the individual became so fully identified with his totem, which was generally one or another of these fabulous animals, that neither his own name or that of his parents could be made known, for it was entirely swallowed up in the name and history of the animal whose totem he bore. As a result, the columns were no longer the records of the clan or the tribe, but they were erected for the exaltation of the individual and of his family while living, or for the glorification of his name after he was dead. This exaltation, however, depended more upon the amount of property which the individual had accumulated than upon personal prowess or upon genealogical descent.

In a strict sense, the village was the tribal unit; but the head of the household in the village which, through inheritance, numbers and influence, predominated over the others, was nominally chief of the village. Besides the principal chief there were others who were the heads of the principal households or clans.
of the village; their rank or claim to distinction and respect was proportioned to the degree of their wealth, age, superiority, the general good fortune and prosperity of the group of persons of which they were the head. The chief was not treated with any marked deference on ordinary occasions, but in ceremonies a degree of state was formally kept up to impress visitors. Often the alliance of the medicine men was gained by purchase, and the chief and shamans combined to hold themselves in the respect and fear of the community. The chiefs generally had a carpenter in their household who was especially expert in building houses, carving wood, stone, horn and bone, slate and metal implements and ornaments, and household utensils; though there were wood carvers whose specialty was to make and paint totemic or mortuary columns. Some of the women were expert basket makers, and weavers of cloaks and mats of cedar bark and wool, makers of dance and ceremonial costumes. Tattooing was a fine art and was common to both sexes. The figures or conventional representations of their totems, pricked in charcoal or black pigment, served to identify the individual with his totem. The ceremonial masks and head-dresses of the chief were made by his carpenter. These masks were painted with the totemic representations of the owners, and were, by their hideousness and grotesqueness, calculated to strike terror into the minds of the spectators, and to give the appearance of some superhuman being to the person who wore them. The completeness of the disguise was an object with the chiefs as well as the medicine men, so they were careful not to show their own faces. This disguise of the person under the semblance of his totem was continued after death, so that the mortuary boxes and the ceremonial blankets in which his ashes were deposited were covered with the totemic figures instead of portraits.

2. A ceremonial ownership came in along with individual totemism. The relief carving on the totemic columns and totem posts was done either by the owner or by persons hired for the purpose. This carving was often arbitrary and fanciful, and yet identified the individual with his totem while he was living and after he was dead, and introduced a sort of ceremonial ownership which was carried out in painting or carving his crest on every article of personal property. The simplest implement or utensil is ornamented with some pictograph relating to the legends of the totem to which he belongs. Tattooed on the body, woven into fabrics, etched on the metal bracelets and ornaments, painted on the house fronts, drawn on the canoe outfits, emblazoned on metal, wood and stone, the totem of the Indian is his earliest and latest care.

The totemic ownership extended to the canoe, the paddles, the houses, the villages, as well as to the utensils and tools. In the case of the canoe the totem was indicated by carving or painting
commemorative columns.

the bow and stern with elaborate totemic patterns. The canoe is to the northwest coast what the camel is to the desert and the horse is to the Arab. It reached its highest development here. Classified according to shapes, sizes and uses, there were four kinds—hunting, family, transporting and those used in time of war. They were all adorned more or less with totemic semblances. The houses in the villages were also totemic in character. Formerly the doorway or entrance was through a hole in the carved column, and the posts within the houses were generally covered with carved figures. The villages are invariably situated along the shore, the houses arranged near a shelving beach in rows, with one or more carved columns in front of each. At the end of the village is the grave-yard, with its variety of sepulchres, and scattered throughout the villages, in front and at the corners of the houses, are the mortuary columns similar to those in the grave-yards. Each village practically constitutes a tribe, but the totemic system often operated to make the alliance between the phratries and totems of different villages stronger than the clannish feeling due to close ethnical affinity of any particular household. Still there were villages which were brought under the control of some one chief and were held under a suzerainty. An individual distinguishes himself and becomes wealthy and a leading man in the village. His totem, which has been an obscure one, rises in importance. Under his successor the totem widens in its number and influence and finally comes to be ranked as a ruler over a territory. There was, in fact, a change from tribal or clan descent to property, and the territory over which the chief held sway was the limits of the totemic rule.
CHAPTER XV.

PERSONAL DIVINITIES AND CULTURE HEROES.

We have now passed over the entire region occupied by the uncivilized tribes and have considered their religions in their order. We have found that various animals, the serpent, the sun and moon, fire and water, idols and human images, mythologic creatures, winged creatures, ancestors, and even the cardinal points were, in a manner, worshiped by them, the cult varying according to the locality. There remains, however, one important work, that is to trace out the particular personal divinities and to identify them by name and locality, and to describe the office and character which they bore in the minds of the people. This is a work which has been done for nearly all civilized races, both in the east and the west, and there are few divinities anywhere, whether in historic or prehistoric times, which are not known by name. A sort of classical mythology could be written about them, but somehow the divinities of the uncivilized races are not so well known and so every dictionary is destitute of their names. The task is a difficult one, and yet there are certain things which aid us greatly in identifying these aboriginal divinities.

1. In the first place, the chief divinities were generally "Culture Heroes," which were regarded as the tribal ancestors and guardian spirits, but also as great creators and transformers, the beginning of nearly all tribal history, going back to the creation.

2. The character of these "Culture Heroes" generally correspond with that of the people who worship them, those of the lower or degraded tribes having a very low character, and those of the more advanced tribes being characterized by exploits which were full of a certain kind of barbaric heroism.

3. The myths which perpetuate the names and exploits of the divinities, especially those of the "Culture Heroes," generally contain an imagery which remarkably corresponds with the scenery of the habitat over which these divinities had their sway. The study of the scenery in particular localities is a great aid in identifying them.

4. There are occasionally certain traditions connected with certain objects in nature, such as rocks and caves, streams and waterfalls, lakes and sandy beaches, trees and mountains, rivers and oceans, which convey the idea that these scenes were continually haunted by the spirits of the divinities. The influence
of these traditions was felt so much that savages rarely passed by the objects without making an offering to the spirit of the divinity.

5. Various relics are found in the different parts of the continent which may be taken as images of the divinities, or as embodying the myths concerning these divinities. These relics are in the shape of carved pipes, engraved shells, masks, rock inscriptions, amulets and charms, idols, as well as the figures on the inscribed rocks and on the effigies of earth, nearly all of which were designed to be symbols of the supernatural powers. The study of the relics, and especially the comparison of their peculiarities with those given in the myths, will enable us not only to identify the divinities, but to carry back the cult to prehistoric times, thus showing that the same "Culture Heroes" were worshiped in the earlier and later times.

With these points in mind, we propose now to go over the territory occupied by the uncivilized tribes, taking the different tribal groups in their order, and making a special study of the divinities which were the most prominent in those groups, and especially those which were regarded as their culture heroes. We shall begin with the rude fishermen of the north and search out their myths, with the idea of ascertaining the chief divinities. We shall then pass to the hunter tribes on the northwest coast, from those to the hunter tribes along the chain of the great lakes, from these to the nomadic tribes of the prairies, and from these to the mountain tribes of the Central and Southern States, leaving out the tribal divinities of the Gulf States as belonging to a solar cult, which is very different from that of the wild tribes. We shall find that in all these northern regions, the chief divinities are presented under animal names and animal shapes, though many of them were nothing more nor less than the personification of the nature powers, but clothed with the imagery which the prevalent totemism or animal worship would suggest. Many of these are "Culture Heroes," which were common to all the tribes, having a similar character everywhere. These bear such resemblance to the "World Makers" of the old world that we are forced to believe that there was a transmission of legends and traditions from other continents which filtered through and effected the conception which the natives had of the creation. Occasionally there is a trace of that grand perception of a supreme being, who was the great first cause of all, exactly as there was among the earliest races of the far east, and in classic lands, and which is an inherent quality in human nature, however much it may be obscured.

I. We begin with the divinities of the Eskimos, taking the entire group which occupied the shores of the Arctic sea, and which stretched from Greenland to Alaska, embracing the central districts. The chief divinity and culture hero was a phan-
tom, in the shape of a huge dog, which was really the spirit of the sea, though the spirit figures in the shape of a woman, called Sedna, who lives in the sea. There are, beside this, other divinities which were personifications of the nature powers. One of these figures is a triad in the shape of three sisters, the three symbolizing the different parts of the thunder storm. One of them strikes the fire and makes the lightning (*Ingulitung*), another rubs the skins and makes the thunder (*Udlugitung*), the third makes the rain and is a rain god. They live in a house made of whale ribs. Their faces are entirely black, reminding us of the thunder clouds, but they wear clothes which symbolize the rain clouds. There were supernatural beings among the Eskimos who were owners of the stars and constellations and revolve with the stars. There are also other spirits which haunt the rocks, but which are in the shape of bears, birds and other animals. They are called tornaits.

The tornait of the stones live in the large boulders, which are supposed to be hollow and form a house, the entrance of which is only visible to the Angakoq or Shaman. The bear is the most powerful among the spirits. The spirits of the dead are also very active. They knock wildly at the huts which they cannot enter. There are also spirits in the air. When the storms rage and the sea breaks from its icy fetters, and the ice floes break with loud clashes, the Eskimo believes he hears the voices of these spirits. Sedna, the great divinity, lives in the sea, and is the divinity of the sea. She is sometimes controlled or summoned by the Shaman or Angakoq. She comes up through the hard rocks, and the wizard hears her heavy breathing. She is harpooned and sinks away in angry haste.

The deluge myth prevails among the Eskimos, but it may have come from the missionaries. Still there is one feature of the myth which is very remarkable. The story is, that the waters rose to the top of the mountains, but after they retired they left the mountains covered with a cap of ice. Some think that this is a tradition of the glacial period, others that it is only one method of accounting for the glaciers which still exist in Alaska and elsewhere. There is also a myth concerning the man...
IDOLS AT COPAN.

ALTAR AT COPAN.
in the moon. The same tradition of the “man in the moon” is found among the Haidas. The story, according to Judge Swan, is as follows: The moon, koong, discovered the man, Eethlinga, about to dip his bucket in a brook for water. It sent down its rays, or arms, and caught the man, and took him, with his bucket, up to itself, where he has since lived, and can be seen every full moon, when the weather is clear. The man is a friend of T'kul, the spirit of the winds, and at the proper signal empties his bucket, causing it to rain upon the earth.*

The Eskimos have perpetuated the name and memory of their chief divinities by identifying them with the objects of nature and making the very rocks and streams and heavenly bodies to be their abodes. There is one remarkable thing left out from their mythology, namely, the northern lights. There may be, indeed, myths in reference to these, but they are not on record. There is a myth concerning the northern lights among the Chippewas. The story is that during one severe winter famine and distress came upon the people. An old chief, the oldest man in the nation, was informed in a dream that the anger of the great spirit could be appeased by human sacrifice. Lots were cast and three braves were selected for sacrifice. The spot selected was the summit of a neighboring hill covered with woods. The three were fastened to sticks and burned alive, by the magicians, in silence, unattended by spectators. The weather moderated and afterward there was an abundance of game—buffalo, bear and deer—in every wigwam. A feast of thanksgivings was offered. During this ceremony the northern sky was illuminated by brilliant lights. Among the lights three huge figures of a crimson hue were seen constantly dancing. These the magicians proclaimed to be the ghosts of the three warriors who had been offered in sacrifice.

II. We turn next to the divinities of the Haidas and Thlinkits. The chief divinity and culture hero of this region is the raven. This may be, perhaps, considered as a spirit of the forest, and at the same time a personification of the nature powers. The raven was the creator and ancestor of all the tribes. There were, however, other divinities which were the spirits of the sea. Among these, the whale killer, a species of porpoise, was the chief. There is a figure carved on the rocks near Fort Wrangel, Alaska, which represents the orka or whale killer. See Fig. 1. Many other animals and birds, which were common on the northwest coast and nowhere else, were regarded as supernatural beings.

The Smithsonian has furnished various cuts which represent human faces and conventional signs, which were carved upon the rocks. These show that the same superstition which pre-

*See Smithsonian Report for 1888, p. 323.
vailed among the Eskimos prevailed also among the Haidas, that the rocks were haunted by spirits. The same superstition also seems to have prevailed among the uncivilized tribes elsewhere. This is illustrated by the mammiform images from Porto Rico, which represent both the shape of the island and the guardian divinity of the island.*

There is an image found inscribed on the rocks in the Easter Islands which represents a mythical creature, half human and half animal, with bowed back and claw-like arms. According to the natives this was intended to represent the god Meke-Meke, the great spirit of the sea. Mr. William J. Thomson says the figure bears a striking resemblance to the decoration on a piece of pottery which he once dug up in Peru while making excavations in the graves of the Incas. See Fig. 2. This animal might be taken for a monkey.

Mr. James Terry and others have claimed that the monkey may be seen carved upon the totem posts of the Haidas. No such animal figure, however, has been found on the northwest coast. The figure which he has taken to be the monkey is nothing but the bear with the human face and form.

There are many myths which are descriptive of these ancient creatures. These myths are often very beautiful, for they are full of word pictures which bring the scenery before us, but at the same time are full of fabulous adventures, and show the strange imaginings of the natives in which the sea, land, and the creatures of the earth and water and sky were all mingled together. Images of these divinities were frequently embodied in the sculptured figures, were woven into garments, or were tattooed upon the bodies of the natives. The myths and symbols served to perpetuate their memory and make them very sacred in the minds of the people. At times the individuals would tattoo the figure of different animals upon their persons—upon their arms, breast, and legs, conveying the idea that each part of the body was controlled by a different divinity. There are figures in the reports of the Ethnological Bureau which represent this. In one a man has a fish tattooed on his arm, a cod split open on his breast, on each thigh the octopus, below each knee the frog. The back of the same man has the wolf split in half and doubled. A woman has on her breast the head and fore paws of a beaver, on each shoulder the head of an eagle, or thunder bird, on each arm the halibut, on the right leg the skulpin, on the left the frog.†

The Haidas have many myths about the raven, the whale, the wolf, bear, salmon, and whale-killer, all of which were totems; stories of their adventures as human beings, which are exceedingly novel and interesting. Occasionally there is a trace of sun

*See chapter on Ethnographic Religions. See Report of Romers Collection of Relics from Porto Rico. †See Annual Report for 1892, p. 89.
worship, for the sun and moon are personified here, as among
other races, but it is a sun worship which is mingled with animal
worship. One tradition is that the sun descended from heaven,
in the shape of a bird, and was transformed to a man. He
built a house, and on his house front, on either side of the door,
a sun was painted. The uprights represented men carrying suns.
These were the slaves of Sentitae, the sun. The crossbars con-
necting the uprights were also men, but the beams were sea lions.
Thus we see all the kingdoms were mingled in their mythol-
ogies, the animal, the astronomical, and the human, to represent

![Image on a Rock, Easter Islands.](image)

the divinities which ruled the people. There is one heraldic
column, or gens tree, on which at the top there is a slave extend-
ing his hand as though he were talking. His name signifies "he
who gives presents to strangers." Above the man is a mask
surrounded by wooden rays, which represent the rays of the sun.
There are also masks which the natives use in their dances,
which have the beak of a bird, and are surrounded by a circle
which represents the sun, but have a human eye. The masks
worn in feasts often represent birds, animals, and human faces.
These masks embody legends which are preserved about their
divinities, which were birds, animals, human beings and ancestral
spirits. The myths are also suggestive. These are full of
descriptions of the gods of the sea and land and sky, though
they bear the human semblance. One myth represents a man
with long hair, who is the spirit of the sea. The myth is
embodied in a column. In this, the man with a split skull
stands on his head. Above him is another man seated. Above
this man is a wolf, and above that a beaver. The uppermost figure is a halibut. Here, then, we have again creatures of the sea, wild beasts of the forest, and human figures, all mingled together in myths and symbols, and covered with the air of the supernatural. Some of these myths are very suggestive, for they remind us of legends which were common among the Greeks, as well as of the traditions which are contained in the Scriptures. In one carved column, one figure represents Yetl with the new moon in its bill, and a dish of fresh water in its claws. The story is that he stole the stars from the boxes in which they were imprisoned by the lord of the tides. When the sun shone forth for the first time, all the people were frightened and ran in all directions—some of them into the mountains, some into the woods and some into the water. This was connected with the discovery of fire, thus repeating the legend concerning Prometheus, who discovered fire and let out the spirits from the box. There is also another story of the sun that broke away and burned its path in the sky, reminding us of Phoebus and his chariot.

How such myths came to be prevalent here is the mystery. The same is true also of other myths, as for instance, the one which reminds us of the story of Jonah in the whale's belly. The myth is that the raven went into the whale's belly, which frantic with pain, rushed ashore, while the invisible Hooyeh (raven) walked quietly out and was ready for another adventure. There is a variation of the same story, in which the whale killer is represented as in the whale's belly. This whale killer was believed to be a demon called Skana. He could change himself into any shape. The story is that the whale killer was kept alongside of a canoe. The young men amused themselves by throwing stones at him and broke his fin. Upon this the whale killer changed himself into a canoe, partly broken, with a man by the side of it, who exclaimed, "You have broken it." Next the canoe is seen going over the first breaker, with the man sitting in the stern. When the canoe came to the second breaker, it went under and came up outside of the breakers a whale killer and not a canoe, and the man or demon in the belly of the whale killer. This is a common anecdote with all the tribes of the northwest coast, and is of ancient origin, antedating the coming of the white man. See Plate.*

There is another drawing among the Haidas, which symbolizes the winds and clouds; the center figure is T'kul, the wind spirit; on the right and left are its feet, which symbolize the long

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*In the plate, Fig. 1 represents the legend of the raven and the fisherman. According to the story, Skana put on a magic hook to his line and caught the raven. He pulled the raven's beak entirely off, and the raven changed to a man. Fig. 2 represents the moon, who drew the man up with his bucket of water. Fig. 3 represents the raven in the belly of the whale. Fig. 4 represents the raven who has the power of changing himself into any shape. Fig. 5 represents the wind spirit. The Chilkat blanket and ceremonial shirt show the totemic legend of the owner and represents Hoortz, the bear. The legs and feet are drawn up at the side. The face is in the middle, reminding us of the figure on the "Gest" stone, which has a human face at the top, the legs, arms, hands and feet are bent up at the sides. This is a human-tree image, instead of a human animal.
streaming clouds, and on each side above are the wings, which symbolize the different winds, each designated by an eye and separated by patches of cirrus clouds. When T'knl wants a certain wind to blow he gives the word and the other winds retire. The change in the wind is usually followed by rain, which symbolizes the tears which stream from the eyes of T'kul. But we need not dwell longer upon these myths. It is plain that the nature powers were personified, and that the names of the divinities were identical with the various animals and creatures which abound here.

III. The divinities of the Algonkins are next to be considered. The chief divinity and "Culture Hero" of this wide-spread stock seems to have been the personification of the dawn, under the figure of the rabbit. It reminds us very much of the divinities of the far east, which figured under the shape of a hare. The religious conceptions of the Algonkins were very striking, for they represent this dawn god and culture hero to be the great creator and ancestor who survived the flood. The divinity is draped in the imagery which is taken from the scenery amid which the Algonkins lived. It is very easy to identify him as the divinity of the Algonkins on this account. Still we must remember that there were different divinities among the Algonkins and that they varied according to the locality over which they had sway. This shows how strongly this people, which belonged to the same stock, were influenced by their surroundings.* They were a wide-spread people, whose habitat stretched from Hudson's Bay to the north of the Potomac, and from the banks of Lake Superior to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. They were a wild hunter race, and their divinities were such as hunters would be likely to worship. There were differences in their gods, but they were differences which came from their surroundings rather than from inheritance. We shall make subdivisions of their territory, and study the correspondence between the imagery which they have used and the scenery of the specific region, for this is very striking.

1. We begin with the gods of the Abenakis. These generally bore the shape of animals, but mainly animals which were known to the Abenakis—wolf, fox, whale. Still there was a personality about their animal gods which made them seem to be almost human, for the lines between the animal and the human were entirely obliterated and all were blended into a combined picture, in which the scenery served as a background. They had their sway in the eastern provinces, and were very unlike the divini-

*Dr. Boas says: The comparisons which we have made show that each group of legends has its peculiar province, and covers a certain portion of our continent. We found a number common to the North Pacific and Arctic coasts. Another series we found common to the territory between the North Atlantic and the Middle Pacific coasts. The Kiowa tale and the northeastern tale indicate a third group, which seems to extend along the Rocky mountains.—Folklore Journal, January-March, 1891, p. 10.
ties which ruled the region along the great lakes and which were revered by the western tribes, such as the Mississaugas, Menominees and Ojibways. Various reasons have been given for this dissimilarity in the gods of the Algonkins, some writers ascribing it to the influence of the scenery and surroundings, but others recognizing in it the effect of contact with other countries. Mr. Charles Leland says that the myths which are still afloat among the natives of the eastern tribes along the coast of Maine have great resemblance to the Scandinavian myths, and makes out that the gods which ruled here were exact counterparts of the Scandinavian gods. He also suggests that these myths were introduced by the Norsemen, during their various voyages, long before the times of Columbus, and that they were adopted by the natives with which they came in contact. This, however, does not account for the strange character of the myths of the western tribes, for if the eastern myths contain fragments of the ancient Sagas, the western myths contain the fragments of the still more ancient Scripture story, the location of these being still farther in the interior and more remote from any historic country.

There is something very mysterious about this transmission of myths? Why are there so many more resemblances to the Scripture narrative in the myths of the Algonkins than in those of any other tribe? Shall we admit that there were strange visitors among the natives of the region, concerning whom there is no record at present, and that these visits, whether of pagan Norsemen or Icelandic Christians, had the effect to introduce among the natives the stories which abounded both in the “Eddas” and in the sacred Scriptures? We do not claim for any American race the marvelous feat of remembering Scripture traditions throughout all their history, for we ascribe the preservation of these traditions in Europe to a written literature. Whatever portion of the tradition is found among the Algonkin tribes must have come from a filtering process, rather than from the embalmment of tradition. May it not be that there were influences which crept down from the early colonies in Iceland and transmitted both pagan and Christian legends, and that the Algonkins of the east and of the west appropriated them, but clothed them in imagery drawn from the different localities?

Carlisle makes the Scandinavian myths a development of paganism. “There was a natural religion which brought a recognition of the forces of nature as godlike and personal agencies as gods and demons not inconceivable to us.” “The infant thought of man, opening itself with awe and wonder on this ever stupendous universe, might bring out something very genuine.” “The work of nature, for every man is the fantasy of himself, the image of his own dream.” But how these facts of Scripture history could be suggested by the works of nature is difficult to understand. “These do not come from the unnamable subtleties
of spiritual law, to which many pagan fables owe their shape." The Abenakis are supposed to have held the great eastern divinity—the sun—as their "Culture Hero," while the western tribes situated on the great lakes are supposed to have had the rabbit and the muskrat and loon as their chief divinities, because these animals were better adapted to the water and to the scenery of the interior.

The myths which have been gathered by certain writers—Rev. S. T. Rand, Mrs. W. Brown and others—illustrate this. They are legends which are affixed to certain spots, which serve to make them sacred to the minds of the natives. The objects of nature thus became myth-bearers, and through the influence of these traditions are still reminders of the strange divinities which ruled here. There are not many divinities, and such as are spoken of, were personifications of the different animals which abounded, such as the whale, the wolf, the wolverine and the moose, the wolverine being the divinity which corresponded to the Scandinavian Loki and was called "Loks." The story of the creation, or rather the deluge and re-creation of the earth, is not conspicuous among the Abenaki traditions. In place of this there is a series of transformations and local adventures in the forests and in the sea, and which makes the whole scenery alive with supernatural beings, very much as the scenery in the north is filled with the spirits of the divinities which the Eskimo worshiped and as the Scandinavian scenery was alive with the spirits of the pagan divinities.

2. We turn now to the divinities of the western tribes, including those of the Delawares, Ojibways, Blackfeet, Ottawas and Crees. Here we find animal divinities again, but the chief of the divinities is a sort of culture hero and creator. He presides over the territory of each tribe and is identified by certain objects in that territory. His name varies according to the tribe in which he rules, though there is a similarity between the names. He is called by the Delawares Manibozho and is identical with the hare, the giant rabbit.* Among the Menominees he was called the Manibush. He was born from a virgin, the daughter of Nokomis. He was a little white rabbit with quivering ears. He was the means of destroying the evil manitou, or the great fish. He transformed himself into a pine tree, but he at last went away and dwelt in a wigwam which is preserved in a large rock near Mackinaw.† This rock is noted for the tradition which still

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† In the Ottawa legend, Nenaw-bo-zho is swallowed by a great fish that dwelt in a certain lake. He is identified by certain objects of nature, as follows: On a smooth rock on the Ottawa river, there are prints of human footsteps, and a round hole about the shape and size of a kettle. These are believed to be the tracks of Nenaw-bo-zho, and the kettle which he had dropped. The great rocks of flint on the east shore of Grand Traverse bay are the bones of the stone monster, his brother, whom Nenaw-bo-zho slew. A depression in a rock near Thunder Bay Point is Nenaw-bo-zho's grave, and a mountain, some ten
NA TIVE AMERICAN SYMBOLISM.

lingers about it. It is in the shape of a wigwam and is still sacred to the hare. The island itself is in the shape of a turtle and is supposed to be possessed by the turtle divinity.*

Dr. Brinton says the names of the four brothers were, Wabun, the east; Kabun, the west; Kabibonokka, the north, and Shawano, the south. Wabun was the chief and leader. The tribes on the Potomac in 1610, said, "We have five gods, the chief is the mighty hare, the other four are the four winds; the rays of light are his servants; the morning star, which heralds the dawn, was sacred to him; seated at the east, at the place where the earth was cut off, in his medicine lodge, he sends forth his messengers, called Gijigonai, to make the day."

Among the Winnebagos the earth-maker was called Maunna, the wolf. When the world was created he was sitting on a piece of ground facing the east, because the east was the source of light. At the creation there were four brothers. The green wolf, black wolf, white wolf and grey wolf. It is very likely that some of the wolf effigies which prevail in Wisconsin were identified with the name and memory of this divinity.

The most remarkable account of the culture hero of the Algonkins is the one which was preserved by the Delawares in the book which was called the "Walum-Olum." According to this account the rabbit was the chief divinity as well as creator. The account is given elsewhere. We only call attention to it here to show the similarity of the conception among the Algonkins everywhere.

We take it for granted that this tradition of the flood could not have come from a mere local freshet, for there is no tribe that would date the beginning of its history and the process of creation with a local freshet. We maintain that the resemblance between the flood myth of the Iroquois and the Algonkins, and the deluge myth of the eastern nations, is too great for any one to ascribe it to a local freshet. Moreover, the cosmogony of the two continents are very similar. We shall dwell, therefore, upon this point, because it is important. We shall find that there are certain points in these cosmogonies which are very prominent. These are as follows:

(1.) This divinity existed before the flood and was a great manitou and creator.† This is not saying that there was only one being who was a creator and ruler, for there were, according to the American mythology, as many creators as there were tribes, each tribe claiming that the great manitou was their special

miles long, which has the appearance of a man lying on his back, is his image. The pieces of native copper found along the shores of Lake Superior, he took from his treasure house inside the earth, where he sometimes lived. He studied how the spider weaves her web to catch flies, and invented the nets for catching fish. (See American Hero Myths.)

*Lewis Cass and Schoolcraft say that offerings of tobacco were made to the turtle.
†Rev. A. L. Riggs, C. L. Pond, M. Eells and others maintain that the Indians were polytheists, that the Great Spirit was used as an accommodation borrowed from the white man.
SUGAR LOAF ROCK ON MACKINAC ISLAND.
ancestor and ruler. This was probably the meaning of the Great Spirit when used among them. The term was used out of accommodation to the white man. The Great Spirit had no semblance, and was a very indefinite being to the savage. The term might apply to the great Manitou or creator, though to the particular tribe he might be the great rabbit or hare or any other animal which existed before the creation. It might be the personification of the sun, and yet was not known or worshiped as such.

(2.) The manner in which he came into existence is to be noticed. Generally it was by an untimely birth, through the side or arm-pit of his mother, which caused her death. In most of the legends there were two brothers, one good and the other evil,* who struggled for the mastery, like Esau and Jacob, before they were born. In this respect the myth reminds us of the Scandinavian myth and also one contained in the ancient Vedas of the Hindoos. This conception of a hero, born of a virgin, who contended with his brother who had caused the death of his mother, and who afterward became the creator and transformer as well as benefactor, is very common throughout the globe.† It is accounted for by many as the result of personification, the light being the great benefactor, but the darkness being the great enemy of mankind. This conception is at the basis of the mythology of the east and was common in Egypt, Assyria and India. According to most writers, it was transferred to Scandinavia, and there formed the basis of the strange mythology which has been preserved in the ancient sagas. It may also have traveled further west and become the basis of the myths concerning the culture heroes and the great divinities here.

If the eternal struggle of Ormuzd and Ahrimam, light and darkness is so prominent in the Zend-Avesta of the Persians, and was also embodied in the story of Thor and Midgard in Scandinavia, and of St. George and the Dragon in Great Britain, we see no reason why it may not have been transferred to Iceland and been embodied here in the story of Glooscap and Lox, or Manibozho and his brother. Certainly when one comes to the part of the story which refers to the struggling of the two brothers in the mother's womb, and the issue of one of the brothers from the mother's arm-pit, thus causing the mother's

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*Dr. D. G. Brinton maintains that this distinction between good and evil spirits was only symbolic of light and darkness and had no reference to moral qualities. There is a plausibility in this view, yet the distinction between a benefactor and a mischief-maker is plainly illustrated by the character of the two brothers. Glooscap, who is called a cheat and a liar, is, nevertheless, a benefactor, while Loks, who is his enemy, resembles the Scandinavian Loki, a mischief-maker. The animals are somewhat significant. Glooscap is the rabbit, or hare, and Loks is the wolverine, a stealthy animal.

†The chief Cusic (1875) called it the good mind and the bad mind, but Father Brebeuf, missionary in 1630, described it as the struggle of Joskha (the white one) with his brother Tawinkara (the dark one). Thus two centuries have given the tale a different or a modern bearing, through the Christian influence. E. G. Squier says that Manibozho is always placed in antagonism to a great serpent, a spirit of evil, but Father Lejeune, in 1634, makes no mention of a serpent. It is not certain that the serpent was the type of evil among the natives, but was rather the embodiment of the nature powers, the lightning.
death, it seems as if it must have been borrowed, and could not
have been an original invention among the American savages.

This struggle between the two brothers is very wide-spread in
America. The Mixtecs hold that two brothers dwelt in the garden.
One was the wind of nine spirits and the other the wind of nine
caverns. The first was an eagle, which flew over the waters of
the enchanted garden. The second was a serpent with wings,
which flew with such velocity that he pierced rocks and walls.
Among the Dacotahs, the combat is waged between Unk-ta-he,
the god of waters, and Wauhkeon, the thunder bird.

Schoolcraft has recorded a myth in which four sons were
born at a birth, which caused the death of the mother. The
first was the friend of the human race, Manibozho. The second
presides over the land of souls, Chipiopos. The third is the
rabbit, Wabosso, who rules the north. The fourth was the flint
man which supplies fire to men from the stones which are scat-
tered over the earth, Chakekenapok. Manibozho killed the flint
god, tore out his bowels and changed them to trailing vines.
Then he himself gave them lances, arrows and implements and
taught them how to make axes, snares and traps. He placed
four good spirits at the four cardinal points, whither the calumet
is turned, in smoking at the sacred feasts. The spirit of the
north gives snow and ice, so that men may pursue game. The
spirit of the south gives melons, maize and tobacco. The spirit
of the west gives rain, and the spirit of the east gives light.
The voice of the spirits is thunder.

(3.) The third fact, which is common in all the myths, is that
there was a great flood which came and destroyed the whole
race that covered the earth. The cause of this flood is not
always the same. By some it is said to have originated in the
sins of the people, and others, in the jealousies of the gods.

Among the Ottawas the god of the deep was jealous of the wolf.
He killed the wolf and made a great feast, to which sea serpents
and water tigers were invited. During this feast Manibozho, the
great divinity, changed himself to a black stump. The sea
serpent coiled himself around the stump. Manibozho then fled,
pursued by the monsters. The waters rose mountain high, but
Manibozho commanded a great canoe to be formed, in which he
saved himself.

Among the Menominees, there were three brothers, who de-
stroyed a great fish, but the evil Manitou from under the earth
was angry at this and seized one of the brothers, Manibozho, as he
tried to cross the lake. The waters poured out of the earth and
pursued him, but the badger hid him in his burrow, and by throw-
ing back the earth kept out the waters. Manibozho then took refuge
on the highest mountain and climbed to the top of a pine tree. The
waters continued to rise, but Manibozho caused the tree four times
to grow, so as to lift him above the waters. He then saw the
animals struggling in the water. He commanded first the otter, then the beaver, the mink, and the muskrat to dive for the mud.

Among the Crees, the Manibozho makes a monster fish, which strikes the water with his tail and causes the inundation until the tops of the highest mountains are covered and no land is seen. Then Manibozho makes a raft and sends down the diver duck, and then the muskrat. Imitating the mode in which the muskrats build their houses, he formed a new earth, placing the disk of earth on the water, which grew to great size.

Among the Missasagas, the story is that Manibozho hunted the great beaver around Lake Superior, and broke open the great beaver dam at the foot of the lake, exactly as Glooscap broke open the beaver dam on the coast of Maine.*

Among the Canadian Indians, the story is that two brothers were hunters. They chased the deer out upon the ice, the sea lions broke the ice, and the brother was slain. His body was hung across the doorway of the sea lions' house. Manibozho took down the body, but the sea lions chased him to the edge of the lake. They made the waters to rise, and accompanied by all the birds and beasts, they chased him far inland. He climbed a very high mountain, closely followed by the waters. He then built a raft, took on it his brother and all the animals and floated away. Another story is, that Manibozho was walking along the sides of an enchanted lake. The waters began to boil, and from them all the beasts came forth, among them the white lion and the yellow lion. Manibozho changes himself to a stump. The bear hugs it and tears it with tooth and claw. The great serpent coils himself around it and tries to crush the stump.

Thus the story of the deluge varies with the different tribes, for each tribe makes the river or lake on which they dwelt the scene where the tragedy was enacted. Generally the myth bearers are certain inscribed rocks or caves, in which the serpent

*Faber, in his History of Idolatry, relates a story of the drawing out of a divinity from the lakes and ponds of Great Britain.
is a conspicuous figure; sometimes an island, or a headland, or a waterfall will be pointed out as the place where the scene occurred.

What is most remarkable about this myth is that it seems to have prevailed among the Mound-builders. At least a pipe was found, by Squier and Davis, in a mound in Ohio, with a snake wrapped around the bowl, in a manner to suggest the story of the serpent and the stump. See Fig. 3. There is also a pipe in the Canadian Institute at Toronto that embodies this same myth. At first sight it may seem as if it was a representative of the tree and the serpent, but in reality it embodies the myth of the pine tree, or pine stump, with its branches taken off. See Figs. 4 and 5. The pipe was found in a mound in Kentucky, opposite the great fort at Lawrenceburg, Ind. It shows the branches of a tree in relief on the side of the face; also the coils of the serpent twisted tight about the throat. The face is very ghoulish and might well be taken as the portrait of Manibozho. The eyes are expressive, as they are deep set, and yet the eye balls project and depict agony, as if the person was being strangled.*

(4.) The re-creating of the earth was the chief work of the divinity. The manner in which this was done varies according to the different tribes. The Canadian Indians say that the great hare or the dawn god, which was virtually the same as Manibozho, floated on a raft of wood, on which were animals of all kinds. Seeing only swans and waterfowl, he persuaded the beaver, the otter and the muskrat to dive. He took up the grain of sand and made a mountain of it. Manibozho started to go

*Other pipes found in the mounds illustrate myths still prevalent. A pipe found in Ohio represents an animal like a bear, with a woman’s face, but with a serpent wound around the neck, the head and tail on the breast of the woman. A pipe in the Illinois collection at Chicago represents a frog carrying a chunky stone or mace in its claw. A tassel falls from the stone across the claw of the frog. Another pipe represents a man on his knees holding a rabbit in his hands, the rabbit in an attitude as if ready to jump. There are also human effigies which remind us of the myths of the culture heroes.
around the mountain, but it increased in size and became the great earth. When the Indians hear noises in the mountains they know that the great hare is continuing his work. The story is that he is still traveling about the mountain and the earth is still growing. Schoolcraft says there is scarcely a prominent lake, mountain, precipice or stream in the northern part of America which is not hallowed in Indian story by the fabled deeds of this great divinity.*

The Pottowattamies say there were two great spirits, Kitche-maneto and Matchemaneto. The former was the creator of the world. He piled up the mountains and filled the valleys with streams. The first creature made was a wolf. He threw it into a lake and it was drowned. A storm arose and washed the bones of the animal ashore. They were turned into a woman, who bore the likeness of the Pottowattamies.† He made five other beings for her companions, smoking weed (Usame), the pumpkin (Wapaho), the melon (Eshkosimin), the bean (Kokees), the yellow maize (Montamin).‡

As to the process of world creation, we have a remarkable analogy between the American myth and the story given by Diodorus Siculus as the common tradition among the Egyptians. After the flood there was chaos, and the mud (maut) was the prevailing element. The mud was changed to human beings. Some of them came out fully formed and were completely human; others were partly animal and partly human; others still stuck in the mud, the upper part perfect, but the lower part unfinished.§

(5.) The chief point which we make in connection with the myths of the creation is that the imagery is drawn entirely from the local scenery, objects which were familiar to the aborigines. This varies according to the tribe which repeats the myth, that of the Ojibwas having been taken from the region of the great lakes and the falls of St. Marie, but that of the Abenakis containing pictures of the rocks and forests of the coast of Maine; while with the Dakotas the imagery is taken from the pipe-stone quarry, and that of the Haidas from the scenes of the northwest coast, and that of the Cliff-dwellers from the region of the great plateaux.

The whale figures conspicuously in the Abenaki myths and those of the northwest coast, but never appears in the myths of the interior. There is one Algonkin myth, however, which seems to refer to the whale. The story is that a great fish—the king of fishes—swallowed Manibozho and his canoe. When he

*See Hiawatha Legends, p. 49.
†See Lanman's "Records of a Tourist."
‡The Caddoeshave also a story of a flood. They lived on an eminence on the Red River of the South. After all the world had been destroyed by the flood, the Great Spirit placed one family of Caddo on the eminence, and from them sprung all the Indians.
§There is a tradition among the Pawnees that a race of giants was first created, but they became mired in the soft mud before the waters of the flood were fully drawn off, and the bones of the mastodon occasionally found are the remains of this race.
found that he was in the fish's belly, he sought to escape. He looked in his canoe and saw his war-club, with which he struck the heart of the fish. He then felt a sudden motion, as if the fish was moving with velocity. The fish said, "I am sick at the stomach." Manibozho then drew his canoe and placed it across the fish's throat, to keep from being vomited into the deep. He then renewed his attack upon the fish's heart, and succeeded by repeated blows in killing it. He then heard birds scratching on the body as it floated on the shore. All at once rays of light broke in. The birds, which were sea-gulls, enlarged the orifice and in a short time liberated him. The spot where the fish happened to be driven ashore was near his lodge. This story is given by Schoolcraft, but he does not tell what tribe it came from. The event is evidently located on the sea rather than on the lakes. It resembles the one among the Haidas already referred to, and reminds us of the story of Jonah in the whale's belly. There is another myth of Manibozho acting as a fisherman. His hook is caught by the great serpent. It reminds us of the Scandinavian story of Thor and the Midgard serpent.*

IV. We next come to the "Culture Heroes" of the Iroquois. This remarkable people had many divinities, but the chief of them was called Ioskeha, though he resembled Manibozho, the Algonkin divinity enough to be taken as the same. Hiawatha, the founder of the Iroquois confederacy, has also been deified and worshiped as a culture hero. There is no doubt that the divinity Ioskeha was a personification of a nature power, as the story of his birth and life and many adventures would indicate. His brother was the troublesome Tawiskara, whose obstinacy caused the mother's death. His mission was to water the earth. He called forth the springs and brooks, the lakes and the broad rivers, but his brother created an immense fog, which swallowed all the water and left the earth as dry as it was before. He pierced this fog and let the water out, and so fertilized the land. He opened a cave in the earth and allowed to come forth all the varieties of animals with which the woods and prairies are peopled.† He contended with Tawiskara, his brother, and dealt him a blow in the side. The blood flowed from the wound in streams. The unlucky combatant fled toward the west, and as he ran drops of blood fell on the earth and turned to flint stones. The home of Ioskeha is in the far east. There was his cabin, and there he dwelt with his grandmother, the wise Attensic. This Attensic was a supernatural being who dwelt above the earth when it was covered with water, and when the aquatic animals and monsters of the deep were all the living creatures. She threw herself through a rift in the sky and fell toward the

*See Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 445.
†This story of letting the animals out from a cave reminds one of the Haida story of the stars stolen from the box, the Cherokee story of the boys who opened the box and let out the flies, and of the Greek story of Prometheus, who let the fates out of the box.
Here a turtle, which dwelt in the primeval waters, offered her his broad back as a resting place. Upon this mossbacked turtle she sat, while a frog, or beaver, or some other animal, brought her mud, from which she, with magic power, formed dry land. It was the daughter of this Attensic who gave birth to the two sons. The birth cost the mother her life. Her body was buried, and from it sprang the various vegetable productions which the new earth required to fit it for the habitation of man. From her head grew the pumpkin vine, from her breast the maize, from her limbs the bean and other useful esculents.

There are many myths and traditions which perpetuate the various exploits of this culture hero. The state of New York abounds with localities where his spirit was supposed to have dwelt. The point, however, which most interests us in this connection is the extent with which the tradition of the flood was associated with the culture hero of this entire region.*

Enough has been said to show that the chief divinity of the Algonkins and Iroquois was very similar. About the only difference is that the imagery of the Iroquois divinity partook of the scenery of the state of New York, while that of the Algonkins partook of the different regions in which the several tribes formerly dwelt. The same may be said of one of the divinities of the Dakotas. This divinity, called Ictcinke, is represented as a trickster, resembling Glooscap. He answers to the Iowa Ictcinke, the son of the sun-god, and to the Santee Unktomi (spider). Ictcinke, the deceiver, taught the Indians their war customs, but he was also a creator. He created fruits and vegetables out of parts of himself, as the Iroquois Attensic did out of herself.

V. The chief divinities of the Dacotahs are to be identified by the objects of nature in their territory. Catlin gives the myths of the Mandans, a branch of the Dacotahs. The one in reference to the pipe-stone quarry is very interesting. The great spirit at an ancient period called the Indian nations together here. Standing on the precipice of the red pipe-stone rock, he broke from its wall a piece and made a huge pipe, which he smoked to the north, south, east and west. He told them that this red stone was their flesh; that they must use it for their pipes of peace; it belonged to all. At the last whiff of his pipe his head went into a cloud, but the surface of the rock was melted and glazed. Near this spot, on a high rock, was the thunderer's nest. Here a bird sits upon her eggs during fair weather. At the approach of a storm the skies are rent with bolts of thunder, which is occasioned by the hatching of her brood. Her mate is a serpent, whose fiery tongue destroys the

*The great Algonkin deluge story appears to have its analogies in the legends of the Athabascans, the Sioux, the Iroquois, the Cherokees, besides various tribes of British Columbia and Canada, the Pueblos, the Navajos and the southern tribes.
young as soon as they are hatched, and the fiery bolt darts through the sky. Not far away, in the solid rock, are the footsteps of the thunder bird, the track where he formerly stood when the blood of the buffaloes which he was devouring ran into the rocks and turned them red. A few yards away runs a beautiful little stream, which leaps from the top of the precipice to the basin below; and on the plain, a little distance beyond, the five huge granite boulders, where was a shrine for the guardian spirits of the place. Here offerings of tobacco were made, and on the surface of the rock were various marks and sculptured figures, which were totems of the tribes which resorted there.

The K'nisteneaux version is, that at the time of a great freshet which destroyed all the nations of the earth, the tribes of the red men assembled at the great rock, called the Pyramid Rock, to get out of the way of the waters. The water continued to rise until it covered them all, and their flesh was converted into red pipe stone. While they were all drowning in a mass, a young woman, K-wap-taw-w (a virgin), caught hold of the foot of a very large bird that was flying over, and was carried to the top of a high cliff not far off that was above the water. Here she gave birth to twins, but their father was the war-eagle. Her children have since peopled the whole earth. "The pipe-stone is the flesh of their ancestors, and is smoked by them as the symbol of peace, and the eagle's quill decorates the head of the brave."

A tradition of the Sioux is as follows: "Before the creation of man, the great spirit (whose tracks are yet to be seen on the stones, at the Red Pipe stone quarry, in form of the tracks of a large bird) used to slay the buffaloes and eat them on the ledge, and their blood running on the rocks turned them red. One day when a large snake had crawled into the nest of the bird to eat his eggs, one of the eggs hatched out in a clap of thunder, and the great spirit catching hold of a piece of the pipe-stone to throw at the snake, moulded it into a man. This man's feet grew fast in the ground, where he stood for many years, like a great tree, and therefore he grew very old. He was older than a hundred men at the present day. At last another tree grew up by the side of him, when a large snake ate them both off at the roots, and they wandered away. From these have sprung all the people that now inhabit the earth."

This tradition of the tree and the serpent gnawing at the root of a tree, reminds us of the Scandinavian myth. According to this myth the ash tree was the tree of existence. This grew out of Nifflesheim. Its roots were in Nidhogg, and the fountain Urdur-fount was near its roots. The great eagle perched on its branches, but the serpent gnaws at the roots in Nidhogg. The giant Hraesvelgur sits on heaven's edge, in the guise of an eagle, and the winds rush down to the earth through his outspreading
The squirrel, named Ratatosk, runs up and down the tree and seeks to produce strife between the eagle and Nidhogg. There are so many snakes in Nidhogg that no tongue can recount them. These myths, contained in the Sagas, were put together in Iceland about 1000 A.D., but some of them may have been easily transferred to the red Indians of America.

Among the Dacotahs the ash tree was very sacred, the serpent was a great divinity, and the bird resembling the eagle was the chief divinity. These were the symbols of the nature powers and the conception may have arisen as a result of personification, but the resemblance between the myths of the Dacotahs and the Norsemen is very striking. There is a myth among the Dacotahs which reminds us more thoroughly of the Scandinavian myth. A chart accompanies the myth. On this chart is a tree, which represents the tree of life. By this tree flows a river, and beneath the river is a red star, the morning star. Near this are six stars, called the elm rod. Beneath these are the moon, seven stars, and the sun. Under the "seven stars," the peace pipe and war hatchet. Beneath these the four heavens, or upper worlds, through which the ancestors of the people passed before they came to earth. They are represented by four lines, supposed to be pillars. These four heavens are supported by an oak tree. Beside the oak tree are earth lodges and villages. There was a chant or song connected with this chart. It was used by a secret society. The chart was tattooed on the throat and chest of the old man belonging to the order. The picture of the chart and the picture of the ash tree of existence are quite similar.*

The tendency to leave signs of their mythology upon the rocks and cliffs, and in the caves, was very strong among the Dacotahs. There is a belief in the Omaha tribe that before the spirit finally departs from men, at death, they float toward a cliff overhanging the Missouri, not far from the present Santee Agency, and cut upon the rocks a picture showing the manner of their death. It is said that these pictures are easily recognized by the relatives and friends of the deceased. The place is called, "Where the spirits make pictures of themselves."†

The thunder god was a being of terrific proportions. It bears the shape of a bird. There are four varieties of this bird, one is black, with a long beak, and four joints to its wings. (See Fig. 6.) Another is yellow, without beak, but with six quills to its wing. The third is scarlet, and is remarkable for having eight joints to its wing. The fourth is blue, with two plumes of

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*See Fourth Annual Report Ethnological Bureau, p. 84. Also see Mallet's Antiquities, Frontispiece.
†The belief is common among the Omahas and among the Ojibwas that the spirit hovers about the grave. On this account food and water are placed at the heads of the graves. Among the Ojibwas there is a little house constructed over the grave. The food is placed upon the floor within the house, while the image which shows a totem of the deceased is carved upon the gable of the house.—Journal of Folk Lore, March, 1886, page 11.
down for wings. When this bird flies, it is hid by thick clouds. The lightning is the flash of its eyes and the thunder the echo of its voice. The house of this god is on a mound, which stands on the summit of a hill, and opens to the four points of the compass. Each doorway is watched by a sentinel, a butterfly at the east, a bear at the west, reindeer at the north, and a beaver at the south. He is represented in the human form. His eyebrows are lines representing the sky, from which two chains of lightning zig-zag downward.

Here we have the symbolism of the sky worship which prevailed among the Zunis, but localized among the Dacotahs. Another divinity of the Dacotahs is called the "moving god." He holds the four winds. He invented the spear and the tomahawk and gave them to the Indians. His home is in the boulders, and the boulders are always worshiped as symbols of the divinity. The stone god Tochkan is another divinity. He is the oldest god. His symbol is the Lingam. His home is the round or oval stone, about the size of a man's head. This is often painted red and covered with swan's down.

There is a round stone at Red Wing which was formerly visited by the Dacotahs and painted red as a reminder of the divinity. This stone was thrown into the water by the whites, but was replaced by the Indians. Another stone, near St. Paul, was painted in a similar way. This has been described by the Rev. H. C. Hovey. Rock inscriptions in a cave near St. Paul have been described by Mr. T. H. Lewis. One of these has the shape of an immense bird with drooping wings. See Fig. 6. This was evidently designed to represent this divinity. The feathers in the wings of this bird are drooping, and possibly may symbolize the falling of rain. There is serpent form attached to the head. This may symbolize the lightning. It was evidently designed to represent the thunder bird. A similar figure may be seen in a cave in Allamakee County, Iowa. In the same cave
are human faces, with horns rising out of the faces. In the same region are pictures of snakes, animals, canoes and crescents. In Reno cave, in Houston County, Minnesota, there are carvings to represent birds and men. One figure represents a man with large hands, to represent clouds, and a crooked head, to represent lightning, and a circle enclosed in a triangle, to represent the sun. See Fig. 8. In Lamoille cave, in Minnesota, there is a man with upraised arms. The upper parts of the arms are in the shape of plants. See Fig. 9. This was a human tree figure.

Oonktagh is the god of the waters. He wears the horns of an ox as symbols of power; but has the human form. See Figs. 10 and 11. This divinity is male and female. The dwelling place of the male is the water and the female the earth. The Dacotahs offer sacrifices both to the water and to the earth. It was this god which Carter speaks of as a spirit which dwells under the falls of St. Anthony, in a cave of awful dimensions. The god Oonktagh taught the Dacotahs what colors to use, but Heyoka told them how many streaks to paint upon their bodies. The use of paint with the Dacotahs was always symbolic. Scarlet or red was always for sacrifice; blue was the symbol of the sky. There was no temple for worship among them. Rites of initiation and of purification were common, as among other tribes, but the details were peculiar to themselves. The initiation of warriors was similar to that of the Mandans, and the same cruelties were practiced. The medicine men were sorcerers and acted as jugglers and exorcists. There was a religious society among them that was full of symbolism. The supernatural was always present with them. Everything mysterious was called Wakan, which is identical with the Great Spirit of modern times. The animals were mingled with the human beings.

VI. The Cherokees also had their culture hero. This singular people was formerly located in the mountains of north Georgia,
eastern Tennessee and North Carolina, and might be called the mountain people. They were once located on the Ohio river and were probably a branch of the Iroquois, but they were driven south by the Algonkins and became mingled with the Muscogees. Their divinities are not so well known as those of other tribes, but there is a resemblance between their myths and those of the northern Indians, and yet there was a mingling of the southern system of sun worship with their mythology. We find ourselves on the borders of another system, a system of sky worship, which was allied to that of the cliff dwellers, and yet has the characteristics of the Iroquois and the Algonkin mythologies. The best information is that furnished by the collection of manuscripts gathered by Mr. James Mooney, written in the Cherokee alphabet. Mr. Mooney says that the exposition of aboriginal religion could be obtained from no other tribe so well,

![Fig. 10 and 11.—Oonktaghede.](image)

for the simple reason that no other tribe has an alphabet of its own. Like the Celtic Druids, the shamans or priests found it necessary to cultivate a long memory, but among the Cherokees the alphabet enabled them to commit the record to writing. The religion of the Cherokees is animal worship, and the beginnings in which elements and the great powers of nature were deified.

Their pantheon includes gods of the heaven above, the earth beneath and the waters under the earth. The animal gods constitute the most numerous class. Among these are the great horned serpent, rattlesnake, terrapin, hawk, rabbit, squirrel. The spider was prominent; his duty was to entangle the soul in the meshes of his web, or to pluck it from the body and to drag it away to the black coffin and the darkening land. There are elemental gods, fire, water, and sun. The sun is called une' lamih, "the apportioner;" the water, "long person," referring to the river.

In their myths we recognize the culture hero as a creator; also the two brothers. The earth is a flat surface; the sky an arch of
solid rock suspended above it. The arch rises and falls continually day and night. The sun is a man so bright that no one can look at him. He comes through the eastern opening every morning, travels across the heavens and disappears in the western opening and returns by night to the starting point. This story of the sun traveling back to its starting point by an underground path, is very common and wide-spread. Ellis speaks of it as prevailing in the South Sea Islands.

One story is, that here lived great snakes, glittering as the sun and having two horns on the head. The last of which was killed by a Shawnee Indian. He found it high up on the mountain. He kindled a great fire of pine cones in a circle; as he jumped into the circle a stream of poison poured from the snake. He shot his arrow into the seventh stripe of the serpent’s skin. On the spot on which the serpent had been killed, a lake formed, the water of which was black.

This conception of the horned snake is very common. The Jesuits found a legend among the Hurons of a monstrous serpent, called Nuniout, who wore on his head a horn that pierced rocks, trees and hills. Dr. D. G. Brinton thinks that the tale was carried from the Creeks and Cherokees to the Hurons by the Shawnees. It may, however, have been inherited by the Cherokees from the Iroquois.* He also thinks that the horn symbolized the strength of the lightning, the horn of the serpent of the heavens, which pierces trees and rocks.

Another story is connected with Looking Glass mountain. A man whose name was “Kanati,” the lucky hunter, and his wife, who was called “Selu,” the corn, had a son, who was accustomed to play by the river every day. The boy told about a wild boy who called himself elder brother, and who came out of the water. The parents managed to seize this wild boy and take him home, but he was always artful and led his brother into mischief and to be disobedient. Kanati kicked the covers off from four jars in the corner, when out came swarms of bed bugs, fleas and gnats, which crawled all over the boys and bit and stung them. The boys finally killed the mother and dragged the body around in a circle. Wherever her blood fell on the ground the corn sprang up. This is the reason why corn grows only in a few places. They contended with the wolves; they ran around the house until they made a trail, except on one side where they left a small open space. The trail changed to a high fence. When the wolves came the boys passed in through the opening; the wolves could not jump over the fence; the boys took their arrows and shot those inside the fence, and afterwards set fire to the grass and bushes outside the fence and burned nearly all the other wolves.

Their next exploit was: The wild boy got a wheel and rolled

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*See Myths of the New World, p. 119. See Chapter III, on the Serpent Symbol.
it in various directions, so as to find their father, the Kanati. The wheel rolled in the direction in which it was always night, but came rolling back. He then rolled it to the south and the north and it came back; at last he rolled it toward the sun land, and the two brothers followed it. After several days they found Kaniti with a dog by his side. The dog was the wheel which they had sent after him to find him. This conception of the wheel is very rare among the uncivilized tribes, though it was very common among the civilized races of Europe and Asia. The Basques were accustomed to roll the wheel through the fields as a symbol of the sun. There are symbols on the rocks of Arizona which resemble wheels. Others which resemble sphinxes, and there are shell gorgets in the Cherokee territory which contain circles and crescents and crosses with curved arms, symbolizing the revolution of the season. Mr. Staniland Wake has an article on the subject.

Among the Cherokees there is a story of a serpent. The conjurer, by his magic spells, coils the great serpent around the house of a sick man to keep off the witches, but he is always careful to leave a small open space between the head and tail of the snake, so that the members of the family can go down to the spring to get water. This myth seems to have been widespread, for there is an effigy of a snake in Wisconsin which marks the site of a lodge circle. This effigy is near a spring of water called Mineral Springs. The opening between the head and tail of the snake is toward the spring. There are not many of the Cherokee myths which have been identified with any particular objects of nature, though the old men who retain the myths always look back to the region from which they came, their memory associating the myth with the mountains and rivers. A fragment of the tribe still remains east of the Allegheny mountains. These identify the myths with particular spots.
CHAPTER XVI.

CULTURE HEROES AND DEIFIED KINGS.

One of the most interesting subjects connected with American archaeology is the one which relates to "Culture Heroes and Deified Kings." Much has been said about the "Heroes," and many theories have been adopted to account for their origin and history, but as to the kings little has been written, for there seems to be but little known. That there were different classes of divinities which were worshiped by the native races will be acknowledged. Some of them were the personifications of nature powers; others semi-historic human divinities; still others actual historic characters or potentates. It remains, however, for the archaeologists to identify these, and make known the localities where they were worshiped. This is the task which we have set before us in this paper. We shall first take the testimony of the historians and see what they say in reference to the "Culture Heroes." We shall next take the testimony of the monuments, and from them endeavor to trace the relation of the "Culture Heroes" to the "nature powers." Lastly, we shall speak of the various statues and images, which have perpetuated the record of the "Deified Kings." In all of these departments we shall seek aid from the study of the myths and symbols. Our object will be to distinguish between the three classes of symbols, those which represent the "nature powers," those which relate to the "Culture Heroes," and those which show that royalty was represented. There may be a difficulty about separating the first two classes, for the nature powers were often personified, and the element of personality was hidden behind the symbols; but this is not the case with the third class, for the portraits and decorations of the kings are apparent. We shall give attention especially to the symbols of the Mayas, for it is among them that the statues of deified kings are to be found; but we shall also take the symbols of the other civilized race so-called, such as the Nahuas, by way of comparison. Our chief inquiry will be whether the "Culture Heroes" of these races can be identified by their monuments.

I. First let us take the testimony of history.

1. The two nations, the Nahuas and Mayas, were for a long time associated together, and borrowed from one another customs and habits, even symbols and mythologies, though the Mayas were much the older, and their culture was really more advanced.
Their history may be divided into several epochs or periods, the first period being that of the Maya supremacy, which began before the Christian era. Bancroft says, "It is not likely that the Maya empire in its integrity continued later than the fourth century, though the epoch of its highest power preceded, rather than followed, the Christian era." The second was the Toltec period, which commenced about 647 A.D.; the third, the Chicemec, commenced with the twelfth century, and the fourth was the Aztec period, commencing 1363 A.D. It was during the Toltec period that that mysterious person, called Quetzatcoatl, appeared and introduced the various arts of civilization, and an elaborate system of religion. He was the great "Culture Hero" of the Nahua, and the pontiff king of Tulan. He effected many religious innovations, and was distinguished for his opposition to human sacrifice. Temples to his honor were erected at Cholula and in all parts of Anahuac. His reign was a short one. He retired before the machinations of his enemy, Tezcatlipoca. Who he was and where he came from is altogether unknown, yet such was his character that he impressed himself, not only upon the Toltecs and the Nahua, but also upon the entire Maya race, for there are culture heroes mentioned in the history of all the tribes of Mexico and Central America, though under the different names of Votan, Cuculkan, Gucumatz, and Quetzatcoatl, according to nationality. Some writers have explained this on the theory that they were only personifications of the great sun divinity, and have compared them to the various culture heroes which have appeared in the early history of all nations. Quetzatcoatl is represented by the Aztec historians as a white man, wearing a beard and enveloped in a garment covered with crosses, and resembling an European monk or priest. Some have accounted for him by the supposition that two personages have been confounded; one the early "culture hero," an entirely mythical character, another the pontiff king of Tulan, who assumed dominion about 873 A.D. His reign in Cholula lasted about ten years. Others have imagined that some visitor from a foreign shore had appeared and introduced great re formations, and this gave rise to the traditions.

Quetzatcoatl was the great divinity of the Toltecs and represented the more gentle and humane religious tendencies which prevailed among them, and which were supplanted by the cruel and warlike religion of the Aztecs. He was the feathered serpent or serpent bird. We recognize in his name, and in the legends concerning him, the god of the wind or air, which was known in Central America under the varying names of Cuculkan (bird serpent), Hurakan (hurricane), Gucumatz (feathered serpent), Votan (serpent). He was always a serpent, either feathered or flying.* He reminds us of the beneficent gods of the ancient

*Revelle's "Native Religions of Mexico." 1. 57.
world, Dios or Jupiter Pluvius, of the Greeks; Ormuzd,* of the Persians; Varuna, of the Hindoos; Tien, of China, who were embodiments of good.

In the Maya traditions the person whose name appears first is Zamna, a son of the chief deity, who taught the people the hieroglyphic alphabet and gave a name to each locality of Yucatan. He played the same role here that Votan did in Chiapas. The same events are recorded in the Yucatec, Tzendal, Quiche and the Toltec traditions. According to a Maya tradition, this culture hero came to America and apportioned the land to the people. He came by sea from the east. He built a great city, the city of the serpents, and became a law-giver andcivilizer, the introducer of the Maya culture, and after his appearance was worshiped as a god.

Votan was also a divinity among the Mayas. He corresponded in his history to Quetzalcoatl of the Mexicans. Bancroft makes him the first historian of his people. “He wrote a book on the origin of the race, though at times he seems to be a mythic creation, a sort of mediator between man and God, and at times a sort of legislator. He portioned out the land. He founded Palenque, the future metropolis of a mighty kingdom. He was supposed to be the founder of civilization. He came by sea from the east. He made four mysterious visits. Still he was not the first to appear, for American civilization was already in existence. After his death he was deified, and may be regarded as one of the deified kings. It was in the days of this ancient Maya glory, when Votan and his successors reigned, that the kings played roles, to a great extent mythical, combining the powers of legislators, teachers, high priests and monarchs. Then came a famous personage, bearing a striking resemblance in his traditionary career to the Quetzalcoatl of the Nahua, called Cuculkan, whom, some think, was an historical personage, and others imagine to be only a personification of the sun or some of the nature powers.”

There were two distinct cycles of myths in Yucatan. The earlier related to Itzamna, the later referred to Cuculkan. It was a tradition among the natives that the most ancient emigration was from the east across the ocean, the later was from the west. The former was called the great arrival, the other the less arrival. Itzamna was the guide, instructor and civilizer. He was the first priest, and taught them the proper rites to please their gods. He invented the characters or letters with which the Mayas wrote their numerous books. He devised their calendar. As city-builder and king, his history is associated with the noble edifices of Itzamal.† There was a temple at Itzamal consecrated to him as the eye of the day, the bird of fire, Kin-ich-kak-mo—Kin, the

†Bancroft, Vol. III, p. 635.
‡Charnay speaks of finding a gigantic face at the foot of the pyramid at Itzamal.
sun; icht, the eye;  kāk, fire;  mo, sacred bird, the brilliant plumaged guacamaya, the red macay. This was the word adopted as the name of the ruler of Chichen-Itza. Some have derived the name Itzamna from zam, early;  yañ, first; Zamatamyam, the dawn, the aurora, the dew, the son of the morning. The symbol which represented this divinity and culture hero was the sun's disk, which shot forth its scorching rays.* There was a temple sacred to him, to which the people resorted, and at high noon spread a sacrifice upon the altar. The moment, the sun reached the zenith, a bird of brilliant plumage, which was nothing less than a fiery flame, shot from the sun, descended and consumed the offering in the sight of all. His shrine was extremely popular, and to it pilgrimages were made from such remote regions as Tabasco, Guatemala and Chiapas. Four paved roads were constructed to this shrine, from the north, south, east and west, straight to the quarters of the four winds.† Associated with Itzamnah were the four Bacabs, or gods of the winds, each identified with a particular color and the cardinal points; the first, that of the south, yellow; the east, red; the north, white; and the west, black. The winds and rains from these directions were under the charge of these gods.

Bishop Landa says they represented four brothers, who supported the four corners of the heavens, who blew the winds from the four cardinal points, and presided over the four dominical signs of the calendar. Each year in the calendar was supposed to be under the influence of one of these brothers. They were the sons of Ich-chal, the goddess of the rain-bow, who was the wife of the light god and mother of the rain gods, since the rainbow is never seen but during a shower, and while the sun is shining. These four divinities were called "chacs," giants. They were gods of fertility; they watered the crops; they presided over streams and wells; they were divinities whose might was manifested in the thunder. They were represented as enormous giants, standing like pillars at the four corners of the earth, and supporting the heavens. They were worshiped under the symbol of the cross, the four arms of which represented the four cardinal points. This was regarded as a tree, and in the Maya tongue was called the "tree of life." The celebrated cross at Palenque‡ is one of its representations. There was another such cross in a temple on the island of Cozumel. This was a symbol of the four rain gods, the Bacabs. In periods of drought, offerings were made to it of birds, and it was sprinkled with water. The festival to the gods of the harvest occurred in the early spring. In this festival Itzamna was worshiped as the leader of the Bacabs, and an important rite called the "extinction of the fire"

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*The face of the sun may be seen in the shrine at Palenque. Casa No. 4: the bird on the cross, Casa No. 2: the tree of life and cross, Casa No. 5: the three tablets Casa No. 1.
†Chichen was a holy city among ancient cities, p. 353, Landa. See xiii, p. 344.
‡See Plates of the crosses at Palenque.
was performed.* The Bacubs were supposed to blow the winds from the four corners of the earth through wind instruments or trumpets.† It was in the second period of the Mayas that Cuculcan appeared, and was the culture hero. This period was later than that of Itzamna, though its date is unknown and the symbols were different. The natives affirm that there were twenty men, the chief of whom was Cuculcan, that they wore long robes and sandals on their feet, had long beards, and their heads were bare. Cuculcan was the tutelar divinity of Yucatan, as Votan was of Chiapas, and Quetzatcoatl was of Cholula. His name means "feather serpent," the "mighty serpent."‡ He was worshiped in Chichen-Itza, a city whose ruins still rank among the most imposing in Central America. A temple was built in his honor. It was unlike others in Yucatan. It had circular walls, and four doors, which were directed toward the four cardinal points, with a staircase guarded by serpents. Under the beneficent rule of Cuculcan the nation enjoyed its halcyon days. At length the time drew near for him to depart; he gathered the chiefs together and expounded to them his laws, then took his journey westward toward the setting sun. The people believe that he ascended to the heavens, and from his lofty house he watches over the interests of his adherents. Such was the tradition of the mythical hero as told by the Itzas. Previous to the destruction of Mayapan, temples were built to him, and he was worshiped throughout the land. One version of the tradition about Cuculcan makes him arrive from the west and return to the west, while that concerning Itzamna and Quetzatcoatl was that they came from the east and returned to the east. With this exception the chief divinity and "culture hero" of the Mayas and Nahuas seem to have been very similar. There is another point in which they resemble one another, they all prophesied their return. These prophecies were obscure, but they distinctly refer to the arrival of white and bearded strangers from the east, who should control the land, and alter the prevailing religion. These prophecies gave rise to the general expectation, so that the Spaniards were surprised to find themselves welcomed as the divinities whose advent had been foretold. The culture hero of the Peruvians was like those of the Mayas and Nahuas with one exception, he seemed to have been at the outset worshiped as a supreme being.§ Vira Cocha was the name of this "culture hero," and divinity.|| He was the first cause and ground of all things. He made the sun, formed the moon, and gave her light; he created the beautiful aurora, the dawn goddess; the twilight, whose messengers were

* Brinton's Hero Myths. See description on page 195.
† The Mandans say that four tortoises vomit out the rains: the Navajoes that four swans drained the earth: the Kiches that four animals brought the maize.
§ See Brinton's Gods of the Kiches, also Native Myths.
|| Myths of the New World.
the fleecy clouds, who, when she shakes her clustering hair, drops noiselessly pearls of dew on the green grassy fields. Invisible himself, the rays of light were his messengers, faithful soldiers, "shining ones," who conveyed his decrees to every part. He was worshiped as a creator. He was not the sun, but was the creator of the sun, the incarnation of the infinite creator. The legend is, that two brothers started from the distant east, and journeyed to the west, and gave names to the places as they passed. They reached the western ocean, and having accomplished all they had to do in this world, they ascended into heaven. Still there is a myth that Vira Cocha was human. At a remote period he appeared to the tribes as an elderly man, with white hair and flowing beard, supporting himself on a staff and clothed in flowing robes. He met the same fate as other wise teachers. According to another myth, he had a host of attendants, white and bearded like himself. When they reached the sea, they walked out upon the waves and disappeared in the west. His name means "foam of the sea." Dr. Brinton thinks that this story is founded upon the personification of the sun, the god of light and of wind. The Peruvians expected the return of Vira Cocha, so that the Spaniards found themselves expected guests in the realms of the Incas as well as in Yucatan. There were "culture heroes" among the other races of South America. In the lofty plateau of the Andes, in New Granada, was the home of the Muyscas, who were skilled in smelting and beating the precious metals, and were fond of agriculture. They attributed their various arts to the instructions of a wise stranger, who came from the east, and whose path led to the holy temple at Sogomoso. His hair was abundant, his beard fell to his waist, and he was dressed in long flowing robes. At night he retired into a cave in the mountain, and again reappeared in the morning. His name was Chimizapagua. Another name applied to the hero god was Bochica. He is represented as the supreme male divinity, whose female associate is the rainbow, the goddess of rains and waters, and fertility, fields and child-bearing. There were culture heroes also in Brazil and even in Paraguay, one of which was named Tamu or Zume, called our ancestor, whom the natives regarded as a benevolent old man, to whom they attributed their arts. He came from the east, the sun-rising, and went towards the east. The impress of his feet was left upon the rock, and a well-marked path was pointed out here as the path of Bochica in New Granada.

The interpretation of these various myths given by Dr. D. G. Brinton is that they were all based upon the personification of the sun or the god of light, since the most of them came from the east, though he does not explain why they went back to the

*The culture hero of the Moqui Cliff-dwellers was a personage who appeared poorly clad and was for a time despised, but he introduced many arts, and is now looked upon under the name of Montezuma, as the great divinity and benefactor.*
BEARDED KING AT COPAN.
BURIED STATUE AT COPAN.
east. The strange thing about these heroes is that they all have beards and wear long robes, which are sometimes covered with crosses. They were evidently prehistoric in their appearance, and were worshiped as divinities; and yet when we come to identify them in the monuments, we find few human figures which have either beards, or robes covered with crosses.*

II. This leads us to the study of the monuments. Do these anywhere furnish testimony as to the "Culture Heroes," so that we can identify them, and fix upon the localities where they were worshiped? This is an important question, for by the answer we may not only decide as to the difference between the myths and the traditions, but verify history. In taking the testimony of the monuments, we shall consult those authors who have visited them, and made a study of them, among whom Mr. J. L. Stephens is regarded as chief. This gentleman, in 1840, started with his companion, Mr. Catherwood, from New York for Nicaragua. The two were fortunate enough to strike upon the very localities where the chief cities of the ancient Mayas were situated, some of which had been seen by the Spaniards, but the majority of them were totally unknown to the conquerors. They were surprised at the extent and magnificence of the ruins, but were able to visit many of them, and take sketches of the chief buildings and statues and works of art, and to write out descriptions of the same. The ruins were scattered over a wide region of country, some of them in Honduras (Quirigua, Copan), others in Guatemala (Quiche, Quezaltenango), others in Chiapas (Ocosingo, Palenque), others in Yucatan (Uxmal, Chichen-Itza, Merida, Kabah), all of them bearing the marks of ancient Maya civilization. The publication of their work made a great sensation, and was for the science of archaeology nearly as important an event as the discovery of America was for history. A few explorers had, to be sure, visited the region before,† and still others followed; but the work of Stephens is the most valuable of all. Bancroft says, "The accuracy of his survey cannot be called in question." It was with great difficulty that the overhanging forest trees were cleared away, and the lines were run out which secured the platting of the various ruins, and the location of the pyramids, palaces, temples and altars, with relation to one another; but it was owing to these measurements that we learn the length, breadth and height of the various pyramids, the size of the shrines upon them; also the height and

*Charnay discovered sculptured door-posts at Chichen-Itza on which bearded men were depicted. Stephens has described two of the idols or portrait statues at Copan as having beards. Neither of these have crosses on their garments, though there are different kinds of crosses among the symbols.

†Waldeck, a French artist, in 1835; Norman, from New Orleans, in '43; Charnay, the French author, in '58 and again in '78; Friederichshal in '47; Capt. Del Rio, 1795; Dupuis, 1866. Col. Galindo, governor of the province of Peten, C. A., explored Copan in 1823, and published an account in the bulletin of the Societe de Geographie of Paris and in AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN. Soc. Trans., Vol. II, p. 545.
breadth of the terraces which formed the platforms to the palaces; the size and location of the different rooms in the palaces, their courts and corridors; also the length of the walls surrounding the palaces; the size of the carved pillars and gigantic faces and sculptured altars which surrounded the pyramids; also the length and breadth of the tablets confined within the shrines or adoratories. From these we determine the character of the different buildings, and decide which were devoted to purposes of royalty, which were used for religious objects, and even decide as to the use of the different apartments in each of the buildings. The description of Mr. Stephens reveals to us the beauty of the sculpture and the magnificence of the architecture, as well as the grandeur of the ruins. It is, however, owing to the skillful hand of the artist Catherwood, that we are furnished with drawings which bring out in detail all the ornaments which were wrought into the façades of the palaces and of the shrines, and even the sculptured figures or portraits embodied in the statues, and are able to study the symbols and hieroglyphics which appear on them in great numbers. The plates in the book are among the chief sources of authority and information on these subjects, and well repay examination. These gentlemen found the most interesting objects at Copan.* The ruins here were two miles in extent, and seemed to represent a palace with court-yards, and buildings around the courts, situated upon terraced pyramids, with wide steps leading to the buildings, colossal heads upon the sides of the pyramids, and, what is most interesting of all, nineteen statues, covered with the most elaborate sculptured ornaments, and containing the figures which may have been the portraits of the kings and queens who occupied the palace. There were altars covered with most elaborate symbols near seven of these statues, conveying the idea that sacrifices may have been offered to the kings. The sculpture upon some of the statues filled the travelers with astonishment, for it was very beautiful and elaborate, as can be seen from an examination of the plates and the cuts. Quirigua, about twenty miles distant, presented also a collection of statues of the same general character as those at Copan, but somewhat larger; they were carved pillars, with figures on the front and back, and hieroglyphics on the sides, some of them twenty-three feet above the ground, with a base projecting fifteen or sixteen feet. At Quiche there was an extensive fortress, surrounded with ravines, a palace and a place of sacrifice, but no statues were visible. The place of sacrifice was an isolated pyramid, broken and ruined, but was supposed to be an altar erected for the sacrifice of human victims.†

At Palenque‡ were the most extensive ruins, most of the build-

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*For the ground plan of the palace at Copan, see chapter vii, page 171.
†Incidents of Travel, pp. 171, 300, 310.
‡The shrines at Palenque are shown in the chapter on Pyramids, pp. 182-183.
CULTURE HEROES AND DEIFIED KINGS.

ings facing the cardinal points; there were palaces with corridors and courts, and sculptured groups in the courts, also a shrine, with a sculptured tablet in the shrine. Near by, were various temples or shrines which contained the tablets, and were named after the tablets: the temple of the cross, the temple of the sun, the temple of the three tablets. These shrines or adoratorios presented on their façades many remarkable figures in bas-relief, some of which evidently represented divinities, or the priests which presided. At Ocosingo, in Chiapas, was a terraced hill or elevation, and on the summit a pyramid which supported a stone building eleven by eighteen feet. Over the doorway, on the outside, was the stucco ornament which resembled the winged globe of the Egyptian temples.* At Uxmal was the most interesting group of ruins. Here was the building known as the governor's house, or Casa de la Gobernador; a pyramid rising in three terraces, the sides measuring five hundred and forty-five feet and reaching the height of forty feet. It supports a building three hundred and twenty-two feet long, thirty-nine feet wide and twenty-six feet high, with two rows of corridors, and heavy cornices, and above the cornice, beautiful sculpture. Here was the two-headed idol and the picot,† also the Casa de Palomas, also the Casa de la Vieja or old woman's house, so named from a statue lying near its front; also the Casa de Monjas, or Nunnery, with its four interior façades, fronting the court, with the cornice, which covered over twenty-four thousand square feet for the four buildings, filled with elegant and elaborate sculpture. This building was remarkable for its symbolism. Over the doorways of the southern court were the ornaments which resembled a small hut or shrine, with a statue seated within the door, and above the shrine was the ornament resembling the human face and eye; lattice work and ranges of pillars on either side.§ On the eastern court were horizontal bars terminating in serpents' heads, on which hung a gigantic mask or human face with peculiar head-dress, ear pendants and protruding tongue.¶ On the western court was the serpent temple, a building whose façade was covered with lattice work, ornaments in the shape of the Greek fret and two massive serpents in relief, which formed the panels, their bodies interlacing and surrounding the entire front, the tail and head at either end of the building with a human face within the jaws. At Chichen-Itza were the numerous buildings which were called the "castle," the approach to which was guarded by the serpent balustrade; also the "gymnasium" with its stone rings in the shape of serpents; also the buildings in which were the figures sculptured in bas-relief, representing

*This winged figure resembled that on the facade at Palenque. See page 133.
†Charnay says, "that picots were placed in the center of the piazza of the palace at Chichen-Itza, and slaves were fastened to them to be punished.
‡A cut of this ornament may be seen in "Cliff-dwellings and Ruined Cities," page 307.
¶bid., page 325. See also Bancroft’s Antiquities., page 195.
the human form with plumed head-dress and bunches of bows and arrows; the building called the "red house," called by Charnay the "prison;" and the circular building called the "caracol," or winding staircase, by Norman the "dome," which contained the stairways with balustrade, formed of two intertwined serpents. The castle was interesting, because it contained a carved door jamb representing a prince with crown and peculiar head-dress; a sculptured lintel with a figure engaged in mysterious incantation; also a shrine in which were square pillars and carved zapote beams, and doorways upon the four sides; and the serpent balustrade.

(2.) These descriptions of Mr. J. L. Stephens were for a long time relied upon as about the only authority; but M. Desiré Charnay has made two visits to the same localities, one in 1858 and the other in 1878, and has brought out some new points in connection with the ruins. He visited Mexico and examined the ruins at Tulan, and found the same general arrangement of apartments as Stephens had seen at Uxmal and Palenque. He also passed over the mountains, and reached the cities of the Mayas, and made the discovery of another city, to which he has given the name of Lorillard. He took photographs of the various buildings which were drawn by the artist Catherwood, and has furnished some interesting descriptions of them all. The result of his efforts confirms the impressions which were received from the engravings and descriptions in the work of Stephens. At Tulan he found a temple consisting of pillars in the shape of serpents, the heads of which formed the base and the tails the capital. Similar pillars supported the façade of the building El Castillo, at Chichen-Itza, having serpents’ heads at the base and feather ornaments at the sides, thus showing that the same symbols were employed by the two races. He speaks of the analogies between the sculptures of the two regions. He calls it all Toltec. The protruding tongue in the tablet of the temple of the sun, Casa No. 1, reminds one of the protruding tongue in the calendar stone of Mexico. His photographs of the tablet of cross No. 3 at Palenque bring out the fact that there were hidden away among the foliage which forms the arms of the cross, certain masks which suggest that there was a personal element as well as the "nature powers" embodied in this shrine. The face near the top of the cross, a necklace and medallion below the face, remind us of the adornments of the kings and chiefs. These photographs bring out more than ever the magnificence in the ornaments and decorations on the façades of the different palaces, those on the palace at Kabah being very beautiful.* The façade of the

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*At Ake was a palace with a court-yard and a picot in the center of the plaza, as at Uxmal; also a small oval pyramid, a tennis court, a ruined palace and a great gallery of columns. At Itzamal a massive face at the base of a pyramid, at Chichen-Itza a perpendicular pyramid, the base occupied by eight large idols, a fortress or pyramid, two serpents forming a winding stair-case.
Dwarf's House or Nunnery is very imposing. The panoramic view of all the buildings at Uxmal is especially interesting, as it enables us to form a correct estimate of the character of the architecture of the Mayas. In the city called Lorillard there was a magnificent building called the “first temple,” another called the “second temple,” another called the “palace.” In these are sculptured lintels made from wood and stone which represent persons in royal attire, one of them represents a sacrifice to Cuculkan or a penitential scene.*

(3.) The descriptions and engravings furnished by these two travelers enable us to recognize the differences between the different classes of monuments, for we find in all of the cities, altars devoted to sacrifice, pyramids and palaces which were devoted to royalty, shrines devoted to worship, all having ornaments and symbols which were correlated to the design or the purpose of the buildings themselves. This is especially apparent in the shrines which were devoted to specific divinities, for the sculptured figures on some of the temples, whether outside upon the façades, or upon the piers and doorways, or upon the tablets in the inner chamber, are all significant of the worship of one divinity, the one to whom the temple was devoted. Such shrines are to be distinguished from the palaces. The palaces were full of rooms, which were occupied by the royal family, and between the rooms were courts and corridors and apartments of state, and all the conveniences which became the home of royalty. There were occasionally shrines in the palace, in private apartments, in which altars and tablets were erected. Surrounding the palaces were large enclosures, some of which were used for gardens. In the gardens, at the foot of the pyramids, there were statues decorated with the adornments of royalty, and on the sides of the pyramids gigantic heads, some of them fifteen feet high, as high as the columns themselves. These, however, only confirm the impression already formed, namely, that the statues within the palaces were the portraits of deified kings, that the figures on the tablets in the shrines represented the nature divinities dressed in the garb of priests and kings; but the “Culture Heroes” are to be found in the isolated shrines or upon the pyramids which contained statues upon their summits.

*See Ancient Cities.
This shows that there were capitals, in which kings had their seats of empire, but there were also sacred cities devoted to particular gods. Charnay thinks that Palenque was not a royal palace, but a priestly habitation, a magnificent convent occupied by the clergy, and, like Teotihuacan, Izumal and Cozumal, a city resorted to as a place of pilgrimage. He thinks that there were capitals in which were kingly mansions, and that the history of the people can be found in the reliefs. Tezcuco of New Mexico may have been such a capital among the Nahua; Copan, Chichen-Itza, Quirigua, Uxmal and Kabah may have been the capitals of the Mayas. Whether there were cities or shrines which were sacred to the culture heroes of the Mayas, as Cholula was among the Toltecs, remains a question. The national divinities, such as Quetzalcoatl, Huitzilipochtli, ruled over particular cities among the Nahua, and it may be there were the national divinities of the Mayas. The palace at Tezcuco was a collection of buildings composed of royal residences, public offices, courts of law. It extends from east to west 1234 yards, and from north to south 987 yards. There were in it two large plazas or courts, one of which served as a public market. A palace devoted to Quetzalcoatl had halls facing the four cardinal points. The hall of gold faced to the east, the hall of emeralds faced to the south, the hall of silver, decorated with sea shells, faced to the north, and the hall decorated with feather-work faced to the west. This was in the northern province, but the ruins which have been found in the southern provinces of Yucatan and Guatemala are more magnificent than those of Mexico. This forces upon us the conviction that there were three classes of beings that were worshiped—nature divinities, culture heroes and deified kings.

(4.) The task is to distinguish the divinities from kings. The clue is furnished to us by the study of the symbols, especially when compared with the ornaments, the first being found on the shrines, the last on the palaces. We have spoken of the "portrait statues." Let us consider their location and peculiarities. The most of them are at Copan. Here the ornaments on the statues resemble those on the door-posts and façades of the palaces, the same or similar ornaments being repeated. On the contrary, at Palenque there are priestly figures on the tablets in the shrines which resemble those found on the piers and façades. As a rule, the ornaments and symbols on the shrines differ from those on the palaces, and the symbols on the palaces differ from those on the altars, those on the altars differ from those on the friezes and cornices of the façades. This shows that the symbolism of the Mayas was correlated to the design, and that the distinction between the royal personages and the nature divinities prevailed in all the cities.

(5.) This brings us to the main question, Does the study of the
monuments enable us to identify the culture heroes? It may be a little thing which will furnish a clue by which to identify a divinity—an eye for Tlaloc, a bird or feather-headed serpent for Quetzatlcoatl, a vine, or leaf, or a cross, for Centeotl, the god of vegetation, a child in the arms for the god of maternity, but the analysis of these figures and symbols, especially when taken in connection with the study of the architecture, will enable us to fix upon the divinity to which a building, shrine or tablet was devoted.

These are the means by which certain gentlemen have sought to identify the culture heroes with certain statues. M. Charnay has described the pyramid called El Castillo, in Chichen-Itza, and thinks that the building on it was a shrine to Cuculkan or Quetzatlcoatl, for this is the pyramid which has the serpents for balustrades, and the feathered serpent is the symbol of this "Culture Hero." He has ascribed the shrine which contains cross No. 2, at Palenque,* to Tlaloc, for he recognizes the eye of Tlaloc in one of the figures on the façades and thinks the palm leaves and masks were also emblems. The shrines at Uxmal and Lorillard, especially the one with heavy cornice and massive pillars, he also ascribes to Cuculkan, as he recognizes the feather-headed serpent in the pillars. The stone lintel at Lorillard which contains a seated figure he ascribes to the same divinity. The statue represented as lying upon the back and holding a vase in the hands, which was found by M. Le Plongeon at Chichen-Itza, he ascribes to Tlaloc (Fig. 2), inasmuch as there are carved on the stone a sheet of water, aquatic plants and fish, all of which are the emblems of Tlaloc. Others, however, think it represents the Maya Bacchus, or god of wine. The doorpost on the Castillo at Chich-
en-Itza, which has sculptured figures with head-dress, girdle, sash, sandal, wand and a bearded face, with the vine expressing speech extending from the mouth, Charnay thinks represents Quetzalcoatl, on account of the beard. Another figure on the capital above the pillars has a turban with a feather head-dress and stands with upraised arms supporting the entablature. He wears large bracelets, a collar of precious stones, a shield, a richly embroidered mantle and has a long, flowing beard and the same symbols of speech in front of him. This figure, Charnay thinks, also represents Quetzalcoatl. There is a figure or a statue standing on a pyramid with a peculiar head-dress, a garment or flowing robe with crosses upon it, but which has no beard. This statue, Dr. Hamy thinks, represents Quetzalcoatl, for he recognizes the symbols of that hero, the cross and the robe. The tablet of the cross, No. 2, at Palenque, Dr. Brinton thinks, represents Quetzalcoatl, as it contains the bird on the summit of the cross, and represents two figures as offering sacrifice to the bird.* With as much reason we may identify the shrine or temple with the three tablets, as the shrine of the goddess Centeotl, the wife of Tlaloc, for there are three figures on the piers of this temple which represent a female with a child in the arms, which is the emblem of this goddess among the Nahua. She was regarded as the goddess of maternity. At the back of the shrine is the tablet containing the prayer to the goddess. There is an isolated pyramid at Palenque, on which is a shrine called the "temple of the beau-relief," and in the shrine the tablet shown in the cut. Fig. 3. It represents a warrior with a helmet, sitting on a globe, the globe resting on a double-headed throne, the attitude of the figure being expressive of awe, or as if commanding silence. This has not been identified with any particular divinity or culture hero, yet the elegance of the figure and the finish of the art in the tablet and the isolation of the pyramid and the shrine, show that it was an important divinity. It may represent Cuculkan, the Maya "Culture Hero," who was the god of air personified, or, what is more probable, the Maya god of war, for Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec god of war, is described by the early writers as an image seated on an "azure globe," under a canopy which symbolized the heavens, and as richly decorated, though the figure and the throne remind us of the Hindoo goddess Kali.

III. This leads us to the subject of the deified kings. We have already spoken of the difference between the pyramids on which were the palaces and those on which were the shrines or temples, and have pointed out the fact that the monuments and ornaments were correlated to them. This point is illustrated still more by the study of the so-called portrait columns. These have been taken as representing the "Culture Heroes" or the personal divinities, and they have been compared to the figures on the tablets; but we maintain that they were the por-
traits of kings, and that they illustrate the paraphernalia of royalty. While there are upon them, especially upon the back, symbols reminding us of symbols of the nature gods, especially of Tlaloc, the "rain god," yet the fact that the faces upon them are so life-like proves that they were the portraits of kings.

We are to notice here that there was a difference between the decorations of the kings and that of the priests, those of the kings being very elaborate and abounding with many personal ornaments; those of the priests being plainer but more symbolic. We shall see this if we compare the different figures and statues which Mr. J. L. Stephens discovered at the foot of the pyramids of Copan with those figures which he saw on the bas-reliefs which covered the façades at Palenque. We maintain that the former represent the forms of kings and chiefs, clothed in their
official regalia; but the latter represent the priests, who are clothed in priestly garments and at the same time bore the symbols of the divinities which they served. The especial illustration is that found on the façade of the adoratorio Casa No. 2, at Palenque; here there is a figure of a king on one side of the doorway and a priest upon the other, while within the shrine is the mask which represents the sun, with a protruding tongue, suspended to the cross-bars. These exhibit the three classes, kings, priests and nature divinities. Holden maintains that the Palenque bas-reliefs and the portrait statues represent the nature divinities, and has written a labored article to prove this, giving the symbols found in the two localities. He speaks of the crotalus jaw* over the head of the idol described by Stephens; also of the birds' heads and plumes and other ornaments in the head-dresses of kings and queens, as if they were repeated on the bodies of the priests; and from these resemblances undertakes to give a clue to the solution of the hieroglyphics. The comparison is far fetched, for there is very little that is common between the two classes of figures, the regalia in the sculptured figures showing that they were kings, but the attire on the stucco figures showing that they were priests. If the learned professor had taken the back of some of these statues and compared them with those on the front of the shrine, he would have been very much nearer right, for we find here the same symbols, the glaring eye of the god Tlaloc, which is a symbol of the rain drop; the peculiar scroll or curl which represents the whirlwind; also the wind symbol, which has the shape of the elongated tongue or divided staff; also the various crosses, the cross-hatching, which† represent.

*The reader will find in the chapter on Pyramids, chap. vii, p. 133, this shrine; also plates representing these figures. The chapter on "Serpent Symbol," plate 2, represents the portrait columns at Copan. On page 100, plate 10, is a statue representing the goddess of death, with all its ghastly symbols. We can easily see that there is a great difference between the three classes of figures, for one has the royal regalia, another has the priestly robe and the third has the symbols of the nature powers.

†There are cross-hatchings upon the altars at Copan, and a death's head and a Tlaloc eye, all of which are symbols of the different divinities. The resemblance of these ornaments on the back of the statues to those on the altars, shows that the kings were under the control of the same tutelar divinity.
TURBANED KING AT COPAN.
DWARF STATUE FROM COPAN.
CULTURE HEROES AND DEIFIED KINGS.

represents the serpent's skin, the eagle's beak and the parrot's beak, one of which is the symbol of the god Tlaloc and the other of the god of war. These symbols, which are on the back of the statues, show the divinities which were worshiped, but those on the front were evidently the portraits of the royal family. This is confirmed by comparing the figures which are on the Tizoc stone in Mexico with those on the bas-relief at Palenque. The first evidently represents a king triumphing over conquered kings; whereas the bas-reliefs represent the priests which were connected with the shrines and the divinities which were worshiped in them.*

There are few monuments which show greater contrasts than do the Tizoc stone and the Palenque tablets.

The figures on the stone show what was the royal attire of the Aztec kings, while those on the bas-reliefs show the attire of the priests, and perhaps the conventional dress of the culture heroes, as well as the attire of the common people. There were in three of the shrines two figures which were dressed alike. They had the same attitudes and were engaged in the same act of sacrifice. These may be seen standing on either side of the cross, which was the central object of worship and which symbolized the nature powers. In one tablet, the tablet of the sun, they stand upon crouching human figures; in another, the tablet of the tree, they stand upon the corolla of a flower or branch of a vine; in a third, the tablet of the bird and cross, they are standing upon an altar. They are surrounded by hieroglyphics, which may have

been intended for a prayer. Their attire is made up of drapery which falls in folds, and probably represents the common attire of the people, especially the better class. They represent two persons, male and female, offering sacrifice. Corresponding to these, on the outside of the temple of the sun, there are two figures—one clad in the attire of a king, the other of a priest. See Plates. These may have been intended to represent the divinities Tlaloc, the god of rain, and Huitzilopochtli, the god of war; but if so they were gods who were clothed in the attire of kings and priests.* The comparison of these figures will enable us to see the manner of representing the different classes; those on the central tablets were symbolic of the nature divinities; those on the outer tablets representing the common people offering sacrifices; those on the façades or piers, kings and priests, waiting upon or worshiping the nature divinities, the god of war, of rain, the air and sun.

There are, however, figures on the bas-reliefs in the palace at Palenque which represent warriors or kings, with captives before them. These figures are clothed almost exactly the same as are the figures on the Tizoc stone and are in the same attitude. Stephens says: "The principal personage stands in an upright position, and exhibits an extraordinary facial angle. Supposing the statues to be images of living personages, they indicate a race now lost and unknown. The head dress is evidently a plume of feathers; over the shoulders is a collar decorated with studs, and a breastplate; part of the ornament of the girdle is broken; the tunic is probably a leopard's skin; the whole dress no doubt exhibits the costume of this unknown people. At his feet are two naked figures seated cross-legged, and apparently supplicants."

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*Prof. Holden says: "This is the temple of the god Huitzilopochtli and his equal Tlaloc. The symbols on the roof and cornice refer to these, as the faces at the ends of the corice, with the double lines for eye and mouth, are unmistakably Tlaloc signs. On one of the figures on the piers we also find the sandals, the belt, the front pendant, the bracelets, the neck ornament, the helmet, the shield, the crescent moon, the back ornament, the twisted cords, the eagle head and the twisted serpent in the hand, all of which are symbols of the god of war. On the other pier is the sorcerer Tlaloc, blowing the wind from his mouth. He has the eagle in his head-dress, the jaw with grinders, the peculiar eye, the four Tlaloc dots on his ear, the snake between his legs, the four Tlaloc dots again in his head-dress, the leopard-skin on his back (the tiger was the earth in Mexico), and the naked feet have peculiar anklets, all of which should be noticed as the symbols of the rain god of the Aztecs."
Another bas-relief was upon the pier which faced the western corridor of the palace. The subject consists of two figures with facial angles similar to that already given, plumes of feathers and other decorations for head-dresses, necklaces, girdles and sandals. Each has hold of the same curious baton, which resembles a serpent, and opposite their hands are hieroglyphics. On the adjoining pier is a bas-relief representing two figures, one kneeling as if to receive an honor, and the other a blow. See Fig. 6. The standing figure here seems to be that of a warrior, as there is an ornamental battle-axe projecting over the right shoulder and a wand is held in the left hand.*

The same point is illustrated by the figures which are described by Charnay as carved upon the stone lintels at Lorillard City, for these represent royalty in the act of devotion, one of them standing, the other kneeling. The kneeling figure is a female figure who, as a royal penitent, was undergoing the painful ceremony of drawing the rope covered with thorns through her tongue as an act of penance or sacrifice; while the male figure, called the Achcantli, carries in his hand a palm branch or sceptre and encourages the penitent in her painful task. The head-dress, wide collar, heavy bracelets, ear-rings and superb mantle of the kneeling figure show how rich was the royal attire. We think that any one who examines the engravings and studies out the different ornaments contained in the head-dresses will conclude that they represented the royal attire and that this was very different from the priestly garb. We acknowledge that the various parts of the royal attire were full of symbols, but this is only in accord with the custom of the aborigines of America. They show that there was a development of ornamentation on this continent as well as symbolism. We may take each part of the dress of kings and chiefs and examine them in turn and find that they were all emblematic of the occupation, rank and office of the person that wore them. We may begin with the savages and work up to the civilized races and find that each article of dress grew into elegance and finish, and at the same time increased in its significance and symbolic use; but the fact helps us to identify the different classes and distinguish between the kings and priests, and between these and other culture heroes.

The same lesson may be learned from some of the figures which were discovered by Charnay in the building called “the castle.” Here there was a single tablet which had three figures upon it, the central clad in the attire of a king; the one above it

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*The crown on the head is said to contain an elephant's trunk, but the engraving shows that it was the usual animal-headed casque or helmet, such as was commonly worn by warriors. The ornament which has been taken for the elephant's trunk is only the divided staff, which is the usual sign of speech. To prove this we shall refer to two bas-reliefs. One of these is on the door-way in room No. 1 of the same palace. Here the helmet has waving feathers projecting from it, but is made from the upper jaw of some monster with a glaring eye and a long protruding nose, something like a tapir, which here is turned up and back, but which cannot be taken for an elephant’s trunk. Stephen's Yucatan, Vol. II, p. 319.
AIR GOD DRESSED AS A KING.

From the Tablet on the Left Pier of the Temple of the Sun at Palenque.
RAIN GOD DRESSED AS A PRIEST.

From the Temple of the Sun at Palenque. Tablet on the Right Pier.
having the form, face, attitude and peculiarities of the culture
hero Cuculcan, as it had a beard, and was peculiarly draped and
adorned; the one below has the face of Tlaloc, the god of rain.
This tablet represents a king attended by two divinities, the god
of air and the god of rain. It was evidently erected in honor of
some historic king.

"At Kabah is shown two remarkable bas-reliefs raised in honor
of allied caciques. Like the Tizoc stone, they represent a con-
queror in rich Yucatec costume receiving the sword of a captive
Aztec.* The head-dress of each is covered with long waving
plumes, which rise above the crown and fall to the very feet.
The crown itself of one of the figures is also fashioned out of
the head of an animal, like those of the Mexican manuscripts."
Before the other figure there kneels a king or cacique, with a
weapon in his hand which resembles the flint-edged sword used
at the present day. It has on its head the usual feathered head-
dress.

The place where the best illustration of the costume and re-
galia of kings is found at Copan. Here there are statues or
idols, in which are the portraits of kings and queens, covered
with the most elaborate and complicated series of sculptured
figures, all of which, when they come to be analyzed, prove to
be the various parts of the kingly dress, including the crown or
head-dress, the necklace and collar, shoulder piece, breastplate,
medallions on the breastplate, wristlets, kilt or skirt, with its
medallions and other ornaments and fringes, the girdle and sash
which hangs suspended from it, the elaborate gaiters and anklets,
the sandals and footwear. These idols were for the most part
situated on the ground, separated from any shrine or temple, but
near the terraced pyramid which supported the palace; two of
them at the very foot of the pyramid;† but seventeen of them in
a court or garden a little removed from the palace. The follow-
ing is Mr. Stephens' description of them. He says: "At the
point marked L stands one of the columns or idols which give
the peculiar character to the ruins at Copan. It stands about
six feet from the base of the pyramid wall. It is thirteen feet in
height, four feet in front, three deep. It is sculptured on all four
sides, from the base to top, and is one of the richest and most
elaborate specimens in the whole extent of the ruins. Before
it, at a distance of eight feet, is a huge block of sculptured stone,
which the Indians call an altar. Following the wall is another
monument, or idol, of the same size and in many respects simi-
lar. The character of this image as it stands at the foot of the

* Ancient Cities, p. 389.
† These are the idols which Professor Holden has considered identical, and which he has
described as containing the same symbols as the serpent idol, or god of death, which stood
over the gateway to the teocalli in the City of Mexico, referring to the crotalus jaw in the
mask, and the solid ovals in the skirt as evidence. A plate representing it may be seen in
the chapter on Serpent Worship, p. 110.
FROM THE INNER TABLET OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN.

The symbols on the central tablet are as follows: 1. Two staffs arranged as a St. Andrews cross. 2. A mask with four rosettes, a concentric circle, a serpent for a nose, a wind coil for an eye, a protruding tongue. 3. A beam with cross-hatchings, four dots and a face with protruding tongue. 4. Crouching figures with Tlaloc eyes; two of them dressed as priests. 5. Cross in a circle, divided staffs or wind symbols, and masks.
pyramid is grand, and it would be difficult to exceed the richness of the ornament and sharpness of the sculpture.”

The large number of idols found by Mr. Stephens were at some distance from the pyramid, in a court which may have been either the cemetery or the garden, as it was surrounded by a terraced wall, and was filled with idols and altars which faced in toward the court. “The first, on the point marked K, was fallen and the face destroyed. At a distance of two hundred feet stands the one marked S, with its front to the east, on a pedestal six feet square. Before it at a distance of eight feet ten inches, is an altar. The engravings represent the front and back view. The front is supposed to be the figure of a woman, and the countenance presents traits of individuality leading to the supposition that it is a portrait. The back is a different subject.” See Plate.* Here at the top is a crown of featherwork, which gracefully falls away from the helmet, which has the face of Tlaloc. Below this is a diadem which hangs across the forehead. On the shoulders is an elaborate collar or necklace, composed of precious stones, and a shoulder-piece wrought into the shape of trailing vines. On the hands and arms are wide wristlets made of some rich material. A medallion hangs suspended between the arms. A fringe or overskirt may be seen below the arms. Three sashes fall gracefully over the skirt, one of them reaching to the ground. The skirt is wrought into the usual pattern, with cross hatching over a plain fabric. It has a ruffle at its lower edge, which seems to be covered with a row of precious stones. The feet are wrapped in moccasins, with a heavy border at the back, and resemble those of a China woman.

The symbols on this statue are as follows: On the back, the face of Tlaloc, the rain god, with its heavy grinders, sunken cheek, bulging eye, and other symbols peculiar to that divinity. This face is seen in the center of the statue, on the back of the female, and is surrounded by a graceful framework of drapery, with fringes and folds, and medallions in the folds. The most remarkable symbol is the one which may be seen on the forehead of Tlaloc. This is the same symbol which was seen on the cast of the altar at the World's Fair, and which there called forth remark, as it was said to be a phallic ornament and to have a mythologic significance. The next figure is still more remarkable, for it seems to be the figure of a king, but a king with a peculiarly glaring eye. Stephens says of it: “It is one of the most beautiful in Copan, and is equal to the finest Egyptian sculpture. It stands at the foot of a wall of steps, with only the head and part of the breast rising above the earth. The eyes in this statue turn out very much as the eyes of the natives of this region do at the present time. See Plate.f

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*Female Statue. Charnay thinks that the same idol personifies several divinities—the dragon's jaw, Quetzalcoatl; the woman's face, Centeotl, or the Mexican Ceres; the face on the back, Tlaloc. †See Plate of the Buried Statue.
CULTURE HEROES AND DEIFIED KINGS.

Near this was the statue we call the “bearded king.” It will be noticed that there is no feather head-dress on this king, but the collar is made of a mosaic of precious stones. The breastplate and shoulder-pieces are very elaborate. The skirt is decorated with a double fringe, medallions and solid ovals; sashes fall over the skirt, one of them terminating in a peculiar ornament resembling serpents’ fangs. For garters, there are two rows of precious stones and medallions; anklets are highly ornamental, a rosette and frill between the ankles. We recognize no symbol on this statue except the serpents’ fang and the solid ovals. It stands at the foot of a wall rising in steps to the height of thirty or forty feet. Its height is eleven feet nine inches. See plate. Before it, at a distance of twelve feet, is a colossal altar. It appears to represent the portrait of a king or hero, perhaps erected into a deity. It is judged to be a portrait, and its sex is ascertained by the beard and mustache. The altar is seven feet square and four feet high, and richly sculptured on all sides. The front represents a death’s head. The top is sculptured and contains grooves for the passage of the blood of the victims.

The next engraving represents the “turbaned king.” “It exhibits the front of a monument twelve feet high, four feet wide, which stands on a pedestal seven feet square. The front view seems a portrait, probably of some deified king or hero. The two ornaments at the top appear like the trunk of an elephant. A crocodile’s head was seven feet from it, but appears to have no connection with it.” The back presents a different subject. The decorations of royalty on this statue are as follows: The turban on the head, which is covered with ornamented drapery; this turban makes the face resemble that of a Chinese mandarin, and reminds us of the Tartar mode of covering the head. Below this is the chin-piece, which seems to be attached to the breast-plate, and projects as high as the cheek. The breastplate and shoulder-pieces on this statue are very elaborate, but they contain no symbols. The skirt is covered with medallions and has a fringe made up of solid ovals, a heavy sash or maxtl falling over the skirt, and garters which seem to be connected with the maxtl. There are many symbols on this statue, but the regalia is more striking and prominent than the symbols. The symbols on this monument are as follows. (1.) The three dots or spotted disks at the top, in front, and at the sides of the figure, a symbol which is repeated four or five times on the back of the monument. (2.) The two whorls or coils situated between the elephant’s trunk, so-called, a symbol which is very common and is often repeated in the other monuments. (3.) The medallions which hang suspended from the arms and from ornaments on the skirt, the medallions facing each way. (4.) The solid ovals which form the fringe of the skirt and the ornament on the sash. (5.) The most remarkable symbol is the one which is seen on
the back. It represents the face of the sun god with open mouth, protruding tongue, glaring eye; every part connected with ornaments and symbols, that the face is recognized only after a close study of the different parts and comparing it with the face on the altar.

The next engraving represents a monument seventy-two feet north from the last. The front is toward the west. It is twelve feet high, on a pedestal six feet square. Before it, at a distance of eleven feet, is an altar very much defaced. The front view is a portrait. The back is made up of hieroglyphics arranged in tablets. Each tablet has two hieroglyphics joined together. The tablets probably contain the history of the king or hero delineated. The royal regalia on this statue is also very elaborate. On the head is a peculiar framework, which seems to be composed of four bars; decorated and elaborate. On the shoulders are many highly wrought ornaments. The necklace is made from precious stones. The skirt is also decorated with ornaments, but the garters and anklets are the most elaborate part of the dress. It would seem as if the legs, knees and feet were loaded with jewels. The only symbols on this statue are as follows: At the top of the ornament is the head of Tlaloc, with the usual eye, open mouth, sunken cheeks, with three dots on either side of the head and a diadem crowned with feathers, the ovals at the bottom of the skirt. The back is made up entirely of hieroglyphics. It is a very striking statue. The face is massive; the thighs, which are naked, are very heavy; ankles and feet clumsy. The whole figure is short, but the ornamentation on it is elaborate and highly wrought. We have dwelt upon these figures in order to show that the statues of the kings were entirely different from those of the "Culture Heros," and to prove that they were not idols which represented divinities, but were portrait statues of kings. This shows that there were three classes of beings worshiped by the Mayas, as follows: The personified nature powers, Culture Heroes and Deified Kings, the shrines having been devoted to the first class, the isolated pyramids to the second and the palace courts to the last.
CHAPTER XVII.

PERSONAL DIVINITIES AND NATURE POWERS IN AMERICA.

We have passed in review the different aboriginal religions of America, and come at last to the one that seems the most important of all, viz.: the worship of the personal divinities in combination with the nature powers. We use the double title because some have doubted whether the element of personality was strong enough to be used alone, and because the worship of the Nature powers is so prominent, and especially be cause of the analogies which may be drawn between the personal gods of this continent and those which are worshiped in Oriental lands. We claim, however, that there was a combination of the two in the religious cult of the civilized tribes, and that personal gods were worshiped, and eclipsed the worship of the Nature powers so as to be distinguished from them, each one being worshiped by religious rites which were distinctive. The objects of worship arranged according to their order of progress are as follows: 1. Animal totems; 2. the Nature powers, including the sun, moon, stars, and the points of the compass, and the elements, such as fire, water, earth and air; 3. the “Culture heroes,” these were partly natural and partly supernatural, but were worshiped as the heroes or chief divinities of certain tribes; 4. the Law-givers, these were represented as human persons, who appeared and gave laws and established governments, but disappeared; 5. last of all were the personal gods. These received personal names and were worshiped as personal gods, though they had different spheres of action. Chief among them were the God of Peace, the God of War, the God of Death, also the goddesses of maternity and the gods and goddesses that represented the elements.

It is well known that the gods of the Greeks, Romans, Babylonians, and Assyrians were primarily the representatives of the Nature powers, but personal attributes were ascribed to them. We think of them only as personal gods and fail to draw the analogy. Such is the case with the older gods of the Greeks, for Uranus is always represented as dwelling above in the skies and as the supreme ruler of the universe, and in him we recognize the natural and personal attributes. The same is the case with the Egyptian divinities of which Isis and Osiris were the chief. Isis was called the mother goddess, for she was the mother of Horus, but many of the Egyptian divinities were only personifications of the Nature powers. This is shown by the story of Osiris. He was slain by Typho, his body was divided into twelve parts and thrown into
the sea, but was gathered and hidden in the tree at Biblos. The parts symbolized the twelve months of the year, and the overflow of the Nile, and the hiding in the tree symbolized the part which water has in the growth of the tree. The most suggestive feature in the story is that Isis finally discovers the eleven parts of Osiris, and puts them together and restores them to life, only one part being left off; thus symbolizing the resurrection of nature in the spring time. In like manner the gods of the Babylonians are seen to represent the Nature powers, though they are so personified that we forget this, and are interested only in their personal character and career. There were, to be sure, in Babylonia, three periods which were so near together, that the worship of the Nature powers and the personal divinities and the human characters, called the Law-Givers, became blended, and yet if we study them more carefully we find they represent three classes, and belong to three distinct periods.

In America we find the distinctions between the personal gods, the Law-givers, and the Nature powers so dim that we fail to separate them, and either regard them all as personifications of nature, or consider them as personal divinities ruling over all, and at times think of them only as human teachers, strange visitors from a foreign land, though the moral character of the divinities fall far below that of other Law-givers and human founders of religion.

In the Scriptures the case is different, for from the first chapter to the last, the personality of God is brought out clearly, and there is no reference whatever to the Nature powers, nor even the blending of the Law-giver with the personal divinity. This constitutes the difference between the Scriptures and all pagan writings, for notwithstanding that there are many sacred books among the pagans, we do not fail to recognize in them the operations of nature as the basis of all. There were many great masters who came in and established systems which became the standards of thought, but these were evidently human, and had a human history, though some of them have been deified, so that we regard them as the divinities of the people, and yet they were only human beings. Some have stumbled over these, and have imagined that the personal gods of America were actual persons who came to America from some other land, and they point out the fact that the chief god is represented as white, having long hair, and wearing a robe; assuming that he was some unknown visitor from Oriental countries.

Now the resemblance between the personal gods of America and those of the Eastern lands, is a sufficient explanation of this. These gods all seem to be supernatural beings, but they were always connected with the natural objects which were known to the members of the particular tribes, and the worship of them was purely local. Still there was such a resemblance
between them that they seem to have been not merely the heroes of one tribe, but of entire stocks, and so they help us to understand aboriginal history.

It is true that their personal history and character did bridge the distance which would naturally exist between a rude untrained mind and a spiritual unseen being, but there was an unconscious process that led the people to ascribe to them a supernatural character, for some of them are represented as having a high moral character and having established the religious system which prevailed.

We are to notice also that there were many Culture heroes in America, who represented the powers of nature, but could not have been human beings and certainly not persons known to history. These Culture heroes were worshiped by the wild tribes and they were regarded as human, and yet they always had supernatural powers and accomplished wonderful things.

There is one remarkable fact about the Culture heroes, viz., they belonged to different stocks of Indians; the Algonquins having one, the Iroquois another, the Dakotas another, the Pueblo tribes, the mountain tribes of the far West, and the tribes situated in the Northwest, still others.

It appears that the Culture heroes had become so scattered by the wanderings of certain tribes, that we find them far apart from one another and in scenes and surroundings to which they gradually became accustomed; thus proving that they belonged to stocks as well as tribes, and were carried by the tribes to their new habitations. This is an important point, for it throws light on the migrations of the Indian tribes, and confirms the position which the linguists have taken. To illustrate: the Algonquins were scattered from the coast of Maine to the south shore of Hudson's Bay, and from there to the region far west where the Blackfeet are found. They were

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*The cut represents the hieroglyphics of the deities, as made out by Dr. D. G. Brinon. The first line Itzama; the second, the North Star; the third, the Moon God; the fourth, the Maize God; the fifth, the War God; the sixth, the Sun God.
also scattered along the Atlantic coast as far south as the Potomac; their habitat being mainly on both sides of the chain of the Great Lakes and north of the Ohio River, but stretching down the Atlantic coast. The study of myths and symbols, as well as the language, has confirmed this.

The Iroquois are supposed to have belonged to the same stock as the Cherokees, and perhaps with the same stock as the Dakotas; the study of the language giving rise to this theory. The study of the myths and the symbols of these different tribes rather confirms the opinion of the linguists, though the change of the scenery and surroundings have modified their mythology. The same is true of the tribes which were situated on the Pacific coast. Some of the linguists think that the tribes of the Southwest came down from the Northwest and settled in the central provinces, but developed their mythology from the same sources, and claim that their languages have many features in common. We find, however, that the tribes on the Northwest coast have a mythology entirely different from that of the Southwest, as the deities which they worshipped were the raven, bear, whale, and other animals which abound in the forests of the North, but the deities of the civilized tribes were personal beings, and were represented by idols which were covered with a great variety of symbols.

This conformity of religion to the surroundings is also illustrated in the case of the tribes of the deep interior, for here the mythology is drawn from the mountains and rocks, the Navajoes having one set of divinities, the Pueblos another set, the wild tribes of the region another set, thus showing that tribal lines, as well as scenery, had effect upon the native religions.

We have given this general review of the systems which prevailed throughout the continent, in order to bring out the fact that certain tribes worshipped personal divinities and at the same time deified the Nature powers, and made their attributes resemble those of the personal gods. We may say, that the several classes were constantly interchanged. The attributes of the one were ascribed to that of another, the attributes of nature and those of the personal gods being so closely associated that they were both worshiped.

Another element seems, moreover, to have been introduced into the mythology of these civilized tribes of the Southwest, viz., the worship of kings and queens, for their statues are everywhere present. These statues are decorated with all the ornaments and jewels and garments and emblems of wealth and power, so that we recognize them as designed to represent kings and queens and persons of royalty, as well as priests and officers clothed with authority. On the other hand, the gods which personified the Nature powers were generally plainer in their dress and appearance, and they had symbols about them which were suggestive of all the elements and show plainly
their sphere of activity, three classes of symbols being manifest. It will be acknowledged that there were different periods and different nations and races represented by these personal gods, the earliest period having been ascribed to the Mayas, but the later to the Nahua.s. In this respect they also resembled the gods of the Babylonians, Accadians, and Assyrians, for these belonged: some to an early, and some to a later date. The earliest were ascribed to the Accadians. We also recognize in these personal gods the lines of ethnic descent, as we do in the gods of the East, especially the gods of the Greeks and the Romans, and to a degree the early Babylonians. The main difference is that they are surrounded by scenery and circumstances which are peculiar to this continent, and not found in the Old World. The belief in the personal divinities as distinguished from the animal, was the result of progress, and appeared only among those nations which had reached a certain degree of civilization.

We have, then, in these regions of the Southwest a picture of the rise of society, the development of religion, and the growth of mythology, which is very important. The worship of the personal gods along with the Nature powers resembles that which prevailed in the regions of the East, though the isolation of the continent brought about a different order of symbols, a different class of myths, and different divinities, and yet very striking resemblances may be recognized between all these systems and those found in the Eastern continent. It is true that the ethnography of the East isolated the gods of Babylonians from those of the Greeks, as well as the gods of the Greeks, from those of the Egyptians, as the desert on one side and the sea upon the other presented barriers over which religion did not pass until late in history.

It will be noticed that physical barriers often separate religious systems as much as they do language or tribal history, but with the so-called civilized tribes language, history and territorial proximity, all serve to give similarity to their divinities, but serve to make great differences between them and the divinities of the wild tribes. There were, to be sure, time periods which separated the personal gods of the Mayas from those of the Nahua.s, but there came in between the two, certain other periods, especially the Toltec period, which so bridged the space that the mythology became strangely blended. The pre-Toltec period embraced the semi-mythic traditions of the early civilization and brings before us one class of divinities. The Toltec period brings before us another class; the Chicimec still another; the Aztec period another. The first extends to the sixth century, the second to the eleventh century, the third to the fifteenth century, and the fourth, the Aztec, to the time of the Discovery.

In the pre-Toltec period, vague traditions point to the cradle of American civilization, and to the Votanic empire. In
the Toltec period the personal divinities and the gods resembled one another in many respects. In the Toltec period the statues of divinities, as well as the architecture of the temples and the symbols contained in the palaces, show that the worship of personal gods was very closely associated with that of the Nature powers, as the religion of the period evidently gave direction to art and architecture, as well as to the literature which prevailed. There was a change in the geographical location as time went on, for the mythology and the ritual moved northward. This appears from the study of the statues and glyphs.

Statues are found in great numbers in the Umasintla Valley. These statues are covered with a great number of symbols, but present a great variety of drapery and show that the kings and priests lived amid great magnificence and the gods partook of their power.

In the Aztec period the divinities also partook of the magnificence which prevailed, but their personal and moral character were very much changed, for the warlike traits of the people had been developed by long conflict; and the war gods came to the front; the Fair God, Quetzalcoatl, having been supplanted by Tezcatlipoca, the War God. We find that the history of the two nations has been so well preserved in the calendar stones and in the codices, as well as in the sacred books, that we may compare it with those which prevailed in the far East. We are sure that the personal divinities were designed to represent the Nature powers, for there are so many images which are covered with symbols which can be interpreted in no other way. Of course it is not expected that the same zodiacal system existed in America, as that which prevailed in the far East. Yet, in so far as the ordinary Nature powers could be represented, they served as the drapery and ornament of the personal gods and divinities which were worshiped. These ornaments and symbols varied according to the period to which they belong, as the Aztec period was marked by one class of symbols, the Toltec by another; and the oldest of all belong to the time of the ancient Maya civilization. The monuments of the north are different from those of the south, not only because they are newer and belong to a later period, but because they belong to a different system and have a different class of symbols. It is true that we find certain symbols scattered throughout the whole region, such as the serpent, the cross, the tree, and the suastika; but there are other symbols, such as the manitou face, the hook, the Toltec eye, and the crouching lion or tiger, which are not found in the symbols of the Aztecs. Still the Maya system was quite in accord with that of the Nahua, as we find symbols resembling those of the Mayas in Palenque, Ococingo, and Copan, for these cities were devoted to the worship of the gods during the Toltec period, and perhaps before that time.
It was through the position of the kings and fear of the priests, that so much of the wealth of the common people was concentrated in the cities. Yet there were outside the cities, upon the summit of the mountains, images of coyotes and of a colossal figure of a winged beast, which watched over the fountains from which the water flowed, which supplied the city. This shows that there was still remaining something of the old animal worship which prevailed among the wild tribes. These were artificial, but there were natural objects which symbolized the same thought. The tradition, however, which most impressed the people was about Quezalcoatl, who came from the East wearing a cross upon his robe. This, however, is only one account, for another tradition represents him as having the character and appearance of a monk or a priest, and yet his influence became very great over the people.

There is a tradition, also, of three white men having appeared in the midst of the civilization which had prevailed, and who introduced systems of religion resembling those of the East, but so far as the evidence of the monuments go, it would seem that the priests had great power and that the kings lived in great magnificence. There is a discrepancy between these two accounts, for the priests generally wore different garments from the kings, and were devoted to their office, and their style of dress was quite in contrast with that which prevailed among the kings; but judging from the statues which have been discovered in the midst of the forest of the Umasintla Valley, we may conclude that the story had come down from previous generations, and had been one means of perpetuating the priestly power. It is remarkable that the priests and the kings could have continued to rule the people so long, and that the magnificence should have been perpetuated during so many changes and so many wars.

It would seem, however, that the personal divinities which represented the Nature powers were worshiped to the very close of the chapter, although their moral character changed greatly with the change of events. The ancient divinities of the Toltecs and Mayas apparently had been peaceful and delighting in the peaceful pursuits of the people, but the modern divinities, especially those of the Aztecs, became very war-like and seemed to delight in the war-like pursuits of the people. Many wars began late in history and the human sacrifices increased as the wars continued.

In 1512 there were great activities and many sacrifices, and a new sacrificial stone was dedicated. During the next few years Montezuma seems to have determined by brilliant exploits to defy the predictions of magicians and shake off his own superstitious fears, but his people had grown tired of war, and the tribes around were hostile and notwithstanding his prosperity and power he had reason to fear the overthrow of his followers; though the common people had been so long subject
to the power of the king that they had no expectation or desire for deliverance.

The practice of human sacrifice served to perpetuate this abject condition. There was another cause at work, viz., the combination of the priests and rulers in the different cities. There is a record of a compact between the Mexicans and the surrounding tribes in the Valley of Mexico, that battles should take place at regular intervals on battle ground set apart, for the sole purpose of obtaining victims for sacrifice.

There was a fortress built, and a garrison known as Monte Alban built by the Aztecs. The object was to secure captives for the grand dedication of Huitzilopochtli, which took place in 1546. Montezuma up to the time of the arrival of the Spaniards had led his army against nearly all the tribes surrounding the city, in order that he might gain captives to be sacrificed to his divinities; thousands of them were brought in and one after another led to the summit of the pyramids where the priests threw them upon the sacrificial stone, tore their hearts out and threw them into the face of the sun, and their bodies down the sides of the pyramids where they were seized upon by the people and devoured, as if in a religious ceremony. These were the offerings presented to Huitzilopochtli, the god of war, and to Tezcatlipoca, the god of death, whose statue or idol was placed over the entrance to the court, which surrounded the pyramid. There were also shrines within the court in the shape of serpents' heads, filled with fire, and other symbols. These show how strangely the system of religion had been affected by the long wars which distinguished the reign of Montezuma. It is probable that this practice of offering human sacrifice had greatly increased and was one result of the wars. Montezuma had ascended the throne amid great disturbances and had gained power over the tribes surrounding, who arose in revolt because of his cruelties, and yet the power of the priests seemed to keep up the practice and increase the superstition of the monarch. The sacrifices which he offered did not satisfy the conscience of Montezuma. His mind was full of fear, and so he readily submitted to Cortez, imagining that he was the Fair God, who had returned and who might deliver him from his enemies. This mingling of rage and fear was the natural consequence of the wars and the sacrifices which were offered. The evidence is that the system which had prevailed under the Toltecs was far more peaceful, and that the gods which were worshiped were more kindly in their spirit and represented the more kindly operations of nature.

There were thirteen principal gods, the most notable being the God of Providence, the God of War, the God of Winds, and the God of Water. The God of Providence had a seat in the sky and had under his care all human affairs; the God of Water was considered as the fertilizing power, and his dwelling
was in the highest of the mountains, where he arranges the clouds; the God of War was the principal protector of the Aztecs, and their guide in their wanderings. These gods were supernatural beings and had great power. Quetzatlcoatl had all riches of gold and silver and of green stones, and a great abundance of ornaments.

The city of Cholula was the place in which this god was best known. Cholula was given to commerce and handicraft, and worshiped Quetzatlcoatl, who was the God of merchandise. He came from the parts of Yucatan to the city of Cholula. He was a white man, a portly person, with a broad brow, great eyes, and a large beard; chaste and quiet and distinguished by moderation in all things. The people had good reasons for the reverence and devotion with which they regarded him. He taught the silversmiths their art; he desired no sacrifice of the blood of man or animals; he prohibited or forbade all war and violence. The name "Quetzatlcoatl" means "snake plumage," or "snake that has plumage"; this was his symbol of power. He was, according to historians, high priest in the city of Tulan; from that place he went to Cholula. Though in temporal things he was ruler of Tulan, in all spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, he was chief pontiff in Cholula. A superior character was ascribed to him, and was brought out by his personal history, a history which in some respects resembles that of Christ himself.

Quetzatlcoatl's repugnance to the shedding of human blood was such that he voluntarily abandoned his throne and disappeared. The story is that he embarked in a canoe made of snake skins and returned to the east, the quarter from which he had come, though this comes from the tendency to personify. The personal character of this divinity is very attractive to modern minds, for he lost everything from the machi-

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*This cut represents Cuculcan, one of the personal gods of the Mayas, in various activities, watching over the growing grain and drawing stores from the vase, &c.*
nations of his enemy Tezcatlipoca, but he endured his changes and calamities with patience, and entered with calmness into his new life and finally disappeared.

There were four gods who were created and bore the human image; their great clear eyes swept rapidly over all; they saw the woods and rocks, the lakes and the sea, the mountains and valleys; they complimented all and admired all. They returned thanks, and said we have received light, we speak, we walk, we taste, we hear and understand, we know both that which is near and that which is far off, we see all things, both great and small, in all heaven and earth. Thanks, then, to the creator, we have been created and, therefore, we are.

But the gods were not wholly pleased with their work; they said these men are too perfect, they know and understand too much. Then the four men slept, and there was a council in Heaven, and four women were made. Next after them were other men created, ancestors of other people. The language of all the families was confused, and no one of the four men could understand the speech of another. Next the three tribal gods were turned into stone, and they worshiped the gods that became stone,—offered them the blood of beasts and birds. Toward the end of their long life these beings were impelled to lay before their gods a more awful offering than the life of senseless beasts. They began to wet their altars with the heart's blood of human victims. Man was made four times and four times destroyed, and so there were four ages. This is not a modern tradition, for it is perpetuated by the symbols contained in the calendar stone. The first age was the age of the sun, and was called the sun of the water by which every living thing was destroyed. The second age was that of the earth; it was closed by a great earthquake. The third age was that of the air; it was ended by a tempest. The fourth age is fire, and is to be ended by complete conflagration.

Now this record of Creation and the symbols which are given to each, show that the Nature powers were all worshiped and that there were divinities representing each. The transformation of the divinities occurred: Nanahuatzin was changed into the sun, and Tezcatlecali into the moon.

This indicates that even the four quarters of the sky and the earth were presided over by the different divinities, exactly as with the wild tribes. The elements were symbolized: the water by reed, the fire by flint, the air a tempest which overthrew a house. All of them are portrayed on the calendar stone.

It is to be noticed that among the wild tribes, the four quarters of the sky were ascribed to the personal divinities, and that these were called upon in all their religious ceremonies. Through their aid disease was banished. In this respect the system resembled that of the East, for Ormuzd was the God of Light; Indra, the God of Earth; Kali, the God of Fire;
Ahriman, the God of Death. Bancroft says: "The Quiches had a multitude of other gods who presided over the destinies of men. The places where they most loved to linger were dark deep spots in the undisturbed silence of the grotto, at the foot of some steep precipice, beneath the shade of mighty trees, especially where the water trickled forth from the roots and from the mountain.

"The Quiches had a divinity called Gucumatz and Hurakan. He represented thunder and lightning and the thunderbolt, three phases—the flash, the streak of lightning, and the thunderbolt, giving the conception of the trinity. There was a family of gods who had special temples in the habitations of the princes."

The Yucatecs believed that there were four brothers, who were called the Bacabs; they supported the four corners of the earth and were regarded as air gods. The cross was the symbol of rain; the four winds bearers of rain. Chalchiutlicue was a sister of the rain gods. She bore in her hands a cross-shaped vessel. The Mexican name of the cross was the "tree of our life or flesh." It was an astronomical sign, but conveyed the idea of fertility. The Bacabs are pictured out in the codices as drawing stores from deep vases for the supply of the people. These Bacabs were the gods of the four points of the compass, but symbolized the kindly forces of nature. This system, which was so near to nature's heart, became transformed and greatly changed as time went on. At first the system was peaceful and the people were prosperous. Cities grew up in great numbers, but rival kings appeared, priests came into great power, and the Nature divinities were eclipsed by personal gods.

There came a time when the palaces and temples were covered with symbols which were calculated to awaken superstitious fear,—the symbols of the serpent, the manitou face, the dragon and other monsters. Altars were placed before the statues of the kings; pyramids were erected and occupied by the kings; shrines of the divinities were placed upon the summit of the pyramids, but were guarded by serpent effigies which symbolized the rain clouds. The personal element was hidden under the mass of symbols of the Nature powers.

This worship of nature alone did not improve the morals of the people, nor advance their social condition, though wealth increased and industries were prosperous. Tezcatlipoca took the place of Quetzalcoatl. He represented the treachery, deceit, and cruelty which had remained in the hearts of the people, even while they had increased in wealth and become prosperous. The priests became more numerous; they became educators of the youth. Temples became the place where virgins, resembling the Vestal Virgins of Rome resided. Such was the case in Peru, and to a certain extent in Mexico. Luxury increased, art advanced, elegance appeared in the halls
and palaces; magnificent temples were erected, long roads led to the cities. A barbaric magnificence prevailed, and yet Tezcatlipoca, treacherous, selfish, wicked and designing, as he was, became the chief divinity, though the memory of Quetzalcoatl, the Fair God, still continued. It was a strange history, but real, for the monuments testify to its reality, and tradition and records confirm the monuments. The god of war came into power.

The manitou face seen sculptured upon the façades of some of the palaces illustrates this condition. This has the nose of the serpent god, the eyes of the god of water and other strange symbols, but it gave place to the horrid idol which appeared over the gateway of the temple court in the City of Mexico, which embodied in itself the God of War, Huitzilopochtli; the God of Death, Tezcatlipoca, and the God of Hell, Mictlantecutli. Even the female goddesses, such as generally represent the fertility of the earth and maternity and other gracious traits, were finally covered with symbols of cruelty,—the head of a serpent and the skirt of serpents, and faces sadly distorted.

Tlaloc, the God of Water, and the fertilizer of the earth, was seated in the great temple beside Huitzilopochtli, who was the God of War. Tlaloc had in his hand a shield ornamented with feathers. In his right hand there were three wavy sheets of gold, representing his thunder bolts, sometimes a golden serpent. On his feet were sandals, with bells of gold hanging to them. The body was naked from the thigh down. His face had only one eye, and there was an external circle of blue around it; around the mouth was a double band of blue; in his open mouth were seen only three grinders; his teeth were painted. In the time of drought men were sacrificed to Tlaloc. Two festivals were devoted to Tlaloc at which were human sacrifices. It is supposed that the victims thrown into the sacred lake at Chichen-Itza were sacrifices to Tlaloc.

Centeotl was the Goddess of Maize, and from the importance in America of this grain, she became the Goddess of Agriculture and of the the earth generally. She corresponded to the Greek goddess Artemis, the Goddess of Maternity. She was represented with an infant in her arms, and had the office of bringing children to life. Centeotl was the great producer and the most ancient goddess of the Aztecs.

The same was true, both of the Toltecs and the Aztecs. Other gods representing agriculture and fertility had symbols that represented their character. The four Bacabs stood beside the vases and drew from them seeds that produced abundant crops and other supplies for the people. The gods of the four element—earth, sky, and water—all seemed to be kindly and peaceful, but the reign of Huitzilopochtli, the God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, the embodiment of treachery, were in the ascendency.

Civilization advanced; in Greece there was no improve-
ment in morals. Aphrodite was worshiped by the Greek; Dionysus, the God of Wine; Apollo, the God of Letters; also Vulcan, the God of Industry, and Venus, the Goddess of Love.

We see in this the difference between the religion of the Aztecs and the Greeks and Romans. All the gods may have represented the Nature powers, both in this continent and among the Eastern nations, but we find far more cruelty among the gods of the Aztecs than among those of the Greeks. In Greece Atlas bore up the four pillars of the earth; Uranus reigned supremely in the skies; Neptune ruled over the sea; Vulcan or Hephaestus ruled over the subterranean fires; Zeus was the god of the mountains and the chief gods of the Greeks were: Ceres, the Goddesses of Corn; Minerva, the Goddess of Maternity.

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**THE CLOUD BOAT OF THE MAYAS.**

The elements were personified in these gods of the Greeks, for Zeus was the cloud divinity, Pluto was the God of the Under World, Neptune was the God of Water. The elements, the points of the compass, the different Nature powers were all represented, but the gods were mild and peaceful. The character of the Greeks was full of the love of nature and the society of their fellow men, and religion gave character to their divinities. The divinities of the Aztecs also represented their character. Tlaloc, the God of Water, was represented with a glaring eye. He is sometimes seated upon the suastika, or whirling cross, which symbolized the points of the compass and motion of the sky. Huitzilopochtli, the God of

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*This cut represents the Cloud Boat, with the four seasons and four points of the compass indicated upon it. The staff has four nodes upon it. The chief figure may represent the giant Bacab, or Chaa, though the animal head is not usually given to the Bacabs.*
War, was represented as having teeth and fangs of the serpent with the eye blazing in his head. His drapery fringed with the rattles or tails of the serpent; a death's head in the center of his body between his arms; its ghastly face looking out from the center of the body, the drapery which covered the arms and limbs seeming like a mockery by way of contrast.

In one respect they resemble the gods of the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians. Assyrians, Babylonians, and Hindoos, for all these are represented as being both male and female, and having children. To illustrate: Jupiter, or Zeus, and Juno constituted the pair which dwelt on Mt. Olympus and ruled over all the other gods, though Uranus, or Saturn, is supposed to have dwelt alone in the skies and was the supreme ruler of the entire universe. The Egyptian divinities were represented in pairs, of which Isis and Osiris were the chief.

The character of the personal divinities partook of the character of the people worshiping them, though they were all of them regarded as the personifications of the Nature powers, as well as supernatural beings. Their chief characteristic was that they represented the real culture of the people, and so were called Culture heroes. They bear names which vary according to their locality and the people who worship them. Itzamna was one of these Culture heroes. He was said to have invented letters; the two sets of hieroglyphics which were designed to keep the records of the time of the days, months, and years, which are so abundant in the codices, were ascribed to him; though the sculptured pictographs found on the calendar stone in Mexico were of more recent origin.

We shall find the same true of the personal divinities of the Mayas and the people who inhabited Peru, including those of the Quichuas. It should be said that these people were more peaceful than the Aztecs, but were more advanced in their culture and in their religious ideas. The divinities of the Mayas have been described by the Spanish historians,—Sahagun, Acosta, Clavigero, and others,—but long quotations have been made from their writings by Mr. H. H. Bancroft. The hieroglyphics and pictographs have been reproduced by Lord Kingsborough in his famous work; besides these, copies of the codices have been recently reproduced by Duc de Loubat. These codices have been studied by a number of German scholars,—Seler, Schellhas,—and a few American scholars, chief of whom are Dr. Cyrus Thomas and Dr. D. G. Brinton. The best books for the general reader and the most comprehensive are those prepared by Dr. Brinton, entitled, "The Primer of Mayan Hieroglyphics and American Hero Myths."

The Maya priests, as well as those of Peru, were connected with the government as an order of nobility; they were the religious teachers; the leaders of ceremonies, sacrifices, and confessors; the oracles of the gods were committed to their care. Votan, Zamna, Cuculcan, and all the other semi-mythi-
PERSONAL DIVINITIES AND NATURE POWERS.

Cal founders of the Maya civilization, united in their persons, the qualities of high priest and king. The Mayas intrusted the education of their youth to the priesthood, and the youths assisted the priests in their duties. Girls were placed in convents, and thousands of children were educated at the expense of the royal treasury. Religious feasts were held on certain fixed days of the calendar. The priests were occupied in teaching their sciences and writing books. Landa says, 'We have found a great number of books among them.' There were occasions when sacrifices lasted for many days, and when thousands of victims were offered. Dancing in the courts of the temple continued as long as the sacrifices lasted. The methods of sacrifice were peculiar: a priest adorned with feathers and loaded with little bells, and having a knife in hand, opened the breast of the victim, tore out the heart, brandished it toward the cardinal points, and finally threw it into the face of the sun.

There were eighteen festivals at which human sacrifices were offered, at such times the people ate the flesh of the victims sacrificed. There were days in which young virgins were the victims. The naming of a child was a religious ceremony, generally the child was named after the god on whose day it was born. There was a practise among the priests of predicting the destiny of the child, by finding on the calendar the position of the stars on the day on which the child was born. Auguries were learned from the North Star, which was personified and represented in the codices. The god of growth and the god of death were both personified. A sacrifice at the close of the year was offered, and a picture of it is found in the Dresden codex. Another picture, from the same codex, has been interpreted by Dr. Brinton as representing the God of Time bringing in the dead year.

The effort has been made to identify the deities from the pictographs and glyphs, but it is largely guesswork, and can not be relied upon. This, however, may be said: that there were personal gods, both in Central America and Peru, which were worshiped as supernatural beings, but there was no such conception of a supreme god as we have, nor even a conception which was equal to that of the Greeks. The gods were identified with the cardinal points, the operations of nature, the course of the seasons, and, perhaps, with the astronomical movements, though there is a doubt about this last supposition. The gods are supposed to have consorts and to have children, the children performing offices which were peculiar to themselves. To illustrate: Cuculcan is supposed to be a god of the west; his consort was the rainbow; their children were the Bacabs or giants, called "Chacs." They were also gods of the cardinal points and of the crops. They are represented in the codices as drawing stores from the cloud vases. Each of the gods had his own mission and his
own personality, so that many have imagined that they could recognize them by the pictographs. The god with a single tooth, is said to be the Moon god; the god with the serpent issuing from his mouth, is said to represent the chief god, Itzamna; the god with the shaded face, is supposed to be Cuculcan, who watched over the crops.

We are also to notice that the chief gods of the Peruvians resembled those of the Mayas, but were nearer to our own conception of the divinity. The prayers addressed to them breathe a pure spirit of devotion. The chief god was the embodiment of the light of day, and was represented by the sun, whose face was wrought of gold and placed upon the walls of the temple. There were Culture heroes who were the personification of light. The office and character of the supreme gods were very similar to those of the Mayas. Bochica was the supreme male divinity, his consort was the Rainbow; Cuchaviva was the goddess of rains and waters, fields, medicine, and child-bearing; Votan was the chief god, he assigned the different races of men the places where they were to dwell, he instituted civil laws, and was the Culture hero of the Mayas, so Viracocha was the chief god and Culture hero of the Quichuas. He corresponded to Quezatlcoatl and Itzamna. The worship of Pachacamac appeared in ancient Peru, his name means giving life to the world. All of these divinities were worshiped with the idea that they had once lived upon the earth in human form, were white and bearded, but had withdrawn, and yet the expectation was that they would return. In this respect, the pagan idea was not unlike that which is held by Christians, though the character of Christ is infinitely superior to any of these Nature gods. The chief difference between them was that they represented the Nature powers, rather than the personality of God. To illustrate: we find in Peru the story of the four brothers. They appeared on earth after it had been rescued from the primeval waters, and the face of the land was divided between them. Manco Capac took the north; Colla, the south; Pinahua, the west, and the east, the region whence come the sun and the light, was given to Viracocha, under his name of the Finisher, he who completes and perfects.
# List of Divinities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIVINITIES</th>
<th>TRIBES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acatl, God of the Sky</td>
<td>Mayas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahal-yu-ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me-tsaw-Is-ma</td>
<td>Divine Twins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aishish, Moon God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akkenet, Evil Spirit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antelope Priest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apocatequitl, God of Evil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashonuth, Sky God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atohrobo, Thunder Bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attensic, Mother God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atius, Earth God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atosis, The Snake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacabs, Gods of the Four Points</td>
<td>Nahuaas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bochica, Hero Gods</td>
<td>Muyscas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camaxtli, Thunder God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centeotl, God of Maize</td>
<td>Aztecs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalchihitlicue, Sister of Rain God</td>
<td>Aztecs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chantu, Destroyer</td>
<td>Aztecs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checatil, Man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chichen-Izta, Temple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicomecotal, Goddess of Provisions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitseh, Fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coatlicue, Virgin Goddess</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotokinimwa, Lightning God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coxcox, Noah</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuculcan, Chief God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzhe-Manido, Shadow Spirit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehecatl, God of the Air</td>
<td>Tezcucaans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emisee, Master of Breath</td>
<td>Creeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estas, Mythic Bird</td>
<td>Carriers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etsnatalehi, Goddess of the West</td>
<td>Navajoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glooskap, Chief God</td>
<td>Abenaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gucumatz, God of the Air</td>
<td>Nahuaas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gumango, God of the North</td>
<td>Californians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasjelti, Mountain God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hathlingro, Sunshine</td>
<td>Navajoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawanees, Great God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hephaestus, Vulcan</td>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heno, Thunderer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heyoka, Chief Thunder God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiawatha, Culture Hero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF DIVINITIES.

### DIVINITIES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIVINITIES</th>
<th>TRIBES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hoorts, The Bear</td>
<td>Thlinkeets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooyeh, The Raven</td>
<td>Ojibways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostjobokon, Rain God</td>
<td>Navajoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostjoghon, Mountain Divinity</td>
<td>Navajoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huitzilopochtli, God of Death</td>
<td>Aztecs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huehuetotl, Oldest of the Gods</td>
<td>Aztecs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huemac, God of Earthquakes</td>
<td>Zapotecs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurakan, Storm God</td>
<td>Quiches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hushitol, Storm Wind</td>
<td>Sioux.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Icni, Lightning God</td>
<td>Navajoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ictasanda, Reptile People</td>
<td>Dakotas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ictiniki, Creator and Sun God</td>
<td>Omahas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ictinike, Loki, or Evil One</td>
<td>Omahas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igdrasil, Tree of Life</td>
<td>Scandinavian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikto, Wise Man</td>
<td>Sioux.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indacinga, Supernatural Being</td>
<td>Ponkas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingsan, Thunder Being</td>
<td>Omahas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-gul-itung, Lightning God</td>
<td>Eskimos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inuksuha, Chief God (The White One)</td>
<td>Iroquois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iztamna, Hero God</td>
<td>Mayas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagsuk, Fabulous Creature</td>
<td>Eskimos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaila, Spirits</td>
<td>Klamath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kee-zegbeset, Hobgoblin</td>
<td>Passamaquoddiess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiliopak, Fabulous Beast</td>
<td>Eskimos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitche Manitou, Creator</td>
<td>Ojibways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kictso, Great Serpent</td>
<td>Navajoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knuukamit, Old Man of the Ancients</td>
<td>Klamath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koki, Ancestral Gods</td>
<td>Zunis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koko, Intercessor for Rain</td>
<td>Zunis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolowitz, Sky God</td>
<td>Zunis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koye-me-shi, God of the Winds</td>
<td>Zunis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuetiqui, War God</td>
<td>Iroquois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lalawakohtito, Dark Island</td>
<td>Pawnees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lelanguh, Fluteman</td>
<td>Zunis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macana, God of the Earth</td>
<td>Moquis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahadeo, Hindoo Symbol</td>
<td>Hindoos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mama Cochu, God of Water</td>
<td>Botocudas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana, Virgin Goddess</td>
<td>Moquis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manabush, Great Mystery</td>
<td>Menominees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mancingaxe, Wolf People</td>
<td>Kansas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitou, Chief God</td>
<td>Dakotas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manibozho, Chief God</td>
<td>Algokins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-nu-na, Earth Maker</td>
<td>Babylonians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marduk, God</td>
<td>Winnebagos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecemanitou, Wicked Spirit</td>
<td>Menomini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mectinzo, Giant Rabbit</td>
<td>Osages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michabo, Giant Rabbit</td>
<td>Algokins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midi Wigan, Sacred Songs</td>
<td>Ojibways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mistlantecutli, Goddess of Health</td>
<td>Aztec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixcoatli, Cloud Serpent</td>
<td>Chicemecs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munatalkani, Ghosts</td>
<td>Klamath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustangho, Creator</td>
<td>Mojaves.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## List of Divinities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divinity</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Na-hur-ac, Animal Divinity</td>
<td>Pawnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napioa, Double-jointed God</td>
<td>Blackfeet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naaskidi, Humpbacks (Cloud Divinities)</td>
<td>Navajoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natsingh, Animal God</td>
<td>Aleuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natzonlit</td>
<td>Apaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nudagonyet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nay-un-un-u-wi, Stone Shield Monster</td>
<td>Cherokee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nekilstius, Raven</td>
<td>Thlinkeets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne-kons-wi, Stone Shield Monster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niaba, The Moon</td>
<td>Omahas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niltci, Wind</td>
<td>Navajoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nipika, Mountain Spirit</td>
<td>Kootenays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nokomis, Mother Goddess</td>
<td>Menominees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nokolpi, Gambling Goddess</td>
<td>Navajoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonihecatl, Lord of the Four Winds</td>
<td>Aztecs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu-let-shi, Underground God</td>
<td>Dakotas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numock-mucenah, Chief God</td>
<td>Mandans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oannes, God of the Ocean</td>
<td>Hindoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oki, Evil Spirit</td>
<td>Powhatans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omowuh, Rain God</td>
<td>Tusayans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oneout, Great Serpent</td>
<td>Hurons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oonktaghe, God of Waters</td>
<td>Dakotas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orka, Whale-Killer</td>
<td>Thlinkeets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pachacamac, Chief God</td>
<td>Peruvians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palulukin, Great Plumed Snake</td>
<td>Tusayans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paupukeewis, Mischievous Spirit</td>
<td>Iroquois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pibokong, War God</td>
<td>Moquis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quetzalcoatl, Fair God</td>
<td>Nahuas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimac, Chief God</td>
<td>Peruvians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salamabiya, God of the Cardinal Points</td>
<td>Zunis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawain-ki, Magic Medicine of War</td>
<td>Zunis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedna, Sea Woman</td>
<td>Eskimos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentlae, The Sun</td>
<td>Haidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siepuh, War God</td>
<td>Papagoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sip-a-pu, Place of Emergence</td>
<td>Navajoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaman, Priest</td>
<td>Eskimos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sootiki, Sky God</td>
<td>Zunis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some-yah-tis-sa-y, The One that made Us</td>
<td>Iroquois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadodaho, Snake-Headed Chief</td>
<td>Onandagas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tah-anah-deh, Big Chief Above</td>
<td>Dakotas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-kin-yan, Thunder Being</td>
<td>Dakotas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-eh-wea-wah-ka, Holder of the Heavens</td>
<td>Onandagas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-en-yah-wah-ki, Holder of the Heavens</td>
<td>Iroquois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-oun ya-wat-ha, God of Rivers</td>
<td>Onandagas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-wis-a-ka-rong, Flint Monster</td>
<td>Iroquois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taingesah-tsah, Bird Gods</td>
<td>Aleuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwa, Sun God</td>
<td>Zunis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIVINITIES</td>
<td>TRIBES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamahnous, Prayer God</td>
<td>Chinooks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamu, Old Man of the Sky</td>
<td>Caribs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talanipikeh, Lightning God</td>
<td>Hopis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taras, Cloud Serpent</td>
<td>Tarascos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tecpatl, Air God</td>
<td>Mayas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teoyaomiqui, Chief God</td>
<td>Aztecs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tezcatlipoca, God of Death</td>
<td>Nahuas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teotihuacan, Chief God</td>
<td>Mexicans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theronhaiwagoni, Holder of the Heavens</td>
<td>Iroquois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirawa, Great Creator</td>
<td>Iroquois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlaloc, God of Water</td>
<td>Aztecs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonocateoti, God of Our Flesh</td>
<td>Nahuas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udlugitung, Thunder God</td>
<td>Eskimos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugahanadaze, Darkness</td>
<td>Omahas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unktehi, Water God</td>
<td>Dakotas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usrme, Smoking Weed</td>
<td>Eskimos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira Cocha, Chief God</td>
<td>Peruvians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Votan, Hero God</td>
<td>Peruvians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waktcegi, Water Monster</td>
<td>Winnebagos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakanda, Wonder God</td>
<td>Dakotas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanaki, Traditions</td>
<td>Algonkins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wan-ki-na-ga, Father God</td>
<td>Shoshones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapahoe, Pumpkin</td>
<td>Eskimos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waukan, God of Waters</td>
<td>Dakotas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waukeon, Thunder Bird</td>
<td>Dakotas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woo-chow-sene, Windblower</td>
<td>Abenaki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xibalba, Hero God</td>
<td>Aztecs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabetsi, Talking God</td>
<td>Navajoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yehl, Raven</td>
<td>Haidas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Abenaki, 369, 378.
Adams County, Illinois, 69.
Alaska, 365.
Aleuts, 149, 300.
Alligators, 211.
Altars, 204, 213.
Alton, III., 188.
Ancestor Worship, 297, 310.
Antelope Gens, 93.
Anthropomorphism, 315.
Archery, 149.
Arbor Lowe, 152.
Arched Heavens, 149.
Athapascans, 229, 242.
Atotarho, 260, 324.
Atuebury, 151, 237.
Aztecs, 160, 120, 171, 222, 390.

Bancroft, H. H., 58, 164, 178, 244, 434.
Bandelier, Ad. F., 178.
Bartram, Dr., 145, 164.
Bears, 203.
Bicani, 31.
Birds, 180, 200, 267, 271, 286, 300.
Bottocudos, 232.
Boulder Mosaics, 85.
Brinton, Dr. D. G., 6, 60, 62, 231, 232, 267, 386, 396, 406.
Buddhist Temples, 112.
Buffaloes, 34, 83.
Butler County, 65.
Butterfly, 286.

Caddos, 232.
Caddus, 223.
Cahokia, 161, 170, 173.
Calendar, 105.
Californians, 247, 261.
Call, 101, 298.
Canadian, 264, 376.
Cahuilla, 211.
Cardinal Points, 201, 203, 322, 329.
Carib, 232, 305.
Carrage, Ala., 73.
Carved Images, 306.
Castilian Springs, 254.
Cathlins, 351.
Catlin, 33, 111, 230, 243, 263, 266.
Cayugas, 20.
Centotl, 432.

Chaldea, 167, 181, 225, 228, 273.
Charlotte Island, 353.
Charnay, 208, 280, 404, 406, 413.
Cheops, 174, 179.
Cherokee, 36, 62, 63, 143, 147, 231, 232, 268, 384, 429.
Chicases, 36, 168, 232.
Chicemeces, 278, 425.
Chilkat, 356.
Chilicoto, Ohio, 76.
Chunkalapopoca, 245.
Chinese, 41, 167, 181, 332.
Chinooks, 230.
Chippewas, 56, 360, 365.
Chitsah, 300.
Chochaw, 62, 168.
Cholula, 168, 174, 232, 311, 390, 404.
Cibola, 156.
Circles, 187, 236, 311.
Coffin Dwellers, 148, 235.
Cloud Symbols, 289, 292, 325.
Cockatrice, 224, 283.
Codex, 201, 203, 232.
Codices, 37, 201, 232, 254, 277.
Coiled Serpent, 79, 148.
Colorado, 12.
Comanches, 241.
Copan, 124, 177, 404, 408, 416, 426, 428.
Copper Plates, 77, 255.
Copper Eagle, 218.
Cornstalk, 171.
Cortesian, 277.
Cosmic Serpent, 101.
Cosmic Symbols, 301, 313.
Cosumalhuapa, 137, 272.
Coyote, 246.
Creation Myth, 157.
Creeks, 27, 53, 200, 268.
Cremation, 213.
Crocodiles, 42.
Cross, 185, 195, 204, 275, 311, 417.
Cuculkan, 405, 425.
Culture Heroes, 55, 369, 379, 390, 399, 405, 423, 425.
Cup Stone, 209, 218.
Cushing, Frank, 154.
Cuzco, 168, 184.

Dakotas, 8, 22, 40, 68, 85, 86, 220, 263, 273, 380.
Dance Kilt, 295.
Deer, 120.
Delawares, 30, 60, 371.
Deluge, 142, 227, 229, 242, 245.
INDEX.

Demon, 7, 145.
Demonism, 7.
Detroit River, 264.
Diodorus Siculus, 115.
Disks, 135.
Dorman, R. M., 58.
Dorsey, Rev. J. O., 40.
Dragon, 228, 285.
Dragon Fly, 266.
Druids, 94, 151, 215, 234.
Dzhe Manido, 318.

Eagle, 31, 40, 121, 250, 268.
Earth, 319.
Easter Islands, 301, 367.
Eells, M., 41, 269.
Effigies, 69, 72, 85, 88.
Egyptian, 94.
Eleusinian, 94.
Eskimos, 2, 6, 58, 145, 302, 336, 364.
Etohwa, 31, 249.
Etruscan, 96, 174.

Fair God, 231.
Feathered Monster, 50.
Fejervary Codex, 202.
Fetish, 201.
Fewkes, J. Walter, 19, 253, 282.
Fighting Figures, 268.
Fire Generator, 216, 225.
Fire-Worship, 217, 225, 312.
Fletcher, Alice, 251.
Flinl Knife, 51.
Flinl Ridge, 213.
Flute People, 291.
France, 210, 335.

Georgia, 78, 304.
Germ God, 253.
Ghiyeb, 161.
Gila Valley, 155, 247.
Glooskot, 260.
Gomara, 232.
Goget, 73, 127, 147, 199.
Great Spirit, 300, 320.
Greeks, 166.
Guatemala, 149, 216, 308, 309.
Gucumatz, 390.
Gulf States, 145, 147.

Habel, Mons., 121, 137, 148, 272.
Haida Woman, Figures of, 25, 26.
Hamilton County, 65.
Hasjelti, 324, 327, 331.
Hamy, Dr., 281, 406.
Herrera, 22.
Hawk, 114.
Henshaw, H. M., 46.
Hieroglyphics, 37.

Hindoos, 94, 140, 157, 199.
Holden, E. S., 109.
Honduras, 399.
Hooked Cross, 219.
Hopewell Mounds, 218.
Horseshoe, 153.
Human Face, 258.
Human Figures, 279, 345.
Human Images, 271, 303, 345.
Humboldt, 162.
Hurons, 386.
Hyperboreans, 5.

Ictasanda, 35.
Igdrasil, 273.
Indian Medicine Man, 45.
Incejide, 35.
Inscribed Rock, 18, 46, 96, 188.
Iroquois, 20, 25, 58, 75, 229, 261, 424.
Itzamna, 394.

Kabah, 404, 416.
Kalevala, 56.
Kennebec, 50.
Kentucky, 66, 78, 238.
Kitchi Manido, 316, 318.
Kiva, 287.
Klamath, 269, 270.
Klitsco, 329.
Koko, 287.
Koloowitse, 287.
Koyemeshi, 288.
Knife-Feathered Monster, 50.
Knisteneaux, 381.

Lafitau, 111.
Lagunas, 21, 22.
Landa, 202.
Lelangy, 201.
Leland, Chas., 56.
Lenape, 50, 60, 165, 245.
Le Normand, 54, 179, 225.
Lewis, A. L., 71, 152, 234.
Lightning God, 321, 332, 384, 386.
Lizard, 120.
Loch Nell, 71.
Loki, 225, 231.
Lockyer, 172, 182.
Lorillard, 208, 405.
Loskiem, 111.

Mackinaw, 242.
Mahadeo, 210.
Malais Cross, 273.
Mallory, C. O., 9, 264.
Managua, 307.
Mandans, 230, 251, 384.
Manibozho, 56, 229, 375.
INDEX.

Manitou, 59.
Masks, 128.
Mason, Prof. O. T., 305.
Mastabah, 175.
Maurice, W. F., 151.
Mayas, 15, 22, 178, 277, 313, 393.
McLean, J. P., 90.
Medicine Man, 47.
Moenominees, 371.
Mexico, 97, 107, 120, 148, 181.
Mexicans, 109, 170, 192, 203.
Miami, 22.
Miami River, 65, 76.
Michabo, 220.
Mide Wigan, 320.
Missouri, 127.
Missasagas, 376.
Mitla, 179.
Miztecs, 246.
Mohawks, 20.
Monkey, 120.
Montezuma, 95, 243.
Morgan, L. H., 178.
Mound Builders, 61, 147, 171, 235, 305.
Mount City, 74, 214.
Mount Meru, 167, 322.
Mount Shasta, 247.
Mountain Chant, 327.
Mountain Gods, 321, 321, 326.
Mountain Lion, 51.
Muscogees, 86, 62.
Muskoki, 62.
Muskkrat, 230.
Naaskidi, 325.
Nahuas, 15, 178, 220, 253, 277, 300, 395.
Nahurac, 68.
Nanticokes, 429.
Navajoes, 12, 30, 219, 221, 321, 325.
Newark, Ohio, 72.
New York, 83.
New Zealand, 356.
Niblick, 340.
Nokomis, 371.
Norsemens, 370.

Oannes, 228.
Ohio, 61, 69, 151.
Omaha, 33, 35, 321.
Oneidas, 5.
Onondagases, 20, 75.
Onotaghe, 384.
Osages, 96.
Osias, 129, 225.
Ostykak, 41.
Ottawas, 33, 379.

Paint Creek, 64, 214.
Packard, J. S., 211.
Palenque, 137, 163, 178.
Panther, 313.
Pawnees, 20, 35, 68.
Pekin, 181.
Peruvians, 159.
Phene, 70.
Phoenix, 114.
Picote, 136.
Pimas, 321.
Piutes, 59.
Portraits, 310.
Portsmouth, Ohio, 66, 92, 211.
Porokas, 33, 321.
Powell, Major, 4.
Plumed Prayer Stick, 294.
Prayer Meal, 284.
Putnam, F. W., 70.
Pytho, 223.
Pyramid, 159, 184.
Quackligui, 31.
Quetzaticoatl, 245, 311.
Quichuas, 232.
Quincy, 213.
Quiriguia, 401.
Quonagani, 31.
Rabbit, 120.
Rainbow, 221, 321, 329.
Rain God, 282, 292, 311.
Rain Symbol, 282.
Raven, 313.
Rock Inscriptions, 188.

Sabaeanism, 307.
Sacs, 218.
Salamobiya, 287.
Sand Painting, 221, 332.
Schoolcraft, 375.
Scioto, 66, 237.
Sedna, 302, 304.
Senecas, 20.
Serpent Effigies, 90.
Serpent Mounds, 57, 88.
Serpent Ornament, 101.
Serpent Ring, 102.
Serpent Symbol, 56.
Shamanism, 129, 200, 300.
Shawnees, 60, 95.
Shells, 289.
Shell Gorget, 197.
Shoshones, 95, 241.
Silver Bracelets, 344.
Sioux, 381.
Sipapu, 294.
Skidegate, 349.
Sky Symbol, 187, 283.
INDEX.

Snake Dance, 293.
Snake God, 229, 265, 289.
Solstitial, 288.
Sootikee, 157.
Spider, 127, 193.
Spider Gorget, 194, 252.
Squier, E. G., 77, 91, 82.
Staircases, 177.
Standing Stones, 335.
Statues, 259.
Stephens, J. L., 400.
Stepped Figure, 313.
Stevenson, Mrs. M. C., 290.
Stonehenge, 153.
Suastika, 198, 223, 309.
Sun Circles, 238.
Sun Worship, 113, 144.
Sun Symbol, 186.

Tablets, 183.
Tawiskara, 279.
Tecpatl, 278.
Tehuantepec, 179.
Temples, 182.
Tennessee, 116.
Teotihuacan, 204.
Tecucatlippoca, 120.
Thebes, 122.
Thlinkeets, 37, 118, 134, 261, 354.
Thruston, G. P., 73.
Thunder Bird, 118.
Tiger, 120.
Tiki, 357.
Tinneh, 269, 300.
Turawa, 270.
Tkul, 365.
Tlaloc, 120, 124, 280.
Tochtli, 278.
Toltec, 56, 120, 171, 232, 244.
Tongas, 352.
Toohkan, 383.
Tortoise, 111.
Totemism, 26, 37, 134, 302.

Totem Posts, 340.
Transformation, 249 to 280.
Tree, 254, 275.
Tulan, 403.
Tungus, 41.
Twanas, 269.
Tylor, Dr. E. B., 244.

Uxmal, 174, 178.

Vira Cocha, 396.
Votan, 393.

Wake, C. Staniland, 387.
Walum Olum, 186, 245.
Water Cult, 227.
Waubesha, 260.
Waukau, 263.
Whirlwind, 284.
Whitney, Charles, 212, 267.
Wilson, Thomas, 209.
Wind God, 140.
Winged Circle, 138.
Winged Figure, 271.
Winged Serpent, 13.
Wolf, 110.
World Makers, 363.
World Quarters, 284, 294.

Xochicalco, 99, 159.

Yehl, 347.
Yucatan, 309.
Yucatecs, 430.

Zapotecs, 382.
Zeus, 165, 167.
Zendavesta, 374.
Zodiac, 111, 132.
Zunis, 48, 136, 187, 193, 284, 321.
Zuni Prayer Bowl, 284.