

of Palatkwapi, wherein Lomavantiwa—describing how water came out of the ground at <sup>a village in</sup> Palatkwabi four years after the planting of bahos by direction of the village chief's sorcerer son—says, "These bahos had really been BálsíSokongs."\*

Footnote \*Voth, Traditions of the Hopi, p. 52.

The above-cited statement by Lomavantiwa, moreover, calls attention to the fact, known also from other traditions and indications, that the Hopis believed not only in a great Plumed Serpent, but also in numberless smaller ones.

Representations of "crested serpents" on both interior and exterior of a bowl at the "sacred spring" on Zúfi River about a league above the pueblo of Zúfi, were seen by Lieutenant Whipple's party in 1853. Several ancient vessels—among them this bowl—decorated with paintings of water animals, had been placed in inverted position on the wall around this spring as ceremonial offerings to the genius of water that was supposed to preside there, ~~watching~~ over the destinies not only of the fountain itself but also of the rain-fall thereabout upon which the Zúfis depended in their agriculture; for at that time the Zúfis did not have acequias, but ~~depended~~ <sup>relied</sup> chiefly on the rain-fall of the country for the growth of their crops, irrigating only small garden plots of special cultures to which their women conveyed water in ollas, and they believed that if they neglected the annual ceremonies at this spring, drought would result and their crops would suffer accordingly. In his chapter on Indian Antiquities and Arts, in Volume III of the Pacific Railroad Survey Reports, Mr. Thomas Ewbank says of this bowl and its animal pictures, "This interesting vessel was also taken from the Zúfi fountain; and it is observable that the paintings on it are confined to appropriate subjects—the crested serpents being probably intended for rattle or water snakes. The figures in the interior are shown above—i. e., a frog, [two]

Footnote \*The text here reads "three"; but this is manifestly an error.

Snakes, and four tadpoles."\* The illustration given of this bowl

Footnote \*Chapter cited, p. 46.

and its crested serpents, etc., in Plate 38, figure 3 of that chapter,

is here reproduced.

-----ILLUSTRATION (figure in text)

Ancient bowl decorated with crested serpents, deposited at a sacred spring of the Zuffis as a ceremonial offering to Koloowisi or as a prayer for rain.

By the Zuffis the Great Crested Serpent is called Kó-loowisi, and appears as the deity bestowing water, corn, and grass.\* In the

Footnote \*See Mrs. Stevenson's account in the 23d Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 101.

ceremony called "Coming of Kó-loowisi," it is represented by an elaborately constructed and painted fetish of deerskin, feathers, and fox fur, of which a description and illustrations are given by Mrs. Stevenson in her memoir on the Zuffi Indians.\* An exact model of

Footnote \*Rep. cit., p. 94, Pls. XIII (colored) and XIV.

this effigy is in the United States National Museum.

-----ILLUSTRATION (Plate - photo-engraving)

Effigy of Koloowisi, the Zuffi Plumed Serpent, with head thrust through ceremonial rain-cloud tablet. (Reduced from Plate XIV, 23d Annual Report Bureau American Ethnology.)

The Plumed Serpent of the Zuffis, like that of the Hopis, seems to have been multiple, or at least multipresent. The Zuffi sacred spring described above was in the vicinity of Ranchos de Zuffi, an agricultural or summer settlement; but the Zuffis have three such settlements, and one of these is down the river at Ojo Caliente, where are a number of springs, one of which, Toseluna, is dedicated to Koloowisi.\*

Footnote \*See pages 43 et al., of Mrs. Stevenson's memoir, Bu. Eth. Ann. XXIII.

In some of the eastern pueblos, especially Pecos, there was said to be kept "in early times an immense serpent, supposed to be sacred, and which, according to some accounts, was fed with the flesh of his devotees."\* But it seems possible that, as in Cibola and Tusayan,

Footnote \*Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. III, p. 135.

it was kept only in effigy; for, so far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, no trustworthy white person claimed to have seen it.

Several instances in which serpent effigies have been found at springs, are noticed by Bandelier.\*

\*"At a place three miles west of the station of Chavez [east of Fort Wingate], and not far from the ruins of several detached buildings, I examined a site where a spring, artificially concealed, had been discovered. The issue had first been choked with rubbish, on which a number of entire pieces of earthenware, black and white, had been placed, and the whole covered with a layer of clay filled with flint implements. A wooden idol or fetish was also exhumed in the shape of a stick with the head of a serpent. When the discoverer asked the Navajos what that idol represented they replied it was the "charm of the spring." A similar fetish, green with a head painted red, was found by Mr. Cushing, in sacrificial caves at Tule, in Arizona, and I heard of another find of the same nature at Mangus

Footnote (beginning of)

Handwritten notes and scribbles on the right margin.

Footnote  
(Conclusion  
of)

Springs, on the Upper Gila, in Southwestern New Mexico." (Final Report, Pt. II, p. 325.) It is evident that these springs were regarded by the aborigines as under the tutelage of serpent deities; but ~~it is~~ <sup>it is</sup> evident, does not appear.

Among the pictographs inscribed in a sandstone ledge cave at the old buffalo-hunters' and Indian traders' camp on Rocky Dell Creek,\* one

Footnote

\*A small southern tributary of Canadian River in Texas. It is just east of the New Mexico line, and heads in the northern border of the Llano Estacado.

that had anciently been made by Pueblo Indians of (evidently eastern) New Mexico, and that was interpreted to Lieutenant Whipple by other Pueblo Indians in 1853,\* is here reproduced from plate 29 of Whipple,

Footnote

\*Not only Spanish New Mexicans but also many of the more eastern Pueblo Indians were ciboleros and comancheros, and, as such, plied their vocations far out upon the plains. Of the two parties of Pueblo comancheros met by Whipple's party on the Canadian, one at least was from the pueblo of Santo Domingo.

Ewbank, and Turner's sub-report on Indian Tribes, in the above-named volume of Survey Reports.

-----ILLUSTRATION (figure in text)-----

Says Whipple, "We were here visited by Pueblo Indians from New Mexico, and copies of the inscriptions were shown to them. They recognized them, and said that this place was once a favorite buffalo range, and here their fathers hunted, feasted, and danced, and then, sitting by the water-side, recorded their thoughts and deeds upon the rocks... . . . .An explanation was asked regarding the singular animal represented at the top of plate 29. They said it was the great water-snake, created by Montezuma to give rain, and preserve the lives of those who should pray to him. They described it as being as large round as a man's body, and of exceeding great length, slowly gliding upon the water, with long wavy folds, reminding one of the accounts of the Nahant sea-serpent."\* The figure shows clearly that this was a

Footnote

\*Sub-report cited, page 38.

crested or plumed serpent.

The Rocky Dell serpent figure and its significance are also ~~discussed~~ <sup>discussed</sup> by Baldwin Möllhausen, who accompanied Whipple's expedition, and who in the London, 1858, edition of his Diary, as translated by Mrs. Sinnett, says, "The most striking [of the Rocky Dell pictographs] was the fantastic sketch of a large animal, half dragon, half rattlesnake, with two human feet. This monster which took up half of the length

of the cave, was evidently a sort of divinity of the descendants of the Aztecs, and it was explained to us in the following manner by two Pueblo Indians who came in. The power over seas, lakes, rivers, and rain, has been assigned to a great rattlesnake, which is as thick as many men put together, and much longer than all the snakes in the world; it moves in vast curves, and is destructive to wicked men. It rules over all water, and the Pueblo Indians pray to it for rain, and reverence its powers."\*

Footnote: \*Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi <sup>Coasts of the</sup> to the Pacific with a Government Expedition, Vol. I, p. 264.

In 1882 Bancroft <sup>called attention</sup> to the Rocky Dell figure of the mythical plumed serpent, in connection <sup>with his discussion of</sup> the general subject of serpent worship by the Pueblos and other ~~tribes~~ North American Indians; <sup>in that discussion</sup> and <sup>he</sup> wrote, "We shall hereafter find the serpent closely connected with Quetzalcoatl in many of his manifestations, as well as with others of the Mexican gods."\*

Footnote: ~~Native Races, Vol. III, p. 137.~~ \*Native Races, Vol. III, p. 137.

In 1898, in discussing the Soyal, Palulukong, and New Fire ceremonies, which the Hopis claim were introduced ~~by~~ into Tusayan by clans from Palatkwabi in the Gila country, Doctor Fewkes wrote, "an examination of details of the ceremonies mentioned shows an instructive likeness to Mexican rituals. In both Soyaluŋa and Palulukongti the effigies of the Plumed Snake play important parts, and this conception is distinctly a Mexican one, recalling Quetzalcoatl. It is for those ceremonials in which there is the closest likeness to Nahuatl rites that southern origin is claimed by the chiefs and other participators."\*

Footnote: \*Bu. Eth. Ann. XXII, p. 25.

Quetzalcoatl was a deity of composite personality; earlier, it would seem, of the Toltecs, and later of the Aztecs. He seems to have been the god of the sky, or of the atmosphere and its elements: wind, cloud, <sup>(hence, shower, springs, etc.)</sup> rain, fire, lightning, and thunder. About him clusters a rich mythology. He has been represented as of parthenogenic birth, and again as of regular parentage, being by one account a son of the sun; and he has even been regarded by certain authors as in some sense a

so that not only was he looked to for fruitfulness of the fields, but also the sterile women of the Mexican people directed their prayers to Quetzalcoatl. He was also regarded as the god of fertility.

E

himself a sun god. He was sometimes called "the rumbler," which reminds one of the roaring sound which the Palulukong effigy is made to seem to utter in the Palulukong and Soyol ceremonies of the Hopis;

~~For accounts of these ceremonies, see "The Palulukong Effigy" in American Folk-Lore, Vol. VI; and "The Winter Solstice Ceremony at Tula," in American Anthropologist, Vol. XI.~~

and his domain seems to have been to some extent subterranean also, as the control of earthquakes has been attributed to him. A number

*Fortunate*

~~of~~ <sup>legendary</sup> The control of earthquakes has also been attributed to a Toltec king, ~~named~~ named Huemac, who has by some been regarded as the temporal ruler of Tulla, and an enemy of Quetzalcoatl, and by others as identical with Quetzalcoatl himself.

of students have regarded him as primarily the wind god, and hence only in a secondary manner as a bringer of clouds, rain, etc.

In our earlier advices of him Quetzalcoatl appears in a semihistorical light, and is reputed to have been the high priest and lord of ~~Tulla~~ a Toltec city named Tulla. Now there were two or more places called Tulla—or Tula, Tulan, Tullan, Tollan, etc.; and most of the accounts <sup>place</sup> ~~concern~~ this particular Tulla ~~with the name~~ <sup>Quetzalcoatl</sup> ~~place~~ northwest of the City of Mexico. <sup>is said to have come</sup>

originally, with the Toltecs, from an eastern country called Tlalpallan; and in that country there seems to have been an original Tulla, of which this Tulla was perhaps a namesake. In and before the period of his reign in this <sup>northwestern</sup> ~~western~~ Tulla, he figured not only as a spiritual ruler but also as a cultus hero; joint ~~author~~ author of the calendar; patron and teacher of agriculture and of divers mechanical and fine arts, especially of the silversmith's craft and the art of working precious stones, and of painting, feather-work, etc.; also as a patron of merchandise, riches, etc. He was chaste and temperate, of gentle and benevolent disposition, opposed to war and violence, and opposed to the bloody butcheries in which men and animals were sacrificed, preferring offerings of bread, fruits, flowers, and perfumes, and inculcating peaceful pursuits. He practiced and taught fasting and self-punishment. <sup>Domiciled in houses of silver and shell,</sup> Worshipped in a lofty temple, <sup>possessed of</sup> all riches, surrounded with flowers and all that was grand and beautiful, attended with the music of song birds wherever he went, his spiritual rule in Tulla was, like his later sway in Cholula, "a veritable golden age." Through the machinations of rivals and enemies—especially Tezcatlipoca, who administered to him a magic <sup>what proved a devious</sup> potion—he was led to leave Tulla and to seek ~~a~~ way back to Huehuetlalpallan, the "Old Red Land" from which he had come; or back,

as one tradition\* puts it, to Tullantlalpallan, which can only mean, <sup>Footnote</sup> ~~labeled by Sahagun. See Bancroft, Native Races, III, 212.~~ <sup>remoter</sup> to Tulla-of-the-Red-Land, the source from which he had colonized <sup>or toltec-ized</sup> the ~~land~~ northwestern Tulla.\* <sup>From the latter, it seems</sup> ~~Quetzalcoatl~~ <sup>Quetzalcoatl</sup> went

Footnote

\*According to some accounts Huehue Tlalpallan, the Ancient Red Land from which the Toltec followers of Quetzalcoatl came, was in the north. Torquemada says that these people came ~~from~~ to Tulla from the north by way of Panuco; and Sahagun brings them, also ~~from~~ by way of Panuco, from towards Florida. There are reasons for identifying Huehue Tlalpallan with the land of "the Seven Caves," the traditional ancient source of the ~~Chichimecs~~ Chichimecs, Aztecs, and other nations of the Nahuatlan linguistic stock, as well as of the Quichés, of the Mayan family; and the Seven Caves have often been speculatively placed in the far north and northwest. Humboldt placed Huehue Tlalpallan northwest of the Gila. It would be interesting if we could identify this Old Red Land with Palatkwabi, the Red Land from which the Patki and many other clans of the Hopis came. But it seems to the present writer that the evidence presented by Bancroft in Volume V of his Native Races, pages 209-218, and elsewhere, is fairly conclusive proof that Huehue Tlalpallan, source of the Toltec emigration and its Plumed Serpent religion, was in a country southeastward from the Valley of Mexico; i. e., "toward Honduras," or "between the tributaries of the Rio Usamacinta and Honduras." Such a location agrees also with the fact that the final disappearance of ~~Quetzalcoatl~~ both Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs was toward the southeast. (Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 278-9)

~~first southward to the valley of Anahuac and its town of Quauhtitlan, near which "he took up stones and stoned the great tree; ~~and stoned the great tree~~ and all the stones he threw sank into it, and were for a long time to be seen sticking there, from the ground even up to the topmost branches."~~ In this performance ~~he~~

Footnote \*Bancroft, Native Races, III, 252; rendering Sahagun.

played the role of a wind god or of a sky god, since in nature such a <sup>deed</sup> ~~act~~ can only have been done by a tornado or by meteorites. Perhaps the spiral by which he is often symbolized refers to him as the wind god manifested in the tornado; as his circle symbol refers to him apparently as the sky god, and denotes the form of the horizon bounding his domain. "For," says Dr. E. Seler, "everything about the Wind God is round or twisted in spirals."\* Spirals are common in

Footnote \*Bu. Am. Eth. Bull. 28, p. 315.

Pueblo pictography, and <sup>they</sup> figure ~~in~~—and in one or two instances in connection with figures of reptilian monstrosities seemingly intend-

ed for Quetzalcoatl—among the pictographs reproduced by Henry Hales in the Smithsonian Report for 1892, from originals at the canyon of Rio Tularosa, a northern and ~~and~~ far eastern source of Rio Gila.

From Quauhtitlan, <sup>Quetzalcoatl</sup> is said to have gone to Tanepantla, <sup>and, according to some accounts, to various other places,</sup> ~~where he ruled for twenty years.~~ There he was esteemed greatest of all gods.\* <sup>Powerful, popular, adored by multitudes,</sup> ~~and he created temples to himself.~~

*over followed by the persecutions of his enemies, and at length to Cholula, where he ruled for twenty years.*

"Cholula "stood in a vast fertile plain, so thickly covered with plantations and gardens that not a span of land remained uncultivated; a network of ditches irrigated the fields wherein maize and agave, cochineal and chile, swelled the resources of the owners. 'No city in Spain,' exclaims Cortés, 'presents a more beautiful exterior, with its even surface and mass of towers,' interspersed with charming gardens and fringed with alluring groves. Its six sections were marked by fine, straight streets, lined with buildings, the neatness and substantial appearance of which fully corresponded to the reputed wealth of the occupants. Cortés estimates the number of houses at twenty thousand, with as many more in the suburbs, which implies a population of two hundred thousand.

"Cholula was one of the most ancient settlements in the country, with traditions reaching far back into the misty past. It was here that Quetzalcoatl had left the final impress of his golden age as ruler and prophet, and here that a grateful people had raised to him the grandest of his many temples, erected upon the ruins of a tower of Babel which had been stayed in its growth by divine interference. Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of war, during which the frenzy of the moment had overcome religious scruples to wreak destruction, or during which reckless invaders less imbued with veneration came to desecrate this western Rome, she had maintained herself, ever rising from the ashes with renewed vigor and fresh splendor, and she <sup>was</sup> at this time the commercial centre for the great Huiztilapan plateau, famous beside for her pottery and delicate fabrics. The warlike Tlascaltecs referred to her contemptuously as a city of cunning and effeminate traders, and there was doubtless a good deal of truth in this; but then her merchants rivalled those of Mexico in wealth, while her citizens were not behind the dwellers on the lake in refinement.

"But the chief renown of Cholula consisted in being the holy city of Anáhuac, unequalled for the frequency and pomp of her festivals and sacred pageantry; in being the religious centre for countless pilgrims who journeyed from afar to worship at the shrines here maintained, not only ~~by~~ by the citizens, but by princes of different countries. Her temples were estimated to ~~be~~ equal the number of days in the year, and as some possessed more than one chapel, fully four hundred towers rose to bewilder the eye with their gleaming ornamentation. Chief among them was the semispherical temple, with its vestal fire, devoted to Quetzalcoatl, which stood upon a quadrilateral mound of nearly two hundred feet in height, ascended by one hundred and twenty steps, and with a larger base than any old-world pyramid." (Bancroft, History of Mexico, I. pp. 236-7.)

*To Cholula*