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III.—Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians.

By CARL LUMHOLTZ.

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# III.—DECORATIVE ART OF THE HUICHOL INDIANS.

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The following alphabet is used in transcribing Huichol words :—

<i>a</i> . . . . .	like	<i>a</i> in <i>bar</i> .	<i>p</i> . . . . .	like	<i>p</i> in <i>pipe</i> .
<i>á</i> . . . . .	"	<i>aw</i> " <i>law</i> .	<i>r</i> . . . . .	"	<i>r</i> " <i>run</i> .
<i>ai</i> . . . . .	"	<i>i</i> " <i>find</i> .	<i>s</i> . . . . .	"	<i>s</i> " <i>sit</i> .
<i>au</i> . . . . .	"	<i>ow</i> " <i>cow</i> .	<i>š</i> . . . . .	"	<i>sh</i> " <i>shoe</i> .
<i>b</i> . . . . .	"	<i>b</i> " <i>babe</i> .	<i>t</i> . . . . .	"	<i>t</i> " <i>tit</i> .
<i>č</i> . . . . .	"	<i>th</i> " <i>think</i> .	<i>tš</i> . . . . .	"	<i>ch</i> " <i>church</i> .
<i>d</i> . . . . .	"	<i>d</i> " <i>dread</i> .	<i>u</i> . . . . .	"	<i>oo</i> " <i>good</i> .
<i>e</i> . . . . .	"	<i>e</i> " <i>they</i> .	<i>ü</i> . . . . .	"	<i>u</i> " Ger. <i>jür</i> .
<i>é</i> . . . . .	"	<i>e</i> " <i>then</i> .	<i>v</i> . . . . .	"	<i>v</i> " <i>valve</i> .
<i>ē</i> . . . . .	"	<i>e</i> " <i>flower</i> .	<i>w</i> . . . . .	"	<i>w</i> " <i>wit</i> .
<i>ĵ</i> . . . . .	"	<i>j</i> " <i>ĵije</i> .	<i>y</i> . . . . .	"	<i>y</i> " <i>you</i> .
<i>g</i> . . . . .	"	<i>g</i> " <i>goose</i> .	<i>z</i> . . . . .	"	<i>z</i> " <i>zero</i> .
<i>h</i> . . . . .	"	<i>h</i> " <i>house</i> .	<i>X</i> . . . . .	like	<i>ch</i> " Ger. <i>Buch</i> .
<i>i</i> . . . . .	"	<i>i</i> " <i>marine</i> .			<i>j</i> " Span. <i>jota</i> .
<i>k</i> . . . . .	"	<i>k</i> " <i>kick</i> .	Long vowels are indicated by the long mora,		
<i>l</i> is always thick, almost approaching an <i>r</i> pronounced with the tip of the tongue, like the <i>l</i> of the peasantry of central Norway. It is sometimes interchanged with <i>r</i> .			<i>ā, ē, ī, ō, ū</i> .		
<i>m</i> . . . . .	like	<i>m</i> in <i>mum</i> .	Vowels that do not form diphthongs are separated by a hyphen.		
<i>n</i> . . . . .	"	<i>n</i> " <i>nun</i> .	A small superior letter at the end of a word or syllable should be pronounced very slightly.		
<i>o</i> . . . . .	"	<i>o</i> " <i>note</i> .	Accents are placed following the accented vowel.		



## I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

INTEREST in primitive decorative art is of recent date. It is outside of the scope of the present memoir to give an historical *résumé* of what has been accomplished in the half-century that has elapsed since the first attempts were made by Lane Fox and Colley March to gain an understanding of the meaning of barbaric and savage art. Since then successful researches have wonderfully enriched our comprehension of the significance of aboriginal ornament, and there are to-day few if any investigators who doubt that most of the decorative motives employed by primitive man are the results of his contemplation of nature and natural objects. He is inclined to give to all his patterns a distinct significance, as representing something of importance to him, scarcely recognizable though it may be to us.

It is the purpose of this memoir to show that all designs employed by the Huichol are derived from the animal and plant world, from objects important in the domestic economy and religious life of the tribe, and from natural phenomena familiar to the people. In working out the various patterns conventionally, the makers have frequently obtained highly pleasing results, eloquent of the artistic sense innate in the race.

The designs described in this memoir are taken almost entirely from wearing-apparel, and are woven, embroidered, or formed in bead-work. All of these are expressions of religious ideas that pervade the entire existence of these people; in other words, they are permanent prayers.

Girdles and ribbons, inasmuch as they are considered as rain-serpents, are in themselves prayers for rain and for the results of rain, namely, good crops, health, and life; and the designs on these objects are made in imitation of the markings on the backs of the real reptiles, as they appear to the eye of the Indian, and are meant to set forth the desires of the maker or wearer of the band.

All the designs on pouches, neckerchiefs, tunics, shirts, and skirts, express prayers for some material benefit or for protection against evil, or adoration of some deity. Thus the magic double water-gourd, even in its most conventionalized form, means a prayer for water, the source of all life and health. Animals, like the lion, the tiger, the eagle, etc., express prayers for protection, as well as adoration of the deity to which the creatures belong. The little white flower *tōto'*, which grows in the wet, corn-producing season, is at once a symbol and prayer for corn. The flower itself, which is stuck with saliva to the cheek by pious women, and its reproductions, have this significance.

The intimation has been made that plant or flower designs in aboriginal America

are due only to foreign influence,—to the early missionaries, who desired to divert the mind of the natives from decorations of deep symbolic and religious significance to the innocent motives of the plant world. This is true only to a certain extent. It applies, for instance, to the Tarasco Indians in Michoacan, who, in their beautiful lacquer-work, generally copy flowers from nature, and have no decoration of symbolic meaning; either because, as Professor Frederick Starr avers, this art is not indigenous, or because the missionaries induced the tribe to substitute motives without meaning.

But the statement certainly does not hold good with the Huichol, because, in the first place, the missionaries have made, comparatively speaking, only small and transient changes in the mental status of the tribe, as has been shown in my description of the symbolism of the Huichol Indians.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, flowers play, and always have played, an important part in the religion of these Indians. With them, flowers, like the plumes of birds, are prayers for rain and life. They are sacrificed to the God of Fire and to other deities, being deposited in the niches of the temples, at springs and pools, in caves and other sacred localities. At certain feasts the women wear wreaths of flowers on their heads, or place single blossoms behind the ear, while the men fasten flowers to their hats. It is therefore but natural that, in the decorative art of the Huichol, flower designs should have become as prominent as animal designs. I use this expression, although I doubt if there is such a thing as ornamentation for decorative purposes *per se*, among the Huichol, or, for that matter, among any primitive people. Neither does the theory of chance suffice to explain primitive designs; nor can an ornament be explained by guessing its meaning according to white man's reasoning, for it should always be remembered that in interpreting primitive symbols and designs it is never the first and most obvious explanation which is true.

A design may in time become so conventionalized that a white man will fail to recognize the object the artist intended to represent, unless the Indians themselves interpret it for him. Even should the original meaning of any one design be forgotten, the belief in its efficacy still survives, and on this account the figure is perpetuated.

In looking over Huichol patterns, we cannot help being struck with the fact that hardly any two are exactly alike. This is characteristic of Indian art. Much of the variation in design depends, of course, on the skill and imagination of the artist. One cause productive of variation is the size and shape of the article to be decorated. In very narrow ribbons or girdles, for instance, the patterns have to be compressed, and consequently assume changed aspects. Still it may happen that a woman, always alert to find a pattern more pleasing to her than the one she has, may copy one from a friend.

The articles which the Huichol buy from the Mexicans, and which are of more or less consequence to the art industries of the tribe, are mainly coarse cotton cloth (*manta*), thread and needles, red flannel, beads, printed handkerchiefs, crewel, and steel for striking fire. Along with the foreign material a slight foreign influence has come into the designs, though in the main they have remained intact. Some new forms have

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<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume.

been added, such as that of the steel for striking fire, the jew's-harp, the horse, the ox-horns, etc. The shape of the steel, quite handsome in itself, has been developed by the Huichol into interesting conventional designs for his girdles and pouches. In fact, these Indians, who revere the steel on account of its connection with the God of Fire, have worked it into designs even more beautiful than the original. Glass beads, with their various colors, have facilitated the rendering of symbolic designs, and have enhanced their beauty. Thus their influence, too, was rather advantageous to the development of Huichol art.

The introduction of colored handkerchiefs, however, cannot be considered as



equally propitious. The gorgeously painted animals and flowers, although they appeal to the Indian most strongly, are generally too difficult for him to copy. Only the so-called geometrical figures are within easy reach of his capabilities; and he accepts them, putting into them his own meaning. But it will readily be understood that corruption is finding a way into his art. The detriment so far wrought is, however, not great, as handkerchiefs are still rare among them.

A slight Moorish influence in the designs of the Huichol may be traced, for instance, in the squares and triangles of Fig. 386. (See the last plate in *L'Ornement des Tissus*, par Dupont-Auberville, Paris, 1877, where also may be found some figures resembling other Huichol designs not contained in this memoir.) The main features of the *tôto'* design Fig. 500 (the first in the series Fig. 499) may be recognized as a Hispano-Moorish design of the fifteenth century, although the two may not necessarily have any con-

nection with each other. (See *Vorbilder Sammlung, Verlag von Engelhorn, Stuttgart.*) The main *tôto'* design in Fig. 508 is found as a Spanish sixteenth-century design in *L'Ornement des Tissus*, quoted above. The border of Fig. 410 is, according to the same authority, Egyptian.



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Fig. 366. End of a Girdle. Main Design: a Double Representation of the Flower *Piri'ki*.

Decorative designs are found mainly woven in woollen textile fabrics, girdles, hair-ribbons, and pouches, or embroidered on neckerchiefs, skirts, shirts, etc. (See Figs. 365 and 366.)

The women wear short skirts (Sp., *enaguas*; Huichol, *ibi'*) and tunics (Sp., *coton*; Huichol, *šiku'li*), both of coarse cotton cloth, and sometimes nicely embroidered. But the clothing of the men is more elaborate. It consists mainly of a shirt (Huichol, *kami'ra*; from Sp., *camisa*) either made of coarse cotton cloth or woven from wool, and often decorated with embroidery. Over the shoulders they wear a small shawl or neckerchief (Sp., *pañó*; Huichol, *towa'ra*) of cotton cloth, richly embroidered with red and blue thread, and finished at the lower edge with a wide band of red flannel. The tribe does not manufacture blankets nowadays. It is possible that in former times they were made, but at present they are bought in Mexican stores, and they are by no means in general use. The shirt is held tight around the waist by a girdle (Sp., *faja*; Huichol, *Xuaya'me*) artistically woven in wool, or sometimes in cotton. Wool has, of course, been known to the Huichol only since their conquest by the Spaniards in the eighteenth century. Until then their textile material was the fibre of certain century-plants, and possibly, to a certain extent, cotton. Cotton yarn is at present seldom of native make, but is bought in small quantities in Mexican stores, white and blue being the favorite colors. Articles woven from it are very rare among the Huichol.

The designs in textile work are produced in the weaving. The pattern at the ends of the girdles is always somewhat different from that used in the main part. Generally some transverse zigzag lines, or a *freno*<sup>1</sup> design may be seen here. Also the edges of the pouches show different patterns from those on the inner portion, and there is a certain degree of sameness in their character.

The colors are usually black and white, the natural colors of the wool. Sometimes red is used, the thread being obtained by unravelling red flannel. Native dyes, yellow and blue, are also employed.

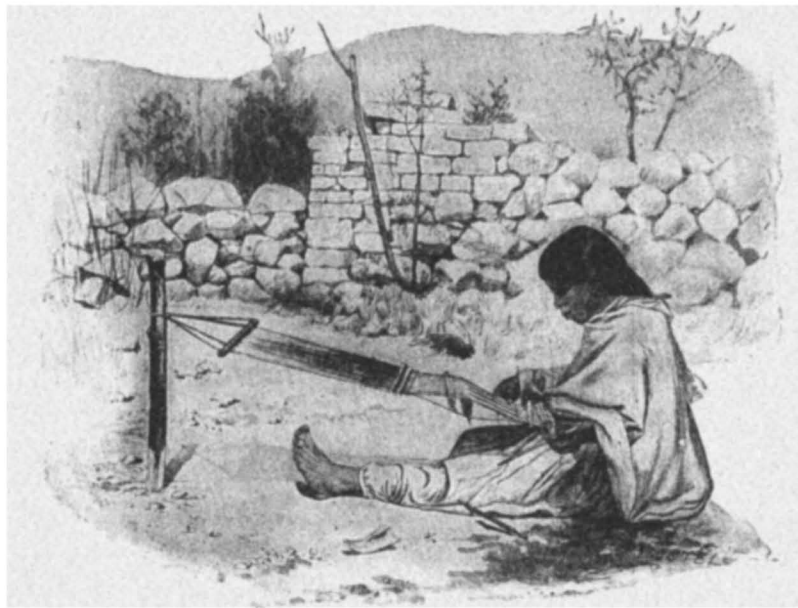
All the textile work is done by women, and hardly a day passes in which they do not devote some time to their looms. The degree of ability naturally differs very much, though I do not remember having seen any work that was actually badly executed.

The loom on which their work, often of truly artistic merit, is done, is of the most primitive construction. One end is tied to a tree or stick, while the weaver fastens

<sup>1</sup> See p. 326.

the other end to her girdle. The batten is made of brazil-wood, and looks like a bowie-knife or short-sword. If a woman were constantly at work at her loom, it would take her about six days to finish a girdle or a ribbon; but, as she has many other duties to attend to, it often requires three weeks and more to make one. The portion of the warp left open at both ends of the girdles is plaited into one or several braids.

Ribbons (Sp., *cinta*; Huichol, *kuri'la* or *kuš'i'la*) are small girdles, but the ends are finished off quite differently from the ends of the girdles, inasmuch as the warp is twisted into four strings, and each pair provided with a tassel. Owing to the narrowness of the band, the designs are generally more delicate, and also more finely executed. A ribbon is commonly tied around the head to keep the hair in order. But on festive occasions a great number may be displayed; about a dozen may be sewed in the middle to one long ribbon, forming a set, called *kuri'la kōkaya'ri*. Generally two



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Fig. 367. Huichol Woman weaving a Girdle.

such sets are tied crosswise over the back, while one or more may be fastened around the waist, the multitude of streamers giving the wearer a very gay appearance. The men selected to serve the food to the principal men at the corncake feast (Sp., *tamales de maiz crudo*)<sup>1</sup> are adorned in that way, as are also the participants in the dance of the *matachines*,<sup>2</sup> which was introduced by the Church.

Pouches (Sp., *talega*; Huichol, *kutsu'li*) are woven in one piece, which is then folded in the middle and sewed up at the sides. Ribbons made of the same material, and also showing symbolic figures, are attached to the ends of the open sides, while the other two corners are generally adorned with tassels. No Indian is so poor that he has not a few pouches. One of them is indispensable, as he has no other means

<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

of carrying his steel and tinder, besides some tobacco and a hikuli<sup>1</sup> or two. This pouch is tied around the waist, and hangs down in front; thus, by its weight, serving also to keep the shirt in place. Most of the pouches, however, do not serve any practical purpose. On festive occasions a man may be seen wearing as many as a dozen hanging down his sides, suspended crosswise over the shoulders. Peculiar sets of small pouches (*ke'tsa lowa'mi*) are also worn. From three to six of these are tightly fastened lengthwise at the ends of the open side. They have no ribbons, but are held up around the waist by means of a string. The workmanship in many of these small pouches is exquisite.

Woollen shirts, of which at present not half a dozen exist in the tribe, are made in one long strip, which is folded over, and sewed up at the sides. The short sleeves are put in separately. The loom on which such large pieces are woven is placed on the ground.

Embroidery-work (*rñya'*), at which also men are sometimes experts, is executed in cross-stitch with marvellous accuracy. It is always done on coarse cotton cloth, the thread being obtained by unravelling red flannel; or else variously colored crewel is used. When pouches are made from cotton cloth,—which, however, is only rarely the case,—they too are embroidered; but ordinarily this mode of decoration is confined to wearing-apparel. Three richly embroidered shirts, and a skirt with a beautifully embroidered border in varying patterns, are in the collection of the American Museum.

The tribe is inordinately fond of beads, especially of the small milky-white variety, and both men and women wear quantities around their necks. Strings of beads of various colors are also made into ear-pendants, wristlets, and anklets, in a manner which resembles the bead-work of the blind in New England. The ear-ornaments consist of round, open bead-work (see Plate XXIII, Figs. 7-10), which generally represents a flower design, and an oblong extension, which is worked into a pattern in accordance with its conception as a serpent. The pendants are suspended, the round part down, by a string which passes through a perforation in the lobe of the ear. Wristlets and anklets (see Plate XXIII, Figs. 1-6) form solid ribbons of beads, with designs expressed in the weaving. These, as well as small gourds, are sometimes attached by one end to the front of the ordinary bead-strings worn around the neck, and form a kind of composite necklace.

In my dealings with the Huichol, I made it a point to get the interpretation of the decorative designs on the articles in question; but to obtain such information is not as easy as one would think. Often the men knew nothing definite about the designs on their girdles, and it was difficult to find one woman able to interpret the meaning of the work done by another. Intelligent old women were my best source of information. As a rule, the people are willing to part with their beautiful work; but there are also instances in which no influence, not even that of the Gobernador, would induce a woman to sell any of her handiwork.

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<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume, pp. 17-20.

A girdle, ribbon, or pouch is designated according to its principal decoration; for instance, a girdle which has a comb design (*matsikyu*) is called *matsikyu kutsilaga* (see Design No. 2); a ribbon showing designs of the steel for striking fire (*tautšu*) is called *tautšu kuri'la* (Design No. 3); a ribbon which represents a rattlesnake (*rāye'*) is mentioned as *kupi' kuriyala'li*, meaning "butterfly ribbon," because the markings on it are considered as butterflies (*kupi'* or *kupi'tsi*); a pouch which is adorned with representations of toads (*rūkwa'*) is designated as *rūkwa'tsi kwiari* (see Design No. 25); a pouch on which the borings of a small larva that eats into the bark of trees (*kwište'r*) is represented, is called *kwits kura'li* (see Design No. 31); a ribbon which shows a series of caimans or alligators (*ha'shi*) is called *ha'shi kurilaya'li*.

When not stated otherwise, the designs treated in this Memoir are in textile.

Before entering upon the main subject, I present, for the purpose of comparison, a series of conventionalized designs found on ceremonial objects of the Huichol. This series has been compiled from the designs described in my discussion of the Huichol Indians in Part I of this volume. In this list of symbols most of the pictographic representations of animals have been omitted. This accounts somewhat for the discrepancy between the classes of objects represented on Plates XIX–XXI and those on designs taken from garments.

NOTE.—Prof. F. Boas writes to me as follows in regard to the specimens which I collected among the Huichol for the American Museum of Natural History: "On the whole, the style of decoration of ceremonial objects differs considerably from that of the ornamental parts of garments. The execution of the latter is careful, the ornaments are regular in outline and well executed, the tendency to conventionalism is strong. The decoration on sacrificial objects is, on the whole, crude. It is throughout pictographic in character, and consequently the tendency to conventionalism is not very marked. The crudeness of these designs is partly due to the lack of skill in the use of paint and of the carving-tool, and in the application of bead-work by means of wax, which must undoubtedly be considered as a survival of the ancient turquoise mosaics. All carved and painted designs of the Huichol seem to be crude; but many of the embroidered designs on sacrificial objects are also poorly executed, and this may be partly due to their temporary character. Some of the woven front-shields and back-shields, however, are well executed. It is worthy of note that the symbolic objects of the Arapaho, Sioux, Thompson Indians, and also of the Gold and Gilyak of the Amur River, are much more pictographic in character than the decorations on the wearing-apparel of these tribes.

"Many of the forms that are found on sacrificial objects recur in the designs which are treated in the present paper. The interpretation, however, exhibits striking differences. It will be noticed, for instance, that except in facial paintings, few of the star-like designs are interpreted as the flower *tōto'*, one of the most common interpretations on girdles and pouches. On sacrificial objects they are said to represent the sun with its rays, the corn, or the *hikuli*. On the other hand, the collection of garments, ribbons, and pouches does not contain a single case of representations of corn and *hikuli* or of the sun. The *freno* does not seem to occur in ceremonial paintings except on a few facial paintings. The water-gourd, which is such a frequent motive in the designs represented on garments, is, comparatively speaking, of rare occurrence on ceremonial objects. It is represented, for instance, on the front-shield shown on p. 113 of this volume, also on p. 126, Fig. 134 *j*, and Fig. 135 *d*.

"The general character of the ornamental designs of the Huichol much resembles that of similar designs found in other parts of Mexico and in Central and South America. It seems to me very doubtful if all these designs can be considered as of purely Indian origin. I believe that the double-headed eagle and other similar heraldic designs are copies of well-known European motives. The secondary character of many of the explanations is also suggested by the identity, or at least far-reaching similarity of form, of motives which bear different names. This similarity may be observed, for instance, in Figs. 451 and 465, but also in the whole series of motives interpreted as the steel, vines, fresh-water crab, etc."

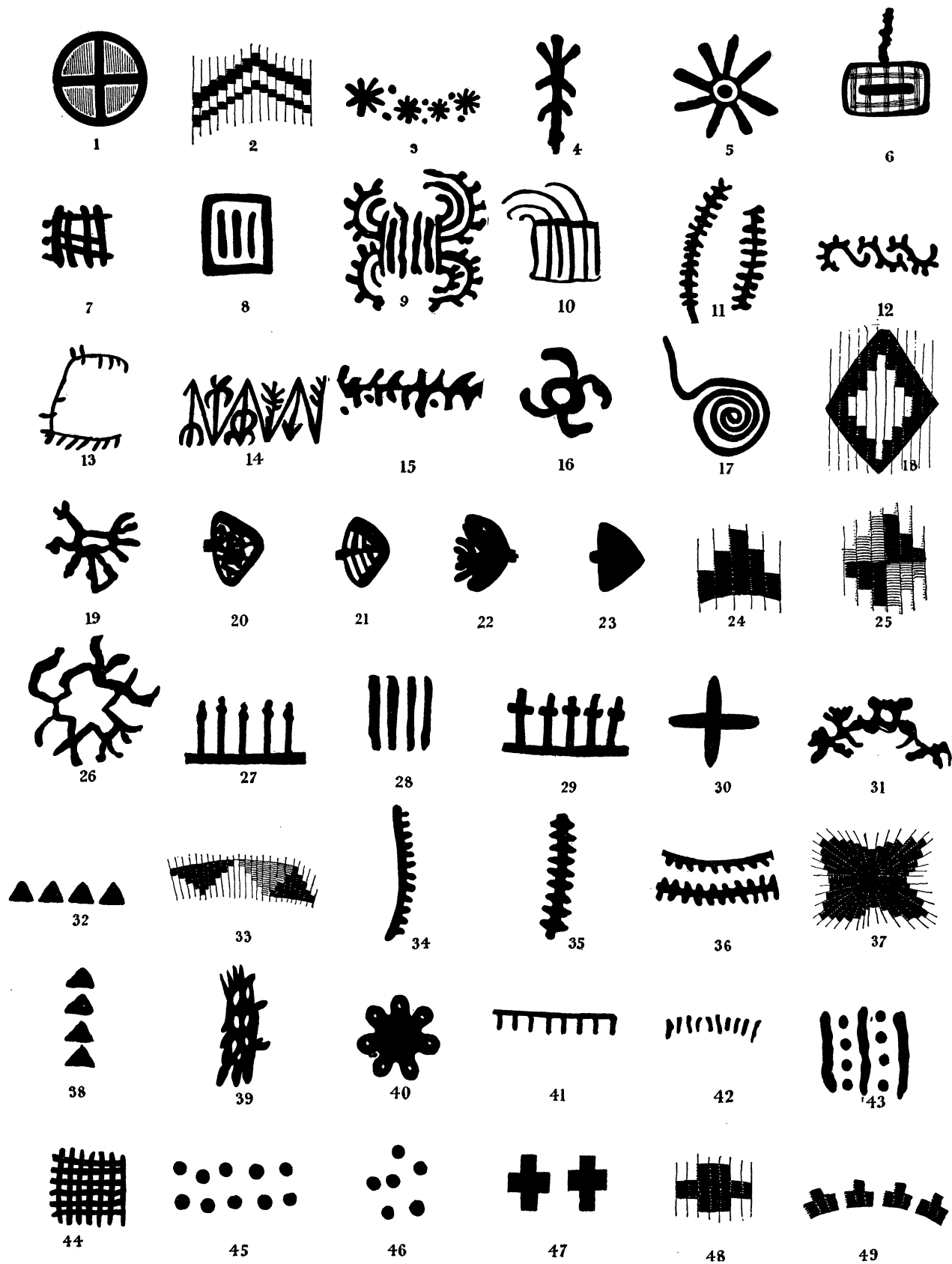
## EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX.

### DESIGNS FROM SACRIFICIAL OBJECTS.

\*\*\* Numbers in parentheses, when accompanied by Roman numerals, refer to plate figures, otherwise to text figures, in Part I of this volume.

- FIG. 1. Altar. (39, *i*)  
 2. Altar. (176)  
 3. Angel pictures. (278, *d*)  
 4. Arrow. (276, *f*)  
 5. Arrows of the sun. (II, I *a*)  
 6. Back-shield or bed. (24)  
 7. Back-shield or bed. (276, *b*)  
 8. Back-shield or bed. (278, *d*)  
 9. Back-shield or bed with plumes attached. (262)  
 10. Back-shield or bed with plumes attached. (277, *f*)  
 11. Bamboo reeds for arrow-making. (278, *c*)  
 12. Bamboo-plant roots. (278, *c*)  
 13. Bean-plant. (25)  
 14. Bean-plant in flower. (28)  
 15. Bean-plant in fruit. (26, *f*)  
 16. Bean-plant, root of young. (19, *h*)  
 17. Beans, heap of. (70)  
 18. Beer, native (the white space). (175)  
 19. Butterfly. (20, *c*)  
 20. Butterfly. (219, *e*)  
 21. Butterfly. (219, *e*)  
 22. Butterfly. (219, *c*)  
 23. Butterfly. (219, *c*)  
 24. Butterfly. (134, *a*)  
 25. Butterfly. (126, *l*)  
 26. Cactus (Mex. Sp., *huishnaga*) fruit. (9, *g*)  
 27. Candles. (276, *f*)  
 28. Candles. (278, *d*)  
 29. Candles. (276, *d*)  
 30. Cardinal points. (39, *k*)  
 31. Caves. (19, *b*)  
 32. Clouds. (II, I *h*)  
 33. Clouds. (124)  
 34. Clouds. (277, *e*)  
 35. Clouds. (277, *b*)  
 36. Clouds. (277, *d*)  
 37. Clouds rising. (133)  
 38. Clouds rising. (276, *d*)  
 39. Corn, ear of. (40, *a*)  
 40. Corn, ear of, section of. (37)  
 41. Corn, ears of. (276, *b*)  
 42. Corn, ears of. (278, *e*)  
 43. Corn, ears of (the dots), in a field. (276, *c*)  
 44. Corn, ears of, in harvest time. (276, *e*)  
 45. Corn, grains of. (277, *c*)  
 46. Corn, grains of. (19, *e*)  
 47. Corn, grains of, or hikuli. (135, *e*)  
 48. Corn, grains of, or hikuli. (122)  
 49. Corn, grains of, or hikuli. (134, *i*)





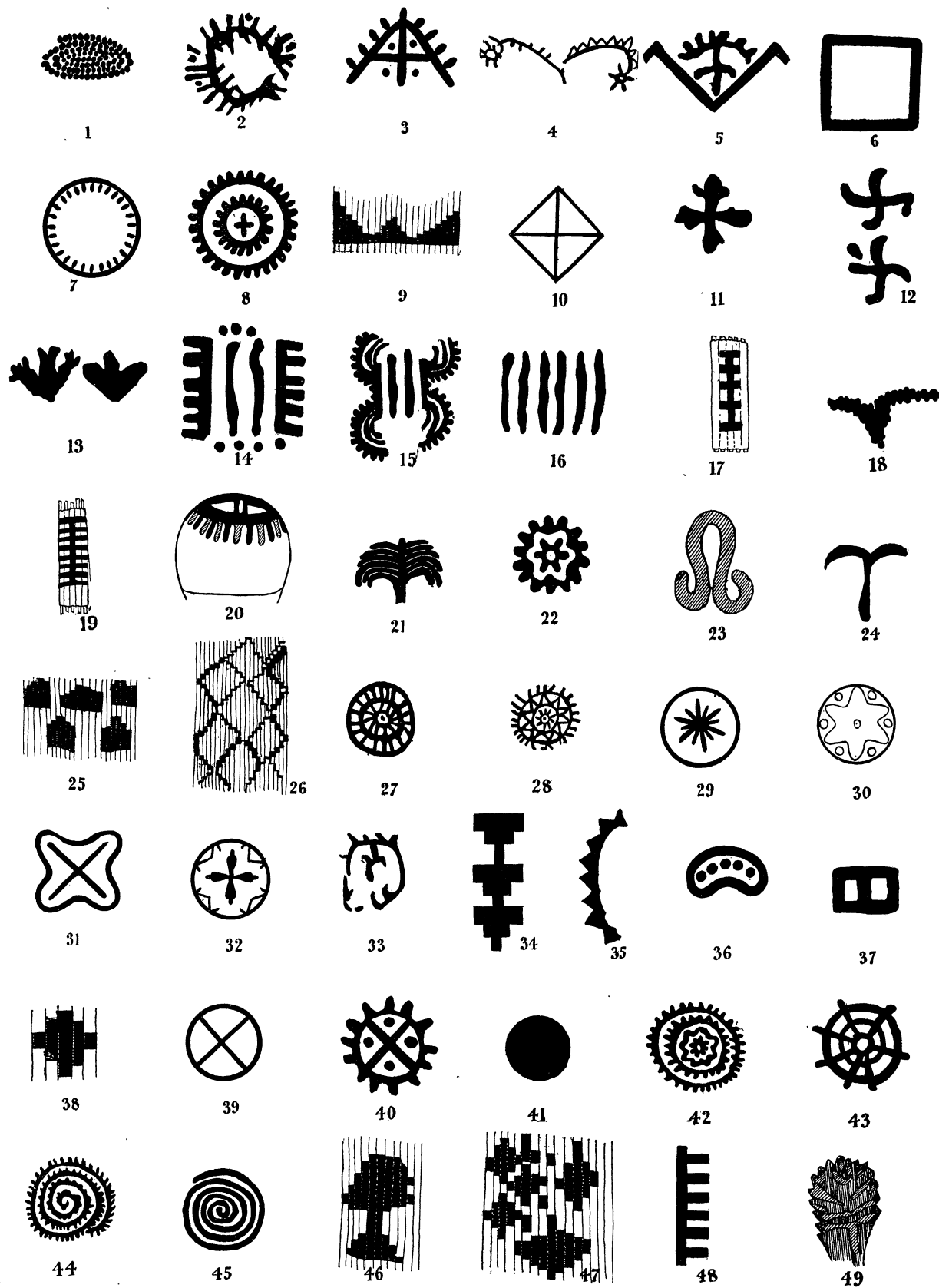
Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians.

## EXPLANATION OF PLATE XX.

### DESIGNS FROM SACRIFICIAL OBJECTS.

\*\*\* Numbers in parentheses, when accompanied by Roman numerals, refer to plate figures, otherwise to text figures, in Part I of this volume.

- 
- FIG. 1. Corn, heap of. (72)  
 2. Corn-field. (26, *b*)  
 3. Corn-field on a hill. (11, 1 *e*)  
 4. Corn-plant, with two specimens of the flower tōto' attached. (277, *f*)  
 5. Corn-plants (the projections). (41, *f*)  
 6. Earth, the. (276, *e*)  
 7. Earth, the, with corn-plants. (18, *f*)  
 8. Earth, the, with hills and valleys. (9, *e*)  
 9. Earth, the, with hills and valleys. (173, *g*)  
 10. Eye of a god. (p. 154)  
 11. Eye of a god. (26, *a*)  
 12. Eye of a god. (39, *a*)  
 13. Feathers of the cormorant. (18, *b*)  
 14. Feathers of the royal eagle, showing markings. (9, *d*)  
 15. Feathers of the royal eagle, attached to a back-shield. (277, *e*)  
 16. Feathers of the royal eagle, tail. (276, *a*)  
 17. Feathers of the red-tailed hawk. (235)  
 18. Feathers of the red-tailed hawk, tail. (17, *k*)  
 19. Feathers of the red-tailed hawk, tail. (236)  
 20. Feathers of the macaw, such as are attached to the straw hats of the hikuli-seekers. (15)  
 21. Feathers of a large wader. (18, *c*)  
 22. Flower ha'pani. (278, *a*)  
 23. Flower okototsi. (244, *d*)  
 24. Flower toy. (14)  
 25. Flowers in general. (165)  
 26. Flowers in general. (188)  
 27. Front-shield. (278, *e*)  
 28. Front-shield. (278, *e*)  
 29. Front-shield. (276, *d*)  
 30. Front-shield. (18, *a*)  
 31. Front-shield. (278, *e*)  
 32. Front-shield. (277, *f*)  
 33. God-house. (277, *f*)  
 34. Gourds. (174)  
 35. Grass yemokwali. (14)  
 36. Heart. (41)  
 37. Heart. (9, *c*)  
 38. Heart. (125)  
 39. Heart. (6, *a*)  
 40. Heart. (14)  
 41. Heart. (42, *q*)  
 42. Hikuli as representing a votive bowl. (276, *a*)  
 43. Hikuli as representing a votive bowl. (276, *f*)  
 44. Hikuli as representing a votive bowl. (277, *c*)  
 45. Hikuli as representing a votive bowl. (277, *c*)  
 46. Hikuli-plant. (168)  
 47. Hikuli-plant. (176)  
 48. Kalatsiki (notched bone for calling deer). (108)  
 49. Kalatsiki (notched bone for calling deer). (48)



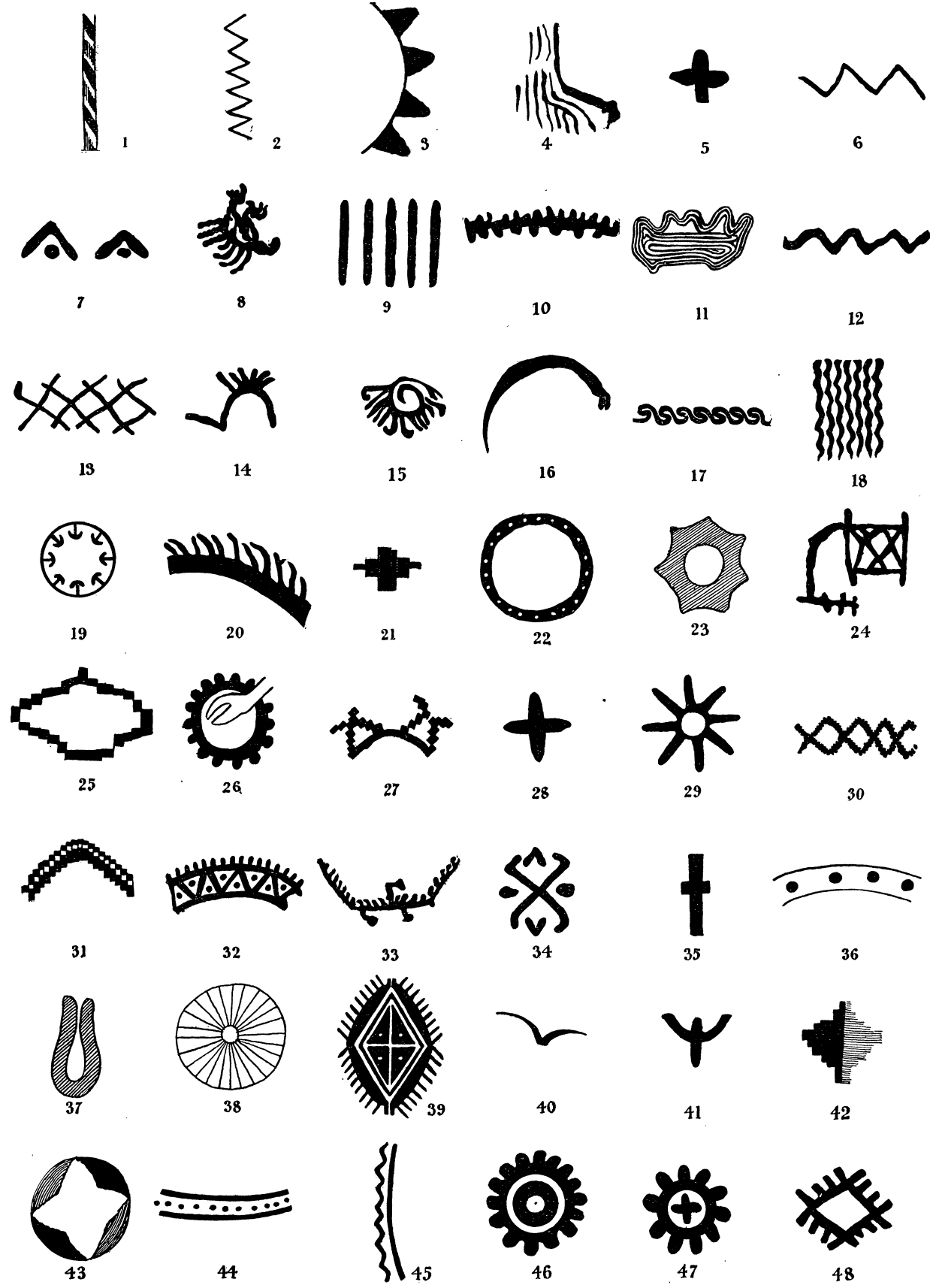
Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians.

## EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXI.

### DESIGNS FROM SACRIFICIAL OBJECTS.

\*\*\* Numbers in parentheses, when accompanied by Roman numerals, refer to plate figures, otherwise to text figures, in Part I of this volume.

- FIG. 1. Life. (249; see also p. 100)
2. Lightning. (100; see also p. 83)
  3. Lightning. (39, *g*)
  4. Lightning and rain. (17, *r, s*)
  5. Money. (17, *m*)
  6. Mountains and valleys. (3)
  7. Mountains with spring in each. (II, 1 *h*)
  8. Parrot. (19, *a*)
  9. Rain. (276, *f*)
  10. Rain. (277, *d*)
  11. Sea, the. (206, bottom)
  12. Serpent (fire). (276, *a*)
  13. Serpent Haiku. (219, *d*)
  14. Serpent Hakwiaka, with baby-serpents. (39, *h*)
  15. Serpent, plumed. (38)
  16. Serpent (sky). (19, *d*)
  17. Serpent (waves of the sea). (219, *a*)
  18. Serpents (rain). (277, *d*)
  19. Serpents (rain). (39, *d*)
  20. Serpent-scales (symbols of green corn). (40, *c*)
  21. Shaman's plumes. (122)
  22. Sky. (II, 2)
  23. Snail-shell. (244, *c*)
  24. Snare for catching deer. (276, *f*)
  25. Snare for catching deer. (169)
  26. Snare for catching deer. (19, *c*)
  27. Snares. (118)
  28. Spark. (276, *a*)
  29. Spring or pool. (39, *c*)
  30. Squash-vine. (72)
  31. Squash-vine. (173, *f*)
  32. Squash-vine (the zigzag) with flowers (the barbed line) and fruit (the dots). (276, *e*)
  33. Squash-vine with squashes. (277, *c*)
  34. Squash-vine, root of. (19, *g*)
  35. Star, the morning. (118)
  36. Stars. (II, 1 *g*)
  37. Steel for striking fire. (244, *b*)
  38. Sun. (5)
  39. Sun, with a god's eye and facial painting (the rays). (156)
  40. Swallow flying. (124)
  41. Swallow flying. (7, *i*)
  42. Swift (black and yellow). (135, *h*)
  43. Swifts (two red and two blue). (133)]
  44. Tracks made by wind, rain, and water round a corn-field. (278, *f*)
  45. Trees sprouting. (277, *e*)
  46. Votive bowl. (20, *d*)
  47. Votive bowl (39, *k*; see also Figs. 42, 44, 45, of preceding plate)
  48. Water-bug of family *Belostomidae*. (18, *d*)



Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians



## II.—CATALOGUE OF CONVENTIONAL DESIGNS.

The following pages contain a catalogue of the designs for which I have been able to obtain explanations. I have arranged the material according to the interpretation of the designs, not in accordance with their forms. Beginning with a number of designs interpreted as representations of artificial objects,—the double water-gourd, comb, steel, the stick for painting arrows, the notched deer-bone, the staff of Grandmother Growth, the jew's-harp,—I have taken up next designs representing mammals, birds, reptiles, and other animals; then those interpreted as plants; and finally a small group of miscellaneous objects.

Many of the specimens contain more than one design. Whenever it seemed necessary, the illustrations of these have been repeated in their appropriate places. In all other cases references to other occurrences of the same design have been added. In the descriptive remarks attention has been called to a few of the striking similarities between designs of different interpretation.

Some of the original interpretations given to me by the Indians seem to conflict with other evidence. In all these cases I have been careful to state the original information obtained from the natives.

### DESIGN No. 1.—DOUBLE WATER-GOURD (Huichol, *topoli'r* or *kurau'li*).

See Figs. 370–386; also 389, 401, 407, 413, 414, 419, 422, 430, 442, 483, 484, 487, 504, 505, 513, 517, 520, 526, 528, XXII, 1–4, 7, 10, 11; also p. 113 of this volume and p. 126 (Figs. 134 *j* and 135 *d*).

Gourds are raised only on a small scale, but nevertheless are much appreciated. There are three kinds—those that are eaten, those from which tobacco-gourds are made, and those from which single or double water-gourds are made. All play a very important part in the life of the Huichol.

No dish is more appreciated than the squash, which is called in Huichol *ru'tsi*, while the dry gourds are in general called *kurau'li*.

Tobacco-gourds (Huichol, *ya'kwai*) are sacred, and a necessary part of the hikuli-seeker's outfit.<sup>1</sup>

The large oval water-gourds (Spanish, *bule*; Huichol, *kāye'*) are used by the women for carrying water to the house. The lower part is enclosed in a netting of strong twine made of bark fibre. The loop by which the gourd is carried is attached to two opposite sides of the netting, and passes over the forehead, or sometimes around the neck. For stoppers, bunches of leaves from the big-leaved oak-tree, or corn-cobs, are used. Other water-gourds are round in shape, and are called *za'pala* ("round"). A hole is made in one side. Such gourds are entirely incased in a netting of bark fibre, and then carried in a similar way to the others.

The double water-gourd is a natural growth resembling two gourds connected by a slender neck. Symbolic figures, especially of the deer and hikuli, are sometimes

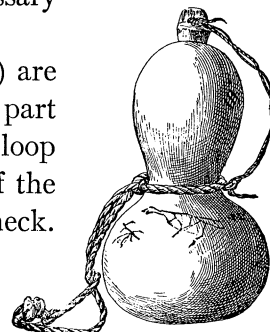


Fig. 368. The Double Water-Gourd of the Hikuli-Seeker. Height, 22.5 cm.

<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume, pp. 190–192, also 17–20.

scratched or painted on it. The hikuli-seekers use such gourds on their journey as drinking-vessels, as well as to hold the sacred water which they take home with them, and the women prefer them even for ordinary household uses. The double water-gourd is the rain symbol *par excellence*, and therefore this design is the one most commonly found on girdles and ribbons, which, being viewed as serpents, are in themselves symbols of water and rain. In the majority of cases, on close scrutiny, this pattern may be seen mixed in with the main design. It is also the figure which, in its ultimate conventionalism, is least recognizable, the original form being divided into halves, and even quarters, and the sections used as independent designs.

The stopper on the double water-gourd is similar to those of the ordinary gourds. In the specimen depicted the stopper has been carved of wood. The lower half of double water-gourds may also be enclosed in a net of twine, the long ends of which are tied together and passed over the forehead; but generally a double twine is tied around the neck of the gourd so as to form a handle, by which the gourd is carried, the ends being fastened in a loop.

The double water-gourd is considered magical, and has become the strongest symbol

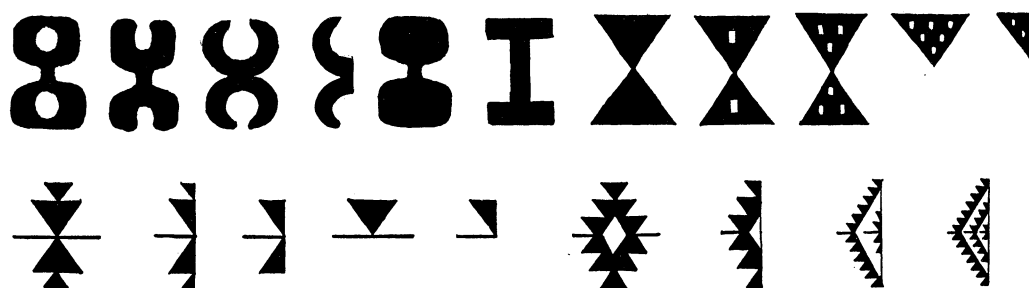


Fig. 369. Series of Double Water-Gourd Designs.

of water. It is also, with the exception of the cross, probably the most extensively used design in America. When it appears reduced to triangles, and arranged along diagonals or zigzags, it becomes almost identical with the triangular designs of the California Indians and of those of Oregon and Washington, who interpret these forms ordinarily as the feather and arrow-point designs, the acute triangles representing the incisions in the vane of the arrow-feather or the triangular arrow-point. The same design is also found on the woven bags of the Nez Percés and on those of the eastern Algonquin. It is also typical of ancient porcupine embroidery, and was commonly used among the Aztecs as well as among the ancient Peruvians.

In the illustration, Fig. 369, I have given a succession of double water-gourd designs, the result of a study of a very large number of Huichol pouches, girdles, ribbons, etc. The first figure to the left in the upper row is a fair representation of a double water-gourd, and the reader will easily be able to follow the successive stages of the design until it finally becomes simply a triangle: half and at last a quarter of the gourd.

In the second row the string around the middle of the gourd has been added in the shape of a transverse line. Here the stopper, too, has been incorporated in the pattern, and for the sake of symmetry it has also been applied to the bottom of the gourd.



The second design is simply half of the first cut lengthwise. In the third the stoppers have been left out. The fourth is the upper part of the first with the stopper left out, and the fifth is simply half of the fourth. The sixth is a more symmetrical rendering of the first, two pairs of angular points being added; a god's eye has been made in the middle. The seventh is half of the sixth. In the eighth and ninth the number of points is increased, and even more rows are added.

In Figs. 370-386 is shown the application of these various double water-gourd designs to girdles and pouches; these are easily recognizable.

FIGS. 370-371.—From pouch-ribbons. Design: double water-gourd. The symmetrical 4 dots, which alternate with the double water-gourd design on the girdles depicted in Figs. 370, 371, 373, show the double water-gourd as it appears on the reverse side of textiles. Cat. Nos.  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{20}$ ,  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{20}$ .

FIG. 372.—From a pouch-ribbon. Design: vine with double water-gourds. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{27}$ .

FIGS. 373, 374.—From pouch-ribbons. Design: double water-gourd. Cat. Nos.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{23}$ ,  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{26}$ .

FIG. 375.—From the border of a girdle. Design: double water-gourd. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{28}$ .

FIGS. 376, 377.—From girdles. Design: double water-gourd, and diamond representing an eye (see Design No. 54). Cat. Nos.  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{31}$ ,  $\frac{6}{30} \frac{5}{17}$ .

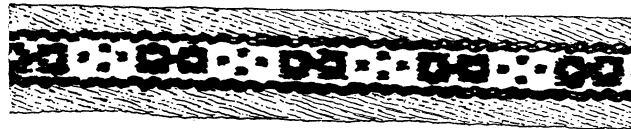


Fig. 370.

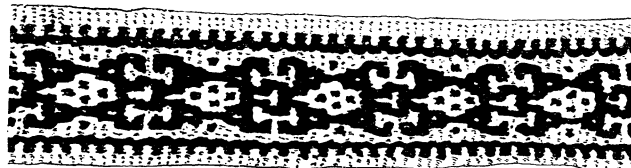


Fig. 371.



Fig. 372.

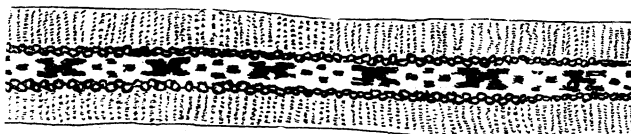


Fig. 373.



Fig. 374.



Fig. 375.

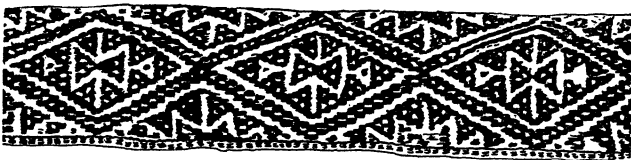


Fig. 376.

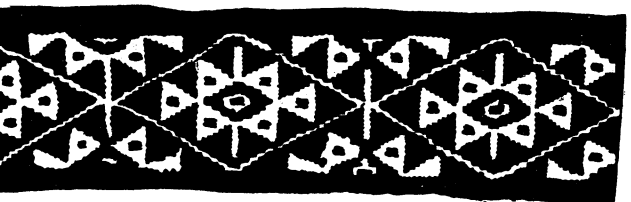


Fig. 377.

Figs. 370-377. Double Water-Gourd Designs.

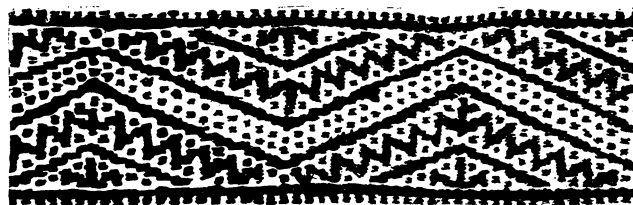


Fig. 378.



Fig. 379.

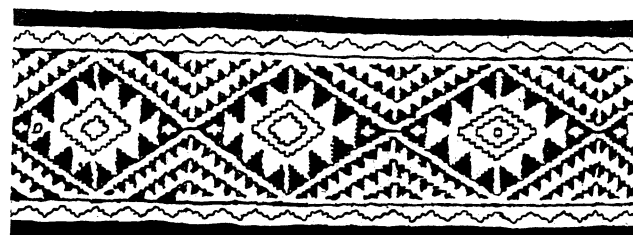


Fig. 380.

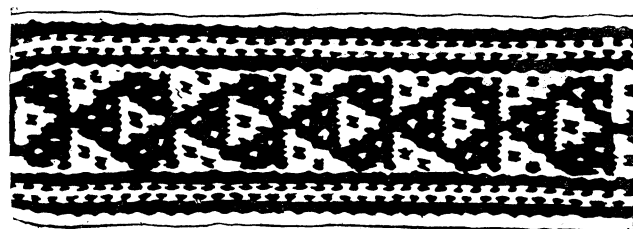


Fig. 381.



Fig. 382.



Fig. 383.



Fig. 384.



Fig. 385.

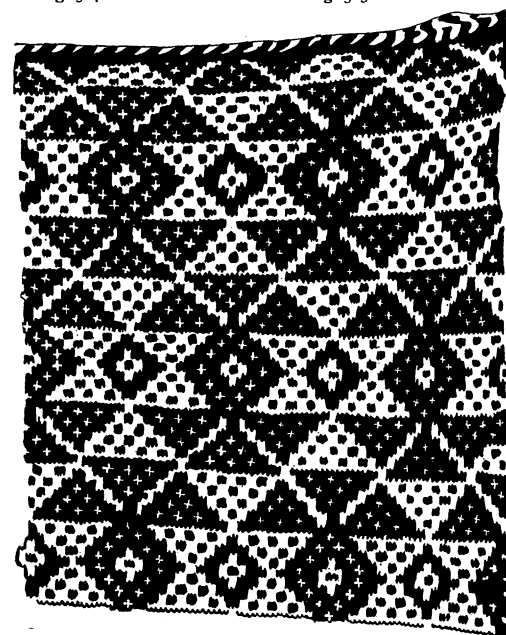


Fig. 386.

Figs. 378-386. Double Water-Gourd Designs.

FIG. 378.—From a girdle. Design: double water-gourd. Cat. No.  $\frac{66}{1357}$ .FIG. 379.—From a ribbon. Design: double water-gourd. Repeated on XXII, II. Cat. No.  $\frac{66}{1771}$ .

- FIG. 380.—From a girdle. Design: double water-gourd, and diamond representing an eye (see Design No. 54). Double water-gourds also fill the intervals between the god's eye, in which the main design is set. The diminutive squares in main design represent Pleiades (Fig. 526). The same girdle is represented in Fig. 526, XXII, 7. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17\frac{5}{2}}$ .
- FIG. 381.—From a pouch-ribbon. Design: double water-gourd. The same girdle is represented on XXII, 21. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13\frac{5}{8}}$ .
- FIG. 382.—From a ribbon. Design: double water-gourd. The same girdle is represented on XXII, 19. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17\frac{5}{4}}$ .
- FIG. 383.—From a girdle. Design: water-gourd surrounded by spirals representing the skin of plums. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14\frac{5}{1}}$ .
- FIG. 384.—From a ribbon. Design: double water-gourd and comb (see Design No. 2). Repeated in Fig. 389. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{30\frac{5}{1}}$ .
- FIG. 385.—From a girdle. Design: central band, double water-gourd and large diamond representing an eye (see Design No. 54); borders, water-gourd. The reverse side of this girdle has been selected for illustration. Figs. 376, 377, 379, and 380 show the same design from the front side: consequently what is white in Fig. 385 is black in the other illustrations. The upper border of Fig. 385 is indistinct, but is a composite of the third type in Fig. 369, and much like Fig. 371. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{19\frac{5}{8}}$ .
- FIG. 386.—From a pouch. Design: double water-gourd, god's eye (see Design No. 54), and cross (see Design No. 56). Of Cora manufacture. The pattern of this pouch is a very striking illustration of the triangular water-gourd design. The triangle, itself a representation of a double water-gourd, gives a more recognizable representation of this design when placed on top of another triangle, as may be observed on the borders and across the middle of the pouch. But if to each pair of such perfected representations of the gourd is added the triangle above and below it, it becomes a larger and still more perfect representation, the stoppers above and below being shown. The most conspicuous patterns of the pouch are therefore cross rows, in white, of double water-gourds with stoppers. In the illustration three rows may be discerned, two perfect designs being shown in each of the upper ones, while the two on the lower row are without the lower stoppers. Between each design of the row is a black eye with small crosses and one large one in white, and inside of each design is a similar eye with one white cross. It should be noticed how eyes, small or large, have been produced by the triangles (the checker pattern, in white). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{12\frac{5}{2}}$ .

**DESIGN No. 2.—COMB** (Sp., *lechuguilla*; Huichol, *matsikyu'ya*).

See Figs. 387-392; also 384, 501, 509, XXII, 8.

The dancers at the hikuli feast carry combs attached to their girdles. These particular combs are called combs of Great-Grandfather Deer-Tail (*Tato'tsi Mara Kwari matsikyu'ya*). These resemble small whisk-brooms, and are made of the fibre of a century-plant called *lechuguilla*. The material is brought especially from the country of the hikuli; although there is hardly any doubt that the plant also grows in the Huichol country, since it is common throughout the moderately warm sections of Mexico. In making the combs, the handle is formed by tying the whisks together with a twine of ixtle, which is passed over and under small bunches of fibres in such a way as to form designs of a butterfly (see Design No. 29). The end of the twine is left hanging for attachment. The twine and the tips of the comb are colored with

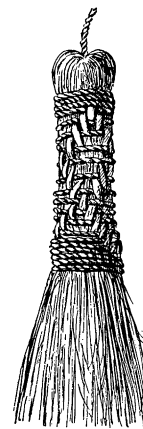


Fig. 387 ( $\frac{1}{12\frac{5}{2}}$ ). Comb of Fibre, with Design of Butterfly on the Handle. Length, 12 cm.

brazil-wood dye, and the combs vary in length from eleven to twenty-five centimetres. The hikuli-seekers, who during their journey and the preparations for the feast have to abstain from washing and from combing their hair, use the new comb after the feast, when they take a bath, and consider themselves new persons. The combs are then used for the rest of the year; that is, until the next hikuli feast, when new ones are again procured.

In the series of motives (Fig. 388) it will be seen how the unevenness on the top of the comb, the result of tying the fibres, has in the design been utilized at both ends; furthermore, how it is gradually eliminated, while the butterfly design remains. The illustration of the comb, from which the design is derived, shows the article with the long fibres, as used at the dance. Afterward the long ends are trimmed off to be even with the core of the brush.

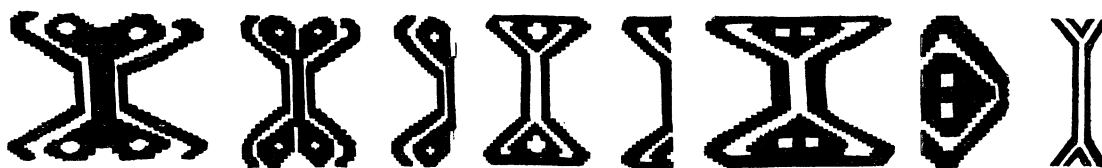


Fig. 388. Series of Conventional Designs representing the Comb.

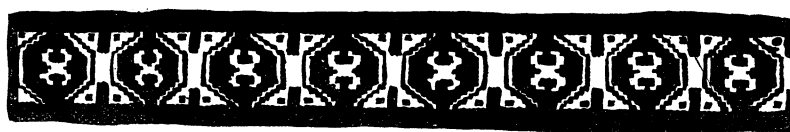


Fig. 389. Comb Design.

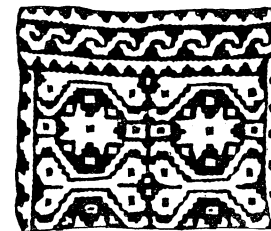


Fig. 390. Comb Design.

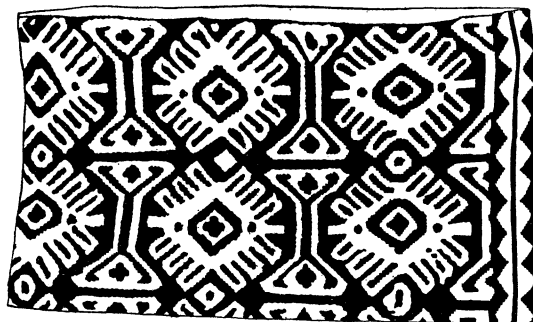


Fig. 391. Comb Design.

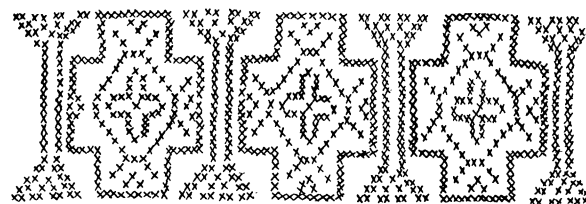


Fig. 392. Comb Design.

FIG. 389.—From a ribbon. Design: comb and double water-gourd (see Design No. 1). Repeated in Fig. 384. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{3} \frac{5}{18}$ .

FIG. 390.—From a pouch. Design: comb and flower tōto' (see Design No. 46). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{33}$ .

FIG. 391.—From embroidery on the border of a woman's tunic. Design: comb and flower corpus (see Design No. 48). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{14}$ .

FIG. 392.—Pouch. Design: main field, comb and flower tōto' (see Design No. 46); upper edge freno (see Design No. 55). Repeated in Fig. 509. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{14} c$ .

**DESIGN No. 3.—STEEL FOR STRIKING FIRE** (Sp., *islabon*; Huichol, *tautsu* or *tautšu*).

See Figs. 395-403; also 418, 424, 483, 501.

The implements used to-day for striking fire are a piece of steel, which is obtained from the Mexicans; a flint; and some fungus from an oak-tree, as tinder. Though of comparatively recent introduction, the steel made a deep impression on the religious conception of the tribe, in accordance with the interpretation of the fire-making implements. The steel is Grandfather Fire (*Tate'vali*), and the sparks are his facial painting



Fig. 393. Steel for striking Fire.



Fig. 394. Conventional Designs representing the Steel.

(*Tate'vali urai'ya*); while the tinder is his food (*Tate'vali i'něwa*). The flint is Great-Grandfather Deer-Tail (*Tato'tsi Mara Kwari*).

Fig. 393 illustrates the form of steel in common use, while in Fig. 394 I have given a number of typical conventional signs for this object. It is interesting to compare this design in some detail with other similar designs with which it shows intimate relation in form. I may be allowed to quote here some remarks by Professor F. Boas relating to this design and to a number of similar forms:

“While the comb design (p. 293) appears principally as a dividing line between two large patterns—as, for instance, in Figs. 390, 391, 501—and seems in many cases closely related to a rectangular design of somewhat similar position and form (see Figs. 507, 508), the steel design appears generally as a border on belts, and on narrow ribbons, although other applications are not wanting. Generally the design appears as a continuous series of steels, placed side by side in such a position that the striking surfaces turn in opposite directions. The thin ends, with their spiral terminations, are then connected and appear as an angular or undulating line, while the thick central portion of the steel appears as a triangular ornament following the sinuosities of the wave line. This triangular element is elaborated by the addition of lobes, until it attains a flower-like shape. Sometimes the free ends of the steel are not joined, but appear as graceful spirals. The series of types shown in Fig. 394 and the specimens represented on p. 296 illustrate these points clearly.

“The similarity to flower and vine designs is developed particularly in those cases in which the central part is much exaggerated in size (Fig. 397). A comparison with the borders of many of the specimens here illustrated will elucidate the numerous applications of this design. The patterns shown in Figs. 448 and 451, and explained as the fresh-water crab, parts of the oak-leaf design in Fig. 465, and, most important of all, the vine designs on pp. 316 and 317, are all closely allied to the steel design. We may even recognize the same character in the arrangement of the bluejays in Fig. 433 and in the squirrel-tails in Fig. 422.

“These similarities are, of course, an effect of the general stylistic tendencies which underlie the whole decorative art of the tribe, and which cause the geometri-

cal motives as well as realistic forms to be arranged on definite ornamental lines. Among such types the wave-line with ornamental filling has had, perhaps, the most far-reaching influence in the art of the Huichol.

"The same point is brought out also in the prevalence of the triangular forms which are explained as the gourd design. The double-headed serpent in Fig. 395 consists almost entirely of such gourd-triangles, which, however, must be explained at the same time as the scales of the serpent. Even the gourds with strings are here actually the lines dividing each pair of serpents (compare Fig. 369, half design in second line)."

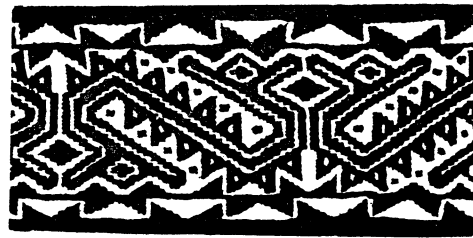


Fig. 395.

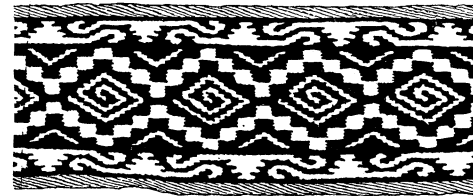


Fig. 402.



Fig. 396.

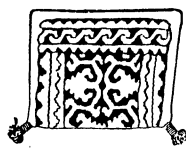


Fig. 397.



Fig. 398.



Fig. 399.

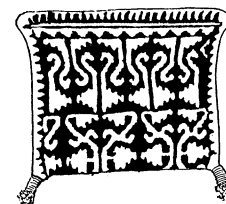


Fig. 400.



Fig. 401.



Fig. 403.

Figs. 395-403. Designs of Steel for striking Fire.

FIG. 395.—From a girdle. Design: borders, the steel; central band, double-headed serpent (see Design No. 22). Note the god's eye with cross inside representing the serpent's eye.

There are also god's eyes between the heads. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{18}$ .

FIG. 396.—From the border of a girdle. Design: the steel. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{18}$ .

FIG. 397.—Pouch. Design: main field, the steel; upper border, freno (see Design No. 55). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{18} d$ .

FIG. 398.—Pouch. Design: lateral borders, the steel; main field, the banana (see Design No. 39). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{18} e$ .

FIG. 399.—From a hair-ribbon. Design: central band, the steel; borders, notched deer-bone (see Design No. 5). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{18} f$ .

FIG. 400.—Pouch. Design: the steel. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{18} g$ .

FIG. 401.—Pouch. Design: lateral borders, the steel; main field, royal eagle with crown (see Design No. 15), eagle-tail between the beaks; under the beaks, double water-gourd (see Design No. 1); in the centre, the flower tōto' (see Design No. 46); along upper border, zigzag representing probably lightning (see Design No. 53). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{18} h$ .

FIG. 402.—From a girdle. Design: on the border, the steel; on the central band, eye (see Design No. 54). The scroll itself, an eye inside of the eye, represents a small serpent. The entire pattern, in a striking manner, illustrates the usual conception of a girdle as a serpent's back. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{8}$ .

FIG. 403.—From a hair-ribbon. Design: the steel. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{30} \frac{5}{13}$ .

#### DESIGN No. 4.—NOTCHED STICK FOR PAINTING ARROW-SHAFTS

(Huichol, *rulukui'mi*). See Fig. 404.

The object from which this design is taken is the little implement with which the arrow-maker paints the zigzag lines on the winged part of an arrow, which are interpreted as lightning. It is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between this and the next design. Probably the edges of the latter are more saw-like. Both designs are very plentiful; in fact, there is hardly any pouch in which one or the other is not to be found along the edges, but it would be vain to try to differentiate them. Undoubtedly the great majority are intended to represent the notched deer-bone.



Fig. 404. Notched-Stick Design.

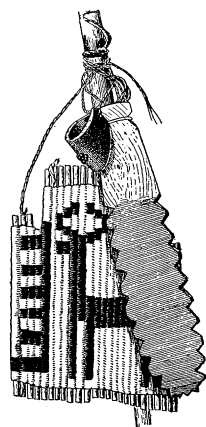


Fig. 405. A Wooden Serrated Ceremonial Object, attached to an Arrow and representing the Notched Deer-Bone. Length, 12 cm. (As to the other attachments, see Part I, Fig. 108.)



Fig. 406. Notched Deer-Bone Design.



Fig. 407. Pouch showing Borders of the Notched Deer-Bone Design.

#### DESIGN No. 5.—NOTCHED DEER-BONE (Huichol, *kalatsi'ki*).

See Figs. 405-407; also Figs. 399, 413, 438, 451.

This design is derived from a wooden object which represents the real *kalatsi'ki*, or metatarsal bone of the deer. It is made of brazil-wood,<sup>1</sup> is about 37 cm. long, and is deposited, either by itself or attached to an arrow, in some god-house, as a prayer for luck in hunting deer. The real metatarsal bone is used in sounding an accompaniment to the

<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume, p. 205.

prayer-song before the deer-hunt, a shoulder-blade of a deer being rubbed against it, both bones being notched.<sup>1</sup>

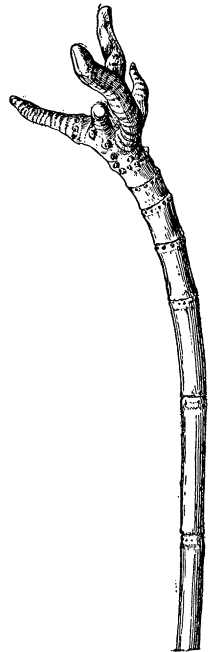


Fig. 408 ( $\frac{665}{688}$ ). Staff of Grandmother Growth, Upper Part.

FIG. 407.—Pouch. Design: on lateral borders, notched deer-bone; on upper border, squash-vine (see Design No. 34); main field, humming-bird (see Design No. 18); connected with the beak of the humming-bird, the flower of a vine called ha'pani (see Design No. 36); near the feet of the humming-birds, double water-gourds (see Design No. 1). Tōto' (Design No. 46) and cross (Design No. 46) may be observed. Repeated in Fig. 438. Cat. No.  $\frac{665}{1367}$ .

**DESIGN No. 6.—STAFF OF GRANDMOTHER GROWTH** (Huichol, *Tako'tsi Nākawe'* ["Grandmother Growth"] *kwalele'* ["staff"]).

See Figs. 408–410, also 515.

Grandmother Growth, the earth goddess of the Huichol,<sup>2</sup> is usually represented with a staff or with several staffs,—insignia of her great age and authority. These sticks are made of bamboo reeds from which the roots have not been trimmed off. Often the roots or prongs are carved to closely resemble the heads of serpents, since such sticks are looked upon as themselves the serpents of the goddess. They are deposited in her cave as prayers for long life; and small specimens of the same kind of bamboo sticks are left, in behalf of children, as prayers to the goddess of conception and childbirth, expressing a wish that the child may begin to walk early, and that "the path of its life may be long."

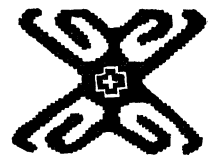


Fig. 409. Design representing the Staff of Grandmother Growth.

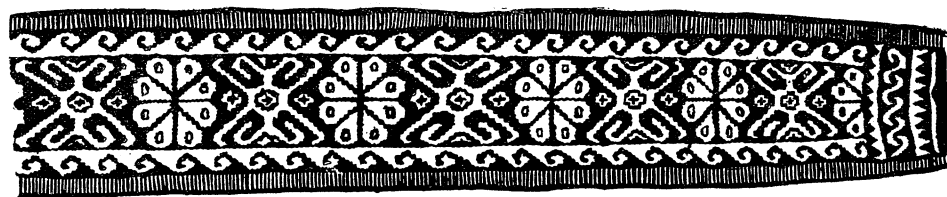


Fig. 410. Design of Staff of Grandmother Growth.

FIG. 410.—From a girdle. Design: central band, staff of Grandmother Growth and flower tōto' (see Design No. 46); across end, freno (see Design No. 55). According to the original label, the design on central band is *garabato*, literally pothook. This word is in Mexico used in the sense of "decorative designs," ancient paintings, scrawlings, or peckings included. The "civilized" Indian expresses by this word that the design has only a decorative meaning, this being the usual evasive way of showing that he does not know what it means. Presumably the flower-like design between the roots sometimes represents a dog's tracks. On this point my informants were very vague, and although, for instance, Fig. 471 was also given me as a dog's tracks, the evidence, carefully sifted, seems to favor the explanations as set forth. A dog's tracks, as a combination of many (its trail), is given as a zigzag line on a ribbon, Fig. 418. Possibly the root-end of the staff may be simply a conventional representation of a root (see Fig. 470). Repeated in Fig. 515. Cat. No.  $\frac{665}{1737}$ .

<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 13, 51, 52.



**DESIGN No. 7.—JEW'S HARP** (Sp., *trompa*; Huichol, *tolu'pat*). See Fig. 411.

The musical instrument from which this design takes its name is sold here and there throughout Mexico; and although I have never seen it among the Huichol, they know it well.

FIG. 411.—From border of a woman's tunic.  
Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1304}$ .

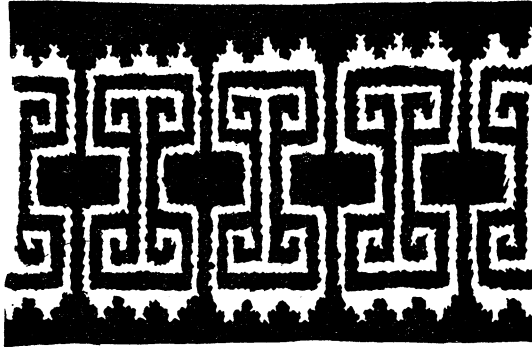


Fig. 411. Jew's-harp Design.

**DESIGN No. 8.—MOUNTAIN-LION**

(Sp., *leon*; Huichol, *ma'ya*).

See Figs. 412-414; also Figs. 513, 519.

This animal belongs to the God of Fire, and is always pictured with a flower in its tail, the flower which is *tōto'* (see Design No. 46; Fig. 519) being in such cases called *nao'si*. The parallel slanting lines indicate the hair or fur (*ura'li*).

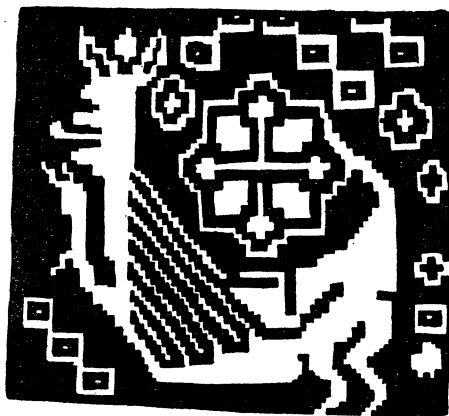


Fig. 412. Mountain-Lion Design.

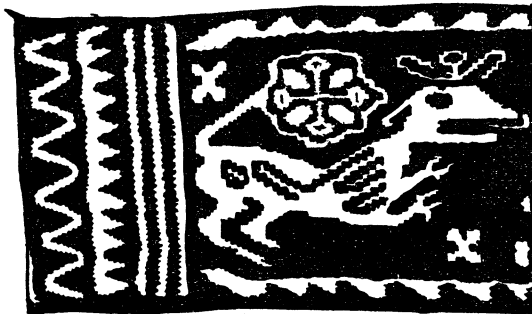


Fig. 413. Mountain-Lion Design.



Fig. 414. Mountain-Lion Design.

FIG. 412.—From a pouch. Design: central figure, mountain-lion, in the tail the flower *nao'si* (*tōto'*, see above); between the ears a plume; the rectangles at the corners represent larvæ (see Design No. 30). Repeated in Fig. 519. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1743} b$ .

FIG. 413.—From the end of a girdle. Design: main figure, mountain-lion, in the tail the flower *nao'si*, over the head a crown or possibly ears and plume; over the tail a double water-gourd (see Design No. 1); on the borders, possibly the notched deer-bone (see Design No. 5) or halves of double water-gourds. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1390}$ .

FIG. 414.—From the lower half of a neckerchief (now gone out of use). It consisted of two rectangles half of which is shown, united with a strip of cheap cotton cloth, which passed around the neck, while the embroidered ends hung down the back. Design: main field, mountain-lion with crown, or possibly ears and a plume; in the tail the flower *nao'si*, under the tail a water-gourd (see Design No. 1); 3 figures on each side—one near the head of the lion, two between the paw of the upper and the tail of the lower lion—represent the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46), which, besides, is represented by a number of crosses near the lions; a number of double water-gourds may be observed; the zigzag borders with dots represent the squash-vine (see Design No. 34). Repeated in Fig. 513. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{38}$ .

DESIGN No. 9.—TIGER (Sp., *tigre*; Huichol, *tu'we*). See Figs. 415–417.

The tiger belongs to the God of Fire and to Father Sun, and does not often occur in pictorial representations. Judging from the interpretation given me about Fig. 417,

the figure between the ears is a plume. Compare the preceding design.

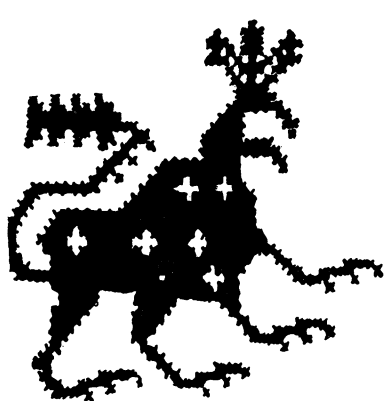


Fig. 415.



Fig. 416.

Designs representing the Tiger.



Fig. 417.

FIGS. 415–417.—From embroidery on men's neckerchiefs. Cat. Nos.  $\frac{6}{1306}$ ,  $\frac{6}{1308}$ .



Fig. 418. Dog Design.

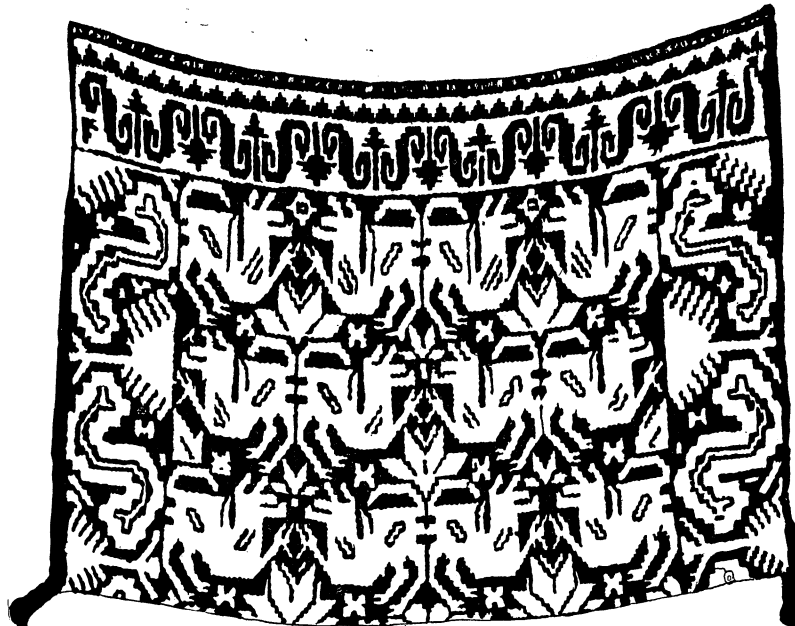


Fig. 419. Dog Design.

**DESIGN No. 10.—DOG** (Sp., *perro*; Huichol, *çuk* or *çu'ku*). See Figs. 418, 419.

The figure of the dog is quite frequently seen in textile work, especially in girdles, where a single row of such figures may be depicted along the entire girdle, making a very striking pattern. It is peculiar that in the two specimens here represented only one forepaw is shown.

FIG. 418.—From a girdle. Design: the dog, the zigzag under it representing the dog's trail, the white spot underneath the paw symbolizing the corn cakes (*tortillas*) that the dog is going to eat; borders, steel for striking fire (see Design No. 3). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{12}$ .

FIG. 419.—Pouch. Design: main field, the dog; over the tails of two adjoining dogs, the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46); at either side of the *tōto'* a double water-gourd (see Design No. 1); two god's eyes (see Design No. 54) in the upper part of the field; upper border, banana leaves and flowers (see Design No. 39); lateral borders, palm-tree (see Design No. 41) and double-headed serpent (see Design No. 22); double water-gourds may be noticed. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{12}$ .

**DESIGN No. 11.—SQUIRREL** (Sp. Mex., *techalote*; Huichol, *t'aku'*).

See Figs. 422, 423; also Figs. 441, 531.



Fig. 420.  
Designs of the Gray Squirrel in Textile.

The gray squirrel (*Sciurus Nayaritensis*, Allen) is one of the animals belonging to Father Sun, and a hero-god in Huichol mythology. It defended the sun, and helped him when he set for the first time; therefore this animal is highly esteemed. It is the guide of the hikuli-seekers on their journey to fetch the

sacred plants, and the pilgrims often wear its tail on their hats. Stuffed specimens of the animal are exhibited at the hikuli feasts.



Fig. 422. Squirrel Design.



Fig. 423. Squirrel Design.

FIG. 422.—Pouch. Design: squirrel; between the squirrels, god's eyes (see Design No. 54), double water-gourds (see Design No. 1). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{6} \frac{5}{5} \frac{7}{7}$ .

FIG. 423.—Pouch. Design: main field, top row; squirrel; second row, dove (see Design No. 19) with deer in dark on body; third row, freno (see Design No. 55); lowest row, dove, upper border, freno. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{6} \frac{7}{6}$ .

**DESIGN No. 12.—HORSE** (Sp. and Huichol, *caballo*). See Fig. 424.

Horses are known to the Huichol, although very few are found in their country. Mules are more frequent, yet even their number is very limited.

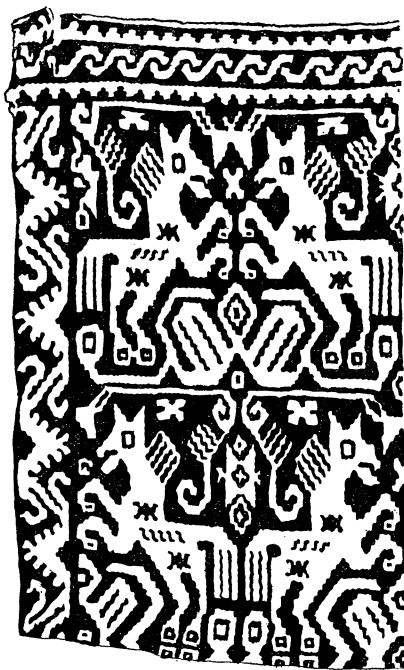


Fig. 424. Horse Design.

FIG. 424.—From large pouch. Design: horse, perhaps surrounded by a lariat; left border, steel for striking fire (see Design No. 3); upper border, freno (see Design No. 55); the figure above tails of lower horses, the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46). Double water-gourd designs may also be observed. Cat. No.  $1\frac{6}{8}\frac{5}{10}$ .

**DESIGN No. 13.—OX-HORNS ATTACHED TO THE FRONTAL BONE.** See Fig. 425.

At the rain-making feasts oxen are sacrificed, and the horns are taken off with a part of the skull. They are adorned with flowers and deposited in some sacred place as an offering to the gods, just as are deer-heads with attached antlers.

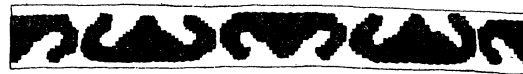


Fig. 425. Ox-horn Design.

FIG. 425.—From border of a large pouch. Cat. No.  $1\frac{6}{8}\frac{5}{10}$ .

**DESIGN No. 14.—HONEYCOMB TRIPE** (Huichol, *rai'mali*). See Figs. 426, 427.

This is undoubtedly the oldest design of the Huichol.

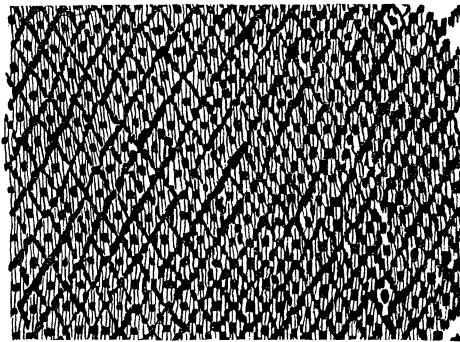


Fig. 426. Deer-tripe Design.

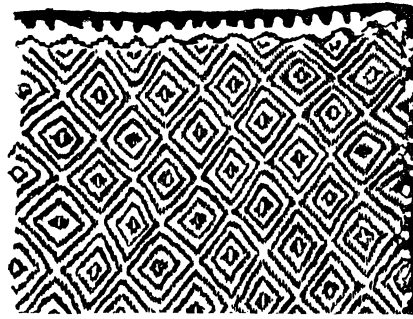


Fig. 427. Cow-tripe Design.

FIG. 426.—From an old garment. Cat. No.  $1\frac{6}{8}\frac{5}{10}$ . FIG. 427.—From a pouch. Cat. No.  $1\frac{6}{8}\frac{5}{10}$ .

**DESIGN No. 15.—ROYAL EAGLE** (Sp., *aguila real*; Huichol, *ve'rika*).

See Figs. 428-431; also 401, 442, 466, 472, 505, 520, 521.

This design and the double-headed heraldic eagle of Europe have no connection with each other.<sup>1</sup> The front view of the eagle is not considered perfect unless both sides

<sup>1</sup>See Part I of this volume, p. 29; also Prof. F. Boas's letter, p. 287.

of the head are shown. This bird is associated with the God of Fire, and its plumes are highly valued. A young female eagle holds the world in its talons; and she embodies the region above, guarding the world below, especially corn.

All the eagles here represented have a top-knot; and crowns may be observed, not only over each head, but also between the double heads. This is due to contact with civilization. The guardian young mother-eagle above is to the Huichol synonymous with the Virgin Mary, and is therefore provided with a crown, in accordance with the crowns seen on the saint pictures in some of the old churches.



Fig. 428 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Head of Eagle with Top-Knot.



Fig. 429. Royal Eagle Design.

FIG. 429.—Pouch. Design: main field, the royal eagle with top-knot and crown, the heart represented by the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46); lateral borders, fresh-water crab (see Design No. 26). The zigzag lines between the heads of the two eagles represent moss (see Design No. 51). A god's eye (Design No. 54) may be observed between the two eagles, where the wings approach each other. Cat. No.  $\frac{1}{3} \frac{5}{11}$ .



Fig. 430. Royal Eagle Design.

FIG. 430.—Pouch. Design: main field, the royal eagle with top-knot, the heart represented by the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46); surrounding the eagle *tōto'* flowers in two more representations and double water-gourds in four shapes (see Design No. 1); on the lateral borders, the bird *Walimika'le* (see Design No. 20); [according to the original label, the central design on the border represents a hikuli-seeker's face-painting]. Repeated in Figs. 442, 505, 520. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1304}$ .

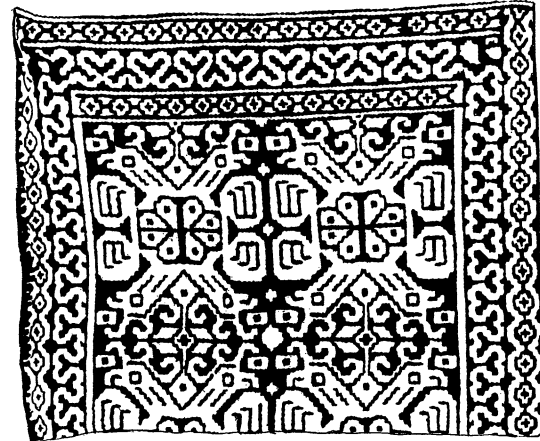


Fig. 431. Royal Eagle Design.

FIG. 431.—Pouch. Design: main field, royal eagle with crest [according to the original label, chicken-hawk], the heart represented by the flower *tōto'*; the whole outer border, the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46). The plumes on the heads are executed in daring and impressive curves, and the combination of the two eagles into one is highly artistic, and compares favorably with European heraldic designs of the middle ages. Where the pair of heads meet with the corresponding pair in the next design a pleasing effect is produced by the graceful curves of the plumes, the space between them being effectively filled out with an eye (Design No. 54) and parts of a *tōto'* design (Design No. 46). The outer border is a series of eye designs (Design No. 54). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1307}$ .

**DESIGN No. 16.—TURKEY** (Sp. Mex., *guajolote*; Huichol, *alu'*). See Fig. 432.

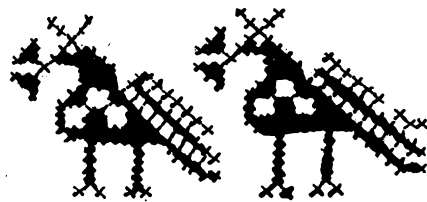


Fig. 432. Turkey Design.

This bird is dedicated to the Sun, and is therefore important to the Huichol. The hikuli-seekers adorn their hats with tail-feathers of the turkey.

FIG. 432.—Embroidery from a man's neckerchief. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1307}$ .

**DESIGN No. 17.—BLUEJAY** (Sp., *urraca*; Huichol, *wa*). See Figs. 433, 436; also 430.

This bird is valued on account of its beautiful long tail-feathers. The Huichols generally buy them from the Cora Indians, and use them on certain occasions as head-ornaments. A number of these feathers are tied around a small stick by the quills, and stuck in an upright position under the hair-ribbon.<sup>1</sup> In this way they are used at the hikuli feast as well as at the dance of the *matachines*, which was introduced by the Church.



Fig. 433. Bluejay Design.



Fig. 434. Bluejay Design.

<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume, p. 178.

FIG. 433.—From a woman's tunic. Embroidery. Design: bluejay. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1301}$ .

FIG. 434.—Pouch. Design: bluejay eating guamu'chil (see Mariano Barcena, Ensayo Estadístico del Estado de Jalisco, in Anales del Ministerio de Fomento, Mexico, 1891, Vol. IX, p. 540). The designs between the birds are, with one exception, double water-gourd (see Design No. 1) and the flower toto' (see Design No. 46). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1337}$ .

**DESIGN No. 18.—HUMMING-BIRD** (Sp., *chuparosa*; Huichol, *tupi'na*).

See Figs. 435-438; also 407, 474.

This is a sun-bird, and the design is not infrequently found on girdles and pouches. The birds are generally represented in pairs, sipping a flower. The spots on the bodies of the birds are their hearts.



Fig. 435. Humming-Bird Design.

Fig. 436. Humming-Bird Design.

Fig. 437. Humming-Bird Design.

FIG. 435.—From a girdle. Design: two humming-birds, between them the flower of the silk cotton-tree. (Sp., *pochote*). This is according to the original label, although to all appearances this flower is the same as in Figs. 436-438. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1338}$ .

FIGS. 436, 437.—From a large pouch. Design: two humming-birds, between them the flower of a vine called ha'pani (see Design No. 36). There is a double water-gourd design in Fig. 436 and a toto' design in Fig. 437. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1368}$ .



Fig. 438. Humming-Bird Design.

FIG. 438.—Pouch. Design: main field, humming-bird; connected with the beak, the flower of the vine ha'pani (see Design No. 36); near the feet, double water-gourd (see Design No. 1); on the lateral borders, notched deer-bone (see Design No. 5); on the upper border, squash-vine (see Design No. 34). Repeated from Fig. 407. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1369}$ .

**DESIGN No. 19.—DOVE** (Sp., *paloma*; Huichol, *wa'pu*, *waupu'r*, or *waupu'ri*).

See Figs. 439-441.



Fig. 439. Dove Design.



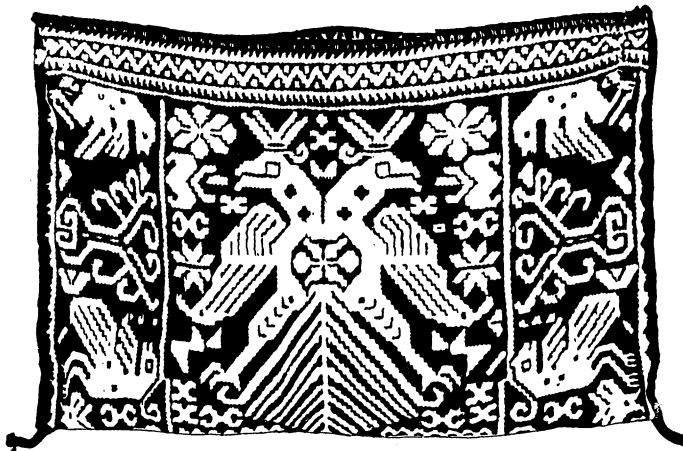
Fig. 441. Dove Design.



Fig. 440. Dove Design.

FIG. 439.—From a pouch. Design: dove, on its body a deer. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1} \frac{5}{4} \frac{5}{6} \frac{5}{6}$ .FIG. 440.—Pouch. Design: top row, squirrel (see Design No. 11); second row, dove with deer in dark on body; third row, freno (see Design No. 55); lowest row, dove; upper border, freno. Repeated from Fig. 423. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1} \frac{5}{4} \frac{5}{6} \frac{5}{6}$ .FIG. 441.—From a small pouch. Design: dove, on the body probably a locust (*mitso*). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1} \frac{5}{3} \frac{5}{6} \frac{5}{6}$ .**DESIGN No. 20.—BIRD FROM THE COAST.**(Huichol, *walimika'le*).

See Fig. 442; also 430, 503, 520.

FIG. 442.—Pouch. Design: on the lateral borders, the bird *Walimika'le*. As for the rest of the design, see Fig. 430. Repeated in Figs. 430, 503, 520. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1} \frac{5}{3} \frac{5}{6} \frac{5}{6}$ .Fig. 442. Design: the Bird *Walimika'le*.**DESIGN No. 21.—THE BIRD RAVI'KI.** See XXIII, 3.**DESIGN No. 22.—TWO-HEADED SERPENT** (Huichol, *takayupi'su*).

See Figs. 395, 419, 478, 487, XXIII, 1.

This striking design is quite commonly used in girdles. The serpent which in the Huichol conception encircles the world, has two heads, between which the sun must



pass when setting; but this serpent is called *Tāte'* ("Mother") *Īpou*.<sup>1</sup> Yet, though this is another name than the one given to me for the double-headed serpent in textile work, the two serpents are probably identical.

DESIGN No. 23.—HEAD OF SERPENT (Huichol, *ra'ye moo'ya*). See Fig. 443.

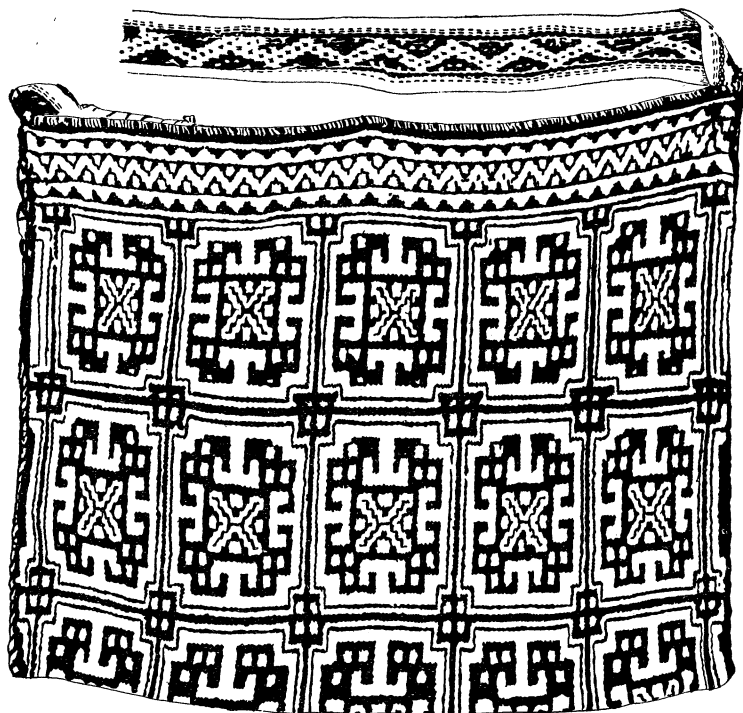


Fig. 443. Design: Main field, Heads of Serpent.

FIG. 443.—This pouch is said to be of Cora manufacture. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1458}$ .

DESIGN No. 24.—FROG (Sp., *rana*; Huichol, *sōpa'li*). See Figs. 444, 445.

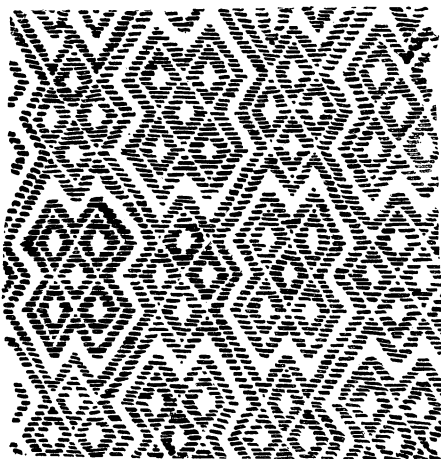


Fig. 444. Frog Design.

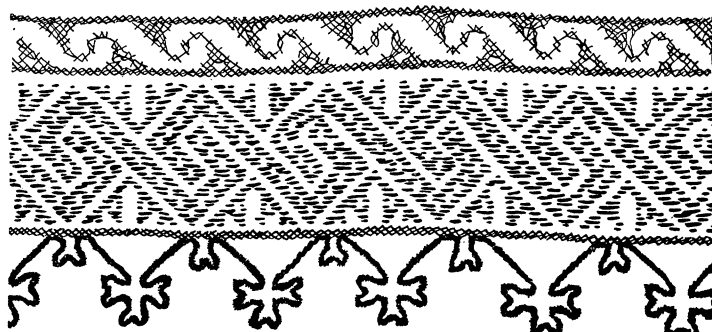


Fig. 445. Design: Lowest row, Frog; central row and upper border, Freno.

FIG. 444.—From a pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1458}$ .

FIG. 445.—From [border of embroidery on a woman's tunic (see Design No. 55). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1302}$ .

<sup>1</sup>See Part I of this volume, p. 81.

**DESIGN No. 25.—TOAD** (Huichol, *rūkwa'*). See Fig. 446.

The resemblance to the frog design (Fig. 444) is at once apparent, the toad very properly being represented in a more ample way. The ground-patterns on which these designs are found are identical in their main features, consisting of oblique lines crossing each other so as to form a network of diamond-shaped figures (god's eyes), which are embellished at their junctions by smaller figures of the same shape. Technically there is a similarity of both the frog and the toad design to that of the tripe (Fig. 426), as well as to the corn symbol of the Pueblos.



Fig. 446. Toad Design.

FIG. 446.—From a pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{8}$ .**DESIGN No. 26.—FRESH-WATER CRAB** (Sp., *cangrejo*; Huichol, *a'inali*).

See Figs. 447–451; also 429.

A kind of fresh-water crab is common in the country of the Huichol, although it is not large enough to be eaten. It is considered to be beneficial in helping to make rain.

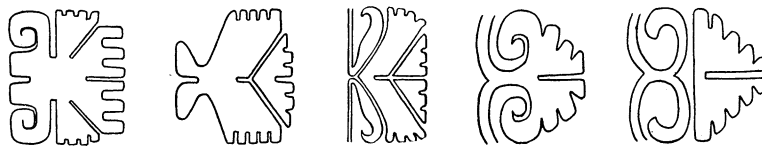


Fig. 447. Series of Conventional Designs representing the Fresh-water Crab.



Fig. 448. Design: Fresh-water Crab.

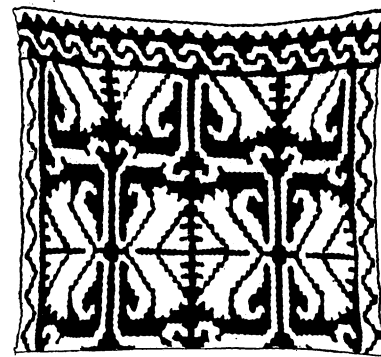


Fig. 449. Design: Fresh-water Crab.

FIG. 448.—Pouch. Design: fresh-water crab. According to the original label, the steel for striking fire (see Design No. 3). A comparison with Design No. 3 shows that the conventional designs given there as representing the steel for striking fire are very similar to this one. They lack the division on the middle lobe. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{8}$ .

FIGS. 449, 450.—Pouches. Design: main field, fresh-water crab; upper border, freno (see Design No. 55). Cat. Nos.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{8}$ ,  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{8}$  a.

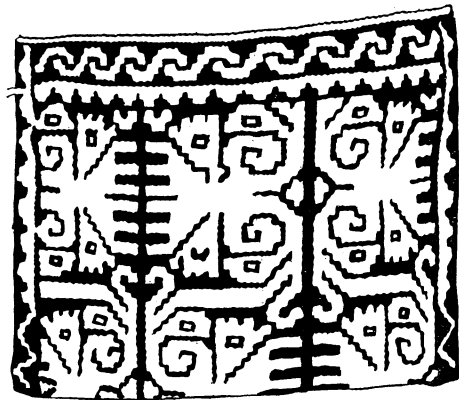


Fig. 450. Design: Fresh-water Crab.



Fig. 451. Design: Fresh-water Crab.

FIG. 451.—Pouch (both sides). Design: fresh-water crab. According to the original label, the main design represents a flower with its roots; the lateral border, the notched deer-bone (see Design No. 5); a comparison with Fig. 465, will show that the two designs are practically identical in composition. The latter is explained as leaves of the oak-tree eaten by larvæ. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{1}$  f.

**DESIGN No. 27.—SHRIMP** (Sp., *camaron*; Huichol, *toakuš*, *toaku'r*, or *tōku'r*). See Fig. 452.

These animals are common in the river which traverses the Huichol country, and the people catch them in nets specially made for the purpose. They are eaten broiled, and for the purpose are tied up in a row between two thin sticks, which are then placed over two stones near the fire. Like all aquatic animals, they are considered powerful rain-makers.



Fig. 452. Shrimp Design.

FIG. 452.—From a girdle. Design: Shrimp alternating with the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46), which besides is represented by the small crosses. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{4}$ .

**DESIGN No. 28.—SCORPION** (Sp., *alacran*; Huichol, *tama'ts tealu'ka*). See Figs. 453, 454.

The scorpion, which is of frequent occurrence in the Huichol country, is considered a god and called "Elder Brother" (*tama'ts*). Its wrath is appeased by offerings of corn-meal. On account of its poisonous sting, it is considered the arrow of Father Sun and of Elder Brother, the god of wind and hikuli.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 453. Scorpion Design.



Fig. 454. Scorpion Design.

FIG. 453.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{3}$  f.

FIG. 454.—From a ribbon. Between the scorpions a bush called toy (see Part I, Fig. 14), and possibly a squash design (see Fig. 468). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{19}\frac{5}{3}$ .

<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume, p. 12.

**DESIGN No. 29.—BUTTERFLY** (Sp., *mariposa*; Huichol, *kup'i'* or *kup'i'ts*). See Figs. 455-457.

This design is not uncommon. Its most frequent form is shown in Fig. 455.

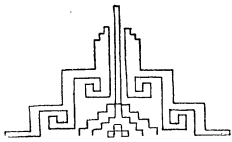


Fig. 455. Butterfly Design.

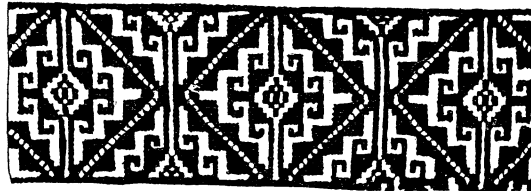


Fig. 456. Butterfly Design.

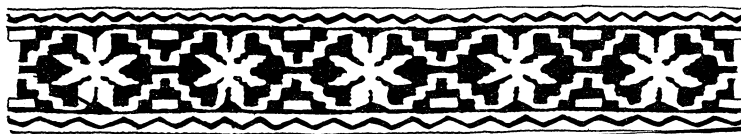


Fig. 457. Butterfly Design.

FIG. 456.—From embroidered border on a woman's tunic. Design: butterflies arranged in pairs so as to form "god's eyes" (see Design No. 54). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1301}$ .

FIG. 457.—From a ribbon. Design: butterfly alternating with the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1901}$ .

**DESIGN No. 30.—BORING LARVA** (Huichol, *kwište'r*).

See Figs. 458-460; also Fig. 412.

This design represents an unknown species of larva which makes borings under the bark of trees. A somewhat realistic attempt is shown in Fig. 458, taken from the painting on the face of a hikuli-seeker. See Part I, Fig. 277 *b*. Fig. 459 is the usual conventionalized representation.



Fig. 458. Boring Larva.



Fig. 459. Boring Larva.

FIG. 460.—The designs are arranged so as to form eyes round *tōto'* designs (see Design No. 46). Repeated in Fig. 503. Pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1459}$ .



Fig. 460. Design: Boring Larva.

**DESIGN No. 31.—BORINGS OF LARVÆ** (Huichol, *ku'ye uraya'li*). See Figs. 461-464.

*Ku'ye* means "tree," and *uraya'li* is "painting." Literally, *u'ra* means the spark made by the God of Fire, and designates the facial painting of the hikuli-seekers. After a noun, the form *ura'ya* or *uraya'li* is used; thus the exact meaning of the words is "facial

painting of the tree." The borings shown here are those made by the larva depicted in the preceding design.

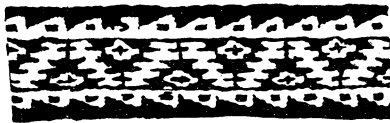


Fig. 461. Design: Borings of Larvæ.



Fig. 462. Design: Borings of Larvæ.

FIGS. 461, 462.—From ribbons. Design: borings of larvæ. The cross-like designs usually representing the flower *tôto'* (Design No. 46, compare Design No. 27) were explained to me as being the dust which the larvæ bore out of the tree. I have no doubt that such is the significance of the cross in this case. Cat. Nos.  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{12}$ ,  $\frac{6}{19} \frac{5}{2}$ .



Fig. 463. Design: Borings of Larvæ.

FIG. 463.—From a ribbon. Design: borings of larvæ and the flower *tôto'* in two forms (see Design No. 46). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{25}$ .

FIG. 464.—Pouch. Design: borings of larvæ and the flower *tôto'* in two forms. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{30} \frac{5}{20}$ .



Fig. 464. Design: Borings of Larvæ.

**DESIGN No. 32.—OAK LEAVES AND STEMS, WITH BORINGS OF LARVÆ.** See Fig. 465.

This may be looked upon as the facial painting of the oak-tree (see Designs Nos. 30 and 31).

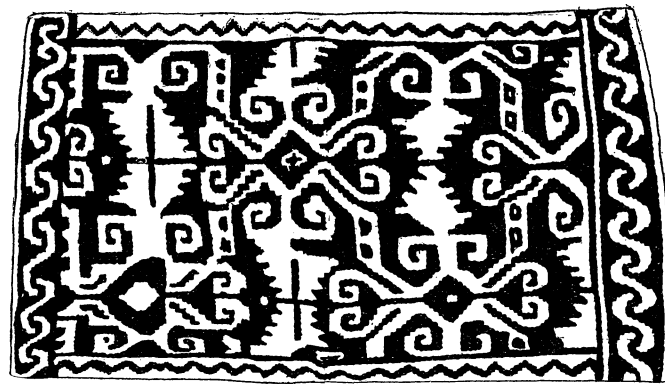


Fig. 465. Design: Oak Leaves and Stems, with Borings of Larvæ.

FIG. 465.—Pouch, side view (both sides). At several places the design shows leaves. The symmetrical figures with attached spirals are probably the stems of oak leaves. The leaves themselves are possibly represented as curled up because damaged by larvæ; cf. Fig. 451. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{2}$ .

**DESIGN No. 33.—GRASSHOPPER** (Mex. Sp., *chapulin*; Huichol, *otsi'ka*). See Fig. 466.

FIG. 466.—Design: lateral borders, grasshopper; main field, royal eagle (see Design No. 15). Pouch. Repeated in Fig. 521. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{8}d$ .



Fig. 466. Design: Grasshopper.

**DESIGN No. 34.—SQUASH-PLANT** (Huichol, *koloku'ra* or *maku'*). See Figs. 467-469; also 407, 414, 438, 472.

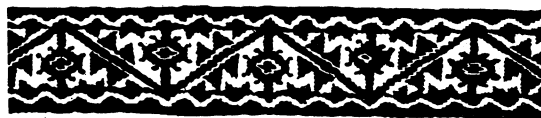


Fig. 467. Design: Squash-Plant.

FIG. 467.—From a ribbon. Design: vine with leaves and fruit (the kind used for tobacco-gourds). The excrescences on the gourds are indicated by eight small projections. The cross inside the gourd may be the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46), but may also represent the parcels of sacred tobacco that are carried in these gourds by hikuli-seekers. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{8}$ .

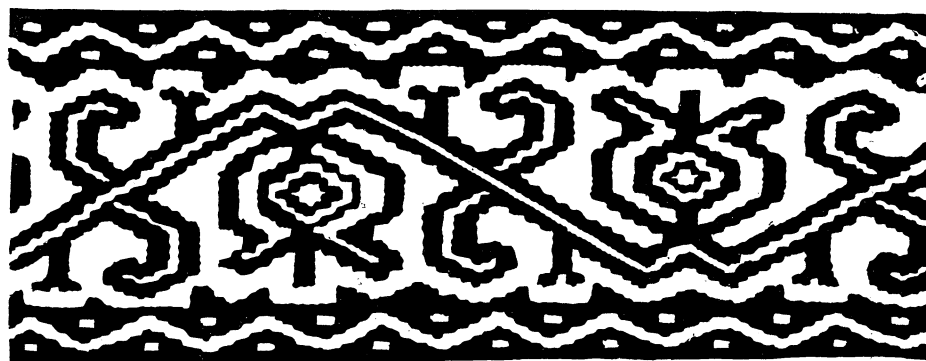


Fig. 468. Design: Squash-Plant.

FIG. 468.—From a girdle. Design: squash-vine with leaves, tendrils, and squashes; in each squash the flower *tōto'*, which is associated with water and corn. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{6}\frac{5}{8}$ .

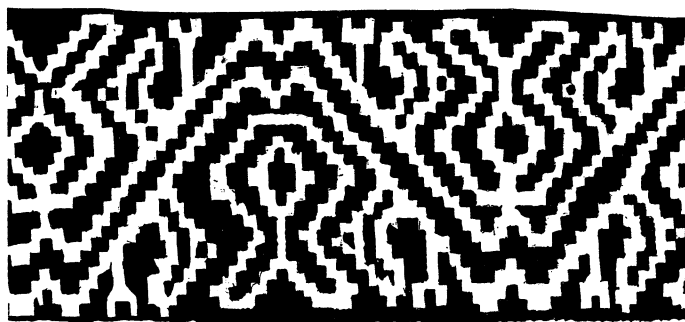


Fig. 469. Design: Squash-Plant.

FIG. 469.—From a man's woollen shirt. Design: squash-vine with leaves, tendrils, and edible fruit. Embroidery. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{8}$ .

DESIGN No. 35.—ROOT OF BEAN-PLANT. See Figs. 470-473; also 502, XXIII, 2.



Fig. 470. Series of Conventional Forms representing the Root of the Bean-Plant.

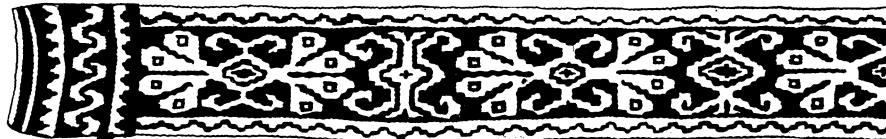


Fig. 471. Design: Root of Bean-Plant.

FIG. 471.—From a ribbon. Design: root of bean-plant and flower tōto' (see Design No. 46). Repeated in Fig. 502. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{18}$ .

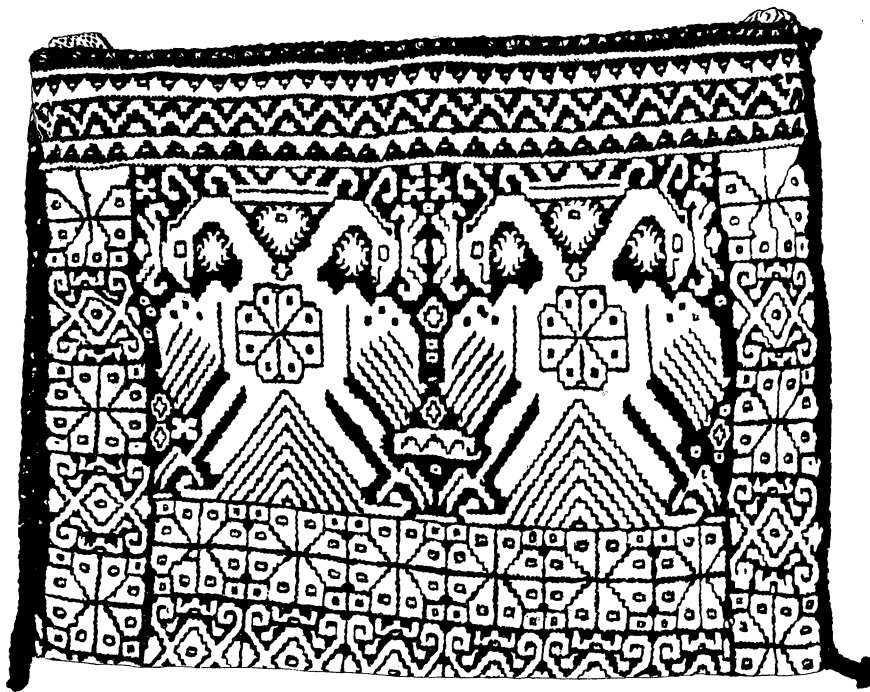


Fig. 472. Design: Root of Bean-Plant.

FIG. 472.—Pouch. Design: lateral borders, root of bean-plant and flower tōto'; lower border, flower tōto' and below it the root of the bean-plant; main field, the royal eagle (see Design No. 15), the heart represented by the flower tōto'; upper border, squash-vine in fruit (see Design No. 34.) Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13} \frac{5}{18}$ .

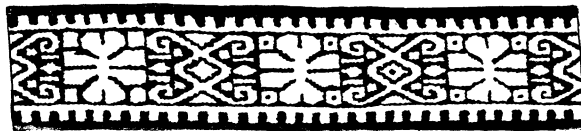


Fig. 473. Design: Root of Bean-Plant.

FIG. 473.—From a ribbon. Design: bean-plant and a half-flower of the tōto' [according to the original label, piri'ki]. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{21}$ .

**DESIGN No. 36.—HA'PANI.** See Figs. 474-477; also 407, 436, -438, 495; XXIII, 5.

This creeper grows on the mountain-sides, and produces an edible red fruit, similar to the tuna, the fruit of the nopal.

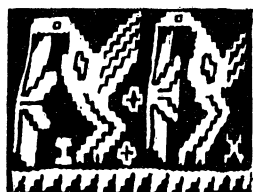


Fig. 474. Design: Ha'pani-Flower and Humming-Bird (Design No. 18) sipping it.



Fig. 475. Design: Ha'pani-Flower.



Fig. 476. Design: Ha'pani-Vine with Flowers and Leaves.

FIG. 474.—From a pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1368}$ .

FIG. 475.—From a pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1736}$ .

FIG. 476.—From embroidery on a man's neckerchief. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1308}$ .

FIG. 477.—From a girdle. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1723}$ .

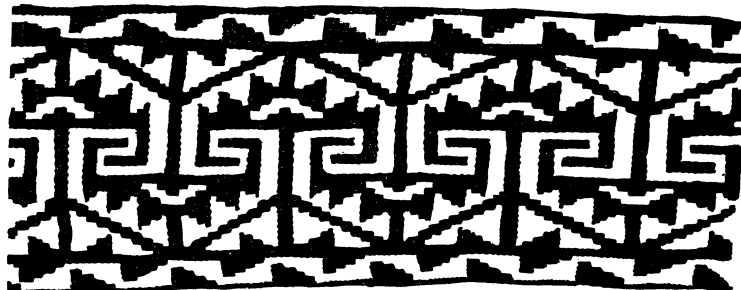


Fig. 477. Ha'pani Design.

**DESIGN No. 37.—VINE.** See Figs. 478, 479.

I was not able to ascertain which vine Figs. 478 and 479 represent. At first glance it looks like the ha'pani design, and possibly is a representation of it; yet it would be risky to classify it as ha'pani, as there are indications that it is an entirely different plant. All vines are viewed as serpents, and this one is a double-headed serpent (see Designs Nos. 22 and 57).

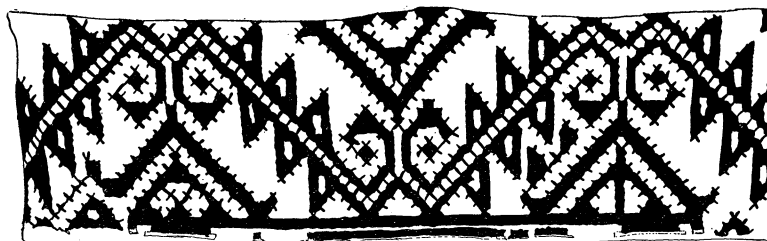


Fig. 478. A Vine Design.



Fig. 479. A Vine Design.

FIG. 478.—From embroidery on upper border of a pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1382}$ .

FIG. 479.—From a girdle. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{3021}$ .



**DESIGN No. 38.—VINE.** See Figs. 480, 481.

The scientific name of this vine, which resembles a small squash-plant, with a fruit like a diminutive squash (see Design No. 34), is unknown to me. It is called in Sp. Mex. *comecate*, in Huichol *kuta'me*.

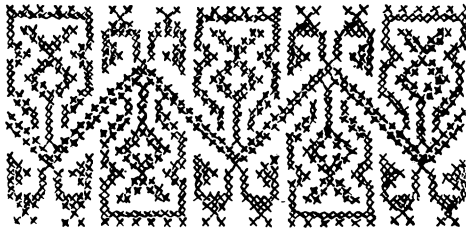


Fig. 480. Design: A Vine with Flowers and Fruit.

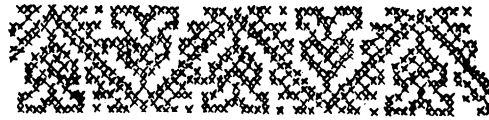


Fig. 481. Design: A Vine with Fruit and Leaves.

FIG. 480, 481.—From embroidery on a woman's tunic.  
Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1301}$ .

**DESIGN No. 39.—BANANA** (Sp., *plátano*; Huichol, *ka'ruši*).

See Figs. 482–484; also 398, 419, 504; XXIII, 7, 9.

This plant is cultivated on a small scale along the river Chapalagana, and in the deep valleys, where the climate is warm.

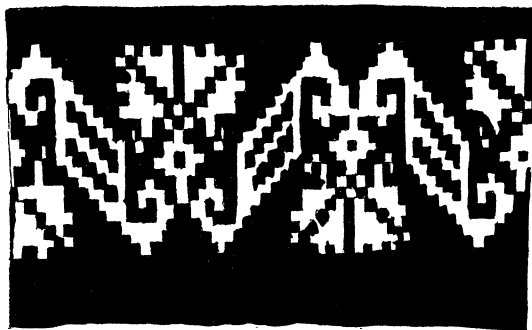


Fig. 482. Banana Design.

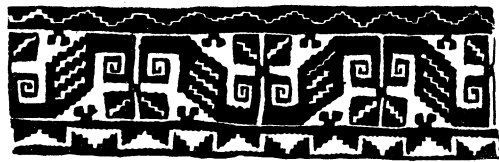


Fig. 483. Banana Design.

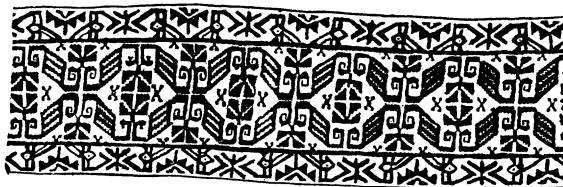


Fig. 484. Banana Design.

FIG. 482.—From a woman's tunic. Design: banana

with leaves pointed toward each other and a flower hanging between them. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1301}$ .

FIG. 483.—From a ribbon. Design: banana; upper border, steel for striking fire (see Design No. 3).  
Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1401}$ .

FIG. 484.—From a girdle. Design: central band, banana;  
borders, double water-gourd (see Design  
No. 1). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{203}$ .

**DESIGN No. 40.—MAGUEY** (Huichol, *kaku'yste*).

See Figs. 485, 486.

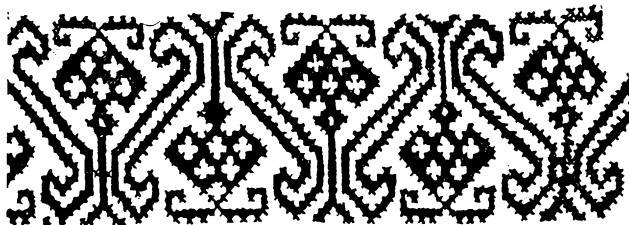


Fig. 485. Design: Leaves and Flowers of the Maguey.



Fig. 486. Design: Leaves and Flowers of the Maguey.

FIG. 485.—From embroidery on a man's neckerchief. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1301}$ .

FIG. 486.—Embroidery on pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1301}$ .

**DESIGN No. 41.—PALM-TREE** (Sp., *palma*; Huichol, *hakuri'ta*).

See Fig. 487; also Figs. 395, 419, XXIII, 1.

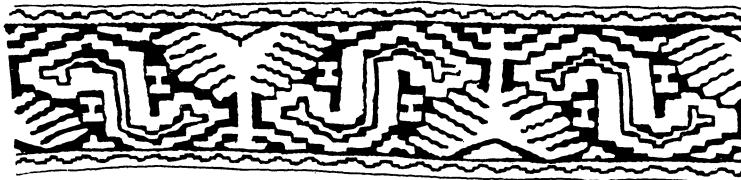


Fig. 487. Design: Palm-Tree; also Double-Headed Serpent (see Design No. 22); near the Serpent, small Double Water-Gourd (see Design No. 1).

FIG. 487.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1423}$ .**DESIGN No. 42.—FLOWER PIRI'KI.** See Figs. 488–490.

This flower is that of a large tree, and is shown in its different representations on ribbons.

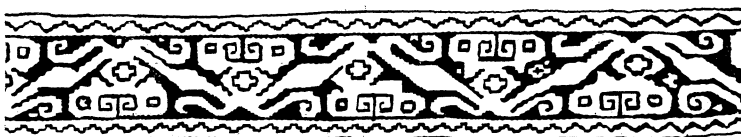


Fig. 488. Design: Flower Piri'ki.



Fig. 489. Design: Flower Piri'ki.

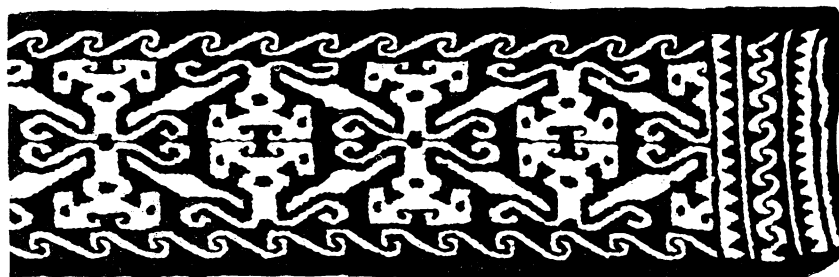


Fig. 490. Design: Flower Piri'ki.

FIG. 488.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1413}$ .FIG. 489.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1417}$ .FIG. 490.—From a ribbon. Borders, freno (see Design No. 55). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{202}$ .**DESIGN No. 43.—FLOWER TOTOWA'LI.** See Fig. 491.

This is the flower of *Palo mulato*, which is said to be red. The Huichol fasten it to the cheek with saliva, in which case it is called *totowa'li uraya'li* (see under Design No. 31).



Fig. 491. Design: Flower Totowa'li; also Leaves.

FIG. 491.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1767}$ .

**DESIGN No. 44.—PLANT WITH STALK, LEAVES, AND FLOWERS.** See Figs. 492-494.

The name of the plant I could not learn. The design in its most conventionalized form, Fig. 494, makes a very artistic pattern.



Fig. 492. Flower Design.



Fig. 493. Flower Design.

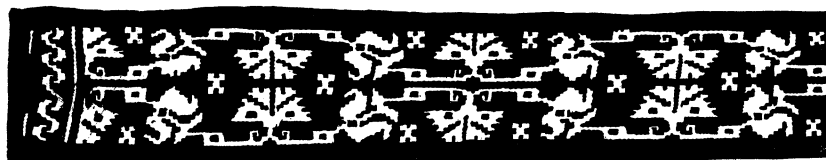


Fig. 494. Flower Design.

FIGS. 492, 493.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{6.5}{30.22}$ .

FIG. 494.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{6.5}{30.23}$ .

**DESIGN No. 45.—PLANT WITH STALK, LEAVES, AND FLOWERS.** See Figs. 495-497.

The plant, the name of which I do not know, is probably a creeper. According to the original label, Fig. 497 represents a ha'pani (see Design No. 36), and the roots encircle a hikuli.

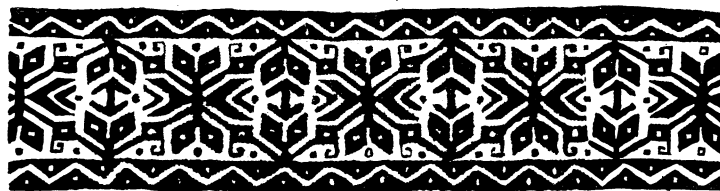


Fig. 495. Flower Design.

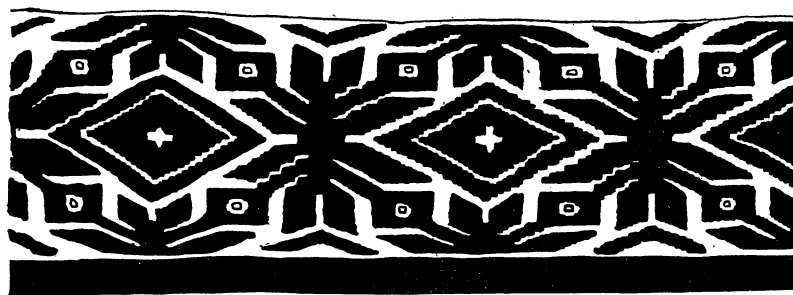


Fig. 496. Flower Design and God's Eye (see Design No. 54).

FIG. 495.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{6.5}{17.72}$ .

FIG. 496.—From a girdle. Cat. No.  $\frac{6.5}{21.8}$ .

FIG. 497.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{6.5}{14.29}$ .

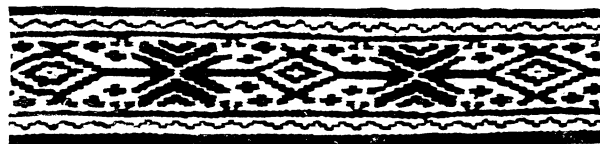


Fig. 497. Flower Design.

## DESIGN No. 46.—FLOWER TŌTO'.

See Figs. 500-520; also 390, 392, 401, 410, 412, 414, 419, 424, 429, 431, 442, 452, 457, 460, 463, 464, 466, 471-473, XXIII, 3, 4, 8.

This little white flower grows during the wet season, and is symbolic of rain and corn. The flower itself is used for ornamentation, and I have noticed that women fasten the corolla on their own cheeks or on those of their children (Fig. 498). In this case the flower is called *tōto' uraya'li* (see Design No. 31).

When I gave a native a pair of scissors and a piece of white paper, and asked him to cut out a pattern in the shape of the real flower *tōto'*, he produced the shape seen in Fig. 499 (last figure), which has only four petals. This is in accordance with the representations of the flower in textile work, where the designs always have four or eight petals. Yet the flower is sometimes shown with a five-petalled corolla. What reason the people have for representing it with four or eight petals is not clear to see, though it is a fact that the Indians, with their finger-nails, improve the shape of the corollas of flowers. It would seem that five would have been more appropriate, being the sacred number, but perhaps technical difficulties in rendering it in textile work interfered; and the number four is also of fundamental significance. On Plate XXIII, Fig. 3, the flower is represented with four petals, as viewed from the side. On Plate XXIII, Fig. 4,



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Fig. 498. Huichol Woman and Child with the Corollas of the Flower Tōto stuck to their Cheeks.

it is represented with eight petals, as viewed from above. In Fig. 8 on the same plate the same flower is represented with six petals; in fact, in ear-ornaments it generally appears with that number. The design is one of the most common on girdles and pouches. It is also found painted on tobacco-gourds as well as in facial painting. Any conventionalized representation of the flower is called *tōto' sikuta'mi*, in textile work as well as in embroidery or painting.

A series of conventionalized forms representing the *tōto'* is shown in Fig. 499. All are woven or embroidered except the last two. The next to the last design is in bead-work, and represents the flower in side view. A few of the motives at first sight appear strange. They represent the flower with two or four pistils. The dots on the petals, sometimes appearing as rectangles or squares, may symbolize stars (see Design No. 52). In other cases they are clearly repetitions of *tōto'*. A slight similarity to

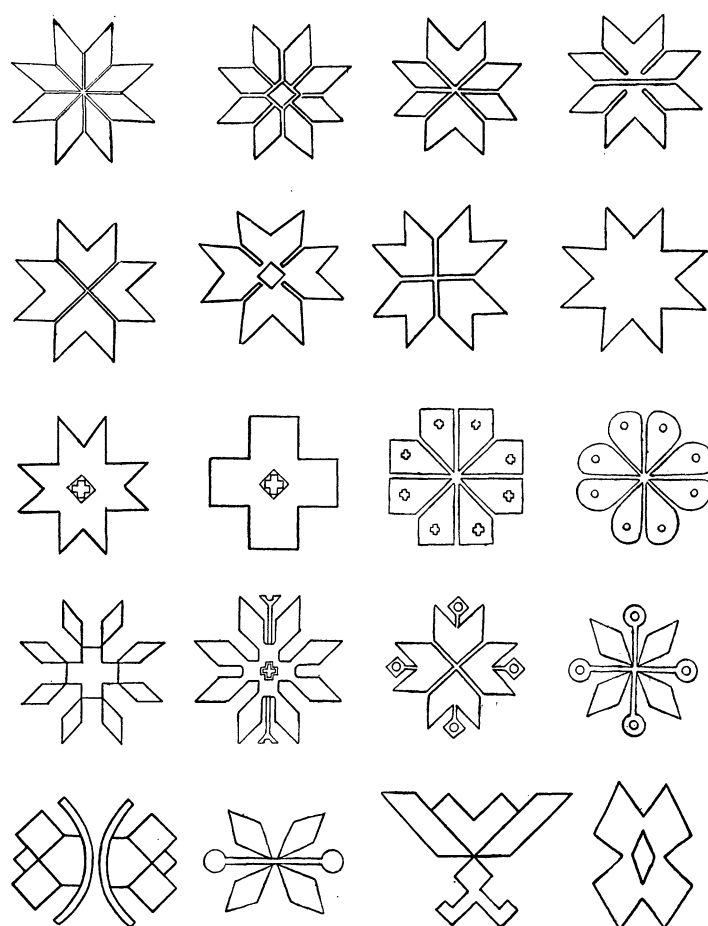


Fig. 499. Series of *Tōto'* Designs.

Oriental designs may suggest some foreign influence; on the other hand, flower designs are by their nature subject to limitations, so that a certain likeness between the productions of distant tribes and races must always be expected.

The extensive application of the *tōto'* design exhibits in a characteristic manner the tendency of the Huichol to give an interpretation to every pattern. The forms which accompany the flower design are often given interpretations which are incongruous to the explanation of a flower. Thus we find on an embroidered garment (Fig. 500) the flower *tōto'*, and on each petal the representation of a macaw. In this case the flower is, on the one hand, the decorative field into which the birds have been fitted,

while on the other hand it is also conceived of by the natives as a flower. In Fig. 503 the flower *tōto'* appears surrounded by borings of larvæ, although evidently it serves here merely as the centre of the same type of decorative design as the one illustrated in Fig. 518, where the whole field is explained as the god's eye. In still other cases the hearts of animals, particularly of birds, and the tip of the lion's tail, are represented by this flower.

- FIG. 500.—From embroidery on a woman's tunic. Design: flower *tōto'*. On the petals are represented macaws. The squares in the two lower corners have within them one large and several small representations of the *tōto'*. Crosses (see Design No. 56) signify *tōto'*, but also the four quarters of the world. Small double water-gourd designs may be observed. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{01}$ .
- FIG. 501.—From a girdle. Design: central band, *tōto'* and comb (see Design No. 2); small double water-gourds may be observed; border, steel for striking fire (see Design No. 3).
- FIG. 502.—From a ribbon. Design: flower *tōto'* and root of bean-plant (see Design No. 35). Repeated from Fig. 471. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{18}$ .
- FIG. 503.—From a pouch. Design: flower *tōto'* surrounded by boring larvæ (see Design No. 30). The *tōto'* design, which partly is surrounded by small cross-like *tōto'* designs, is set in a frame of a god's eye (see Design No. 54). The god's eye again is within the cross-like representation of *tōto'*. Round this the larvæ form a god's eye. There should be noted also how the cross forms a main design of the pouch, dividing it into quadrangles. Repeated from Fig. 460. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{28}$ .
- FIG. 504.—From a girdle. Design: central band, flower *tōto'*. The small prominence on each side of the flower makes this design different from the rest. In a practically identical ribbon, figured in "Unknown Mexico" (by Carl Lumholtz, Scribner's, New York, 1902), Vol. II, page 114, the flower has only one such prominence, evidently representing the stalk. Compare *tōto'* design in Fig. 457. In Fig. 504 are also seen small double water-gourds (see Design No. 1); borders, banana (see Design No. 39). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{30}\frac{5}{24}$ .
- FIG. 505.—Pouch. Design: flower *tōto'* in three forms, seen as the heart, and on either side of the royal eagle (see Design No. 15), near the lower part of the wings as well as above the heads. For the rest of the designs, see Fig. 430. Repeated in Figs. 430, 442, 520. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{64}$ .
- FIG. 506.—From a girdle. Designs: two forms of the flower *tōto'* are conspicuous. Further may be observed cross-like figures representing *tōto'*, god's eyes (see Design No. 54), ox-horns (see Design No. 13). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{17}$ .
- FIG. 507.—From a girdle. Design: *tōto'*. God's eyes (see Design No. 54) and cross-like figures (*tōto'*) may be observed. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{19}$ .
- FIG. 508.—From a pouch. This beautiful pouch has mainly designs of the flower *tōto'*. It may be noticed that each flower is placed within another more conventionalized representation of it (a cross, Fig. 499, which, besides in diminutive form, is found in the centre of most of the flowers). Even the little rectangular additions above and below are probably extremely conventionalized forms of this design. The oblique lines crossing each other on the entire side of the pouch produce god's eyes (see Design No. 54), one for each flower. The several transverse rows of zigzag lines symbolize squash-vines (see Design No. 34), the middle row having also the squashes expressed by dots. On the upper border is freno (see Design No. 55). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{63}$ .
- FIG. 509.—Pouch. Design: main field, flower *tōto'* and comb (see Design No. 2); upper edge, freno (see Design No. 55). Repeated from Fig. 309. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{11c}$ .
- FIG. 510.—From a ribbon. Design: central band, flower *tōto'*. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17}\frac{5}{23}$ .

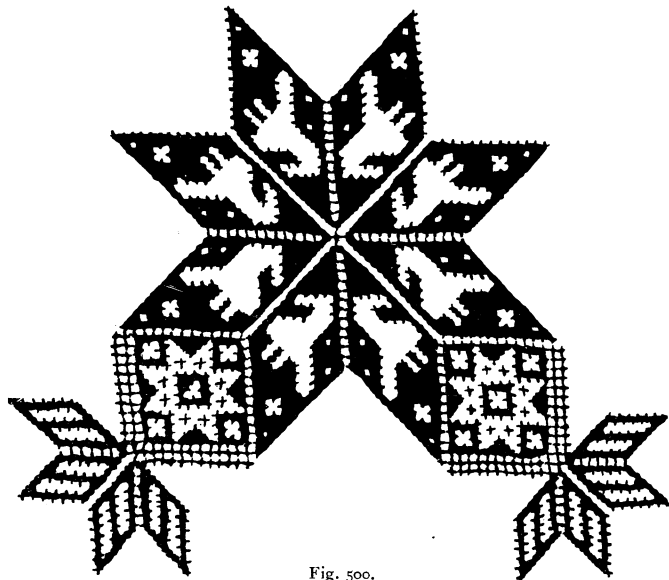


Fig. 500.

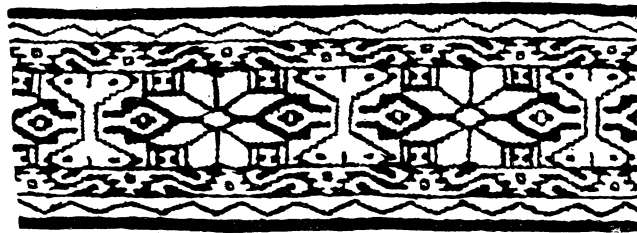


Fig. 501.

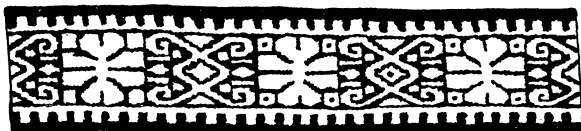


Fig. 502.



Fig. 503.



Fig. 504.

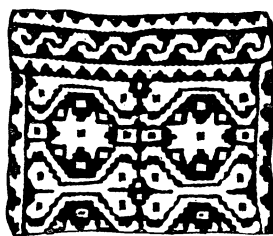


Fig. 509.

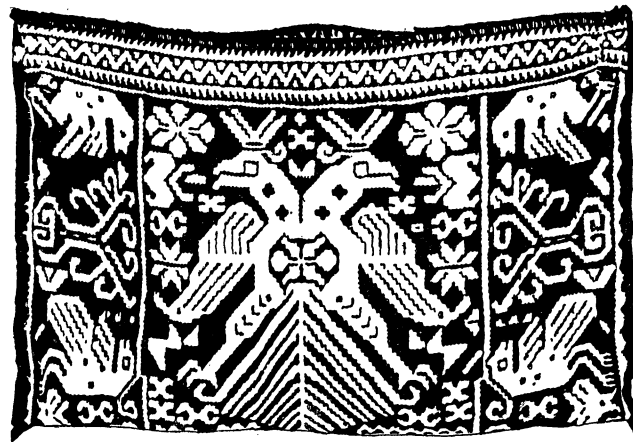


Fig. 505.

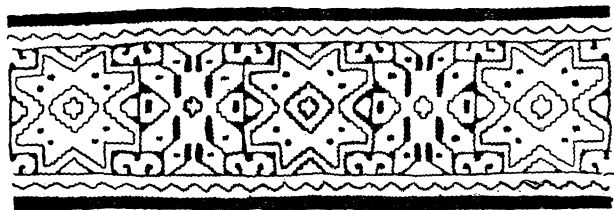


Fig. 506.

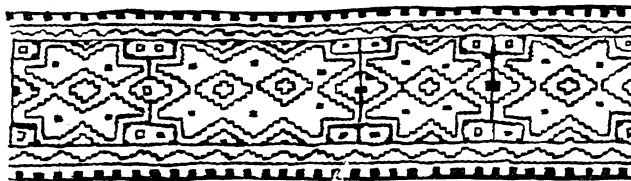


Fig. 507.



Fig. 508.



Fig. 510.

Figs. 500-510. Tōto' Designs.

- FIG. 511.—Pouch. Design: main field, *tōto'*, god's eyes; upper border, squash-vine (see Design No. 34).  
Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1348}$ .
- FIG. 512.—Pouch. Design: main field, flower *tōto'*, god's eyes; upper border, *freno* (see Design No. 55).  
Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1360}$ .
- FIG. 513.—From the end of a man's neckerchief: The numerous cross-like figures between the lions represent *tōto'*, which besides is seen in two other forms, one may be observed in the tails (also called *nao'si*, see Fig. 412); another one is represented by three very conventionalized figures on each side, one near the head of the lion, two between the paw of the upper and the tail of the lower lions. For the interpretation of the rest of the figures, see Fig. 414. Repeated from Fig. 414. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1438}$ .
- FIG. 514.—From a girdle. Design: flower *tōto'*. What is probably ox-horns (see Design No. 13) may be seen on the border. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{675}$ .
- FIG. 515.—From a girdle. Design: central band, flower *tōto'* and staff of Grandmother Growth (see Design No. 6); across the end, *freno* (see Design No. 55). Cross-like figures, another representation of the design, may also be observed. Repeated from Fig. 410. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1738}$ .
- FIG. 516.—From a girdle. Design: two forms of the flower *tōto'*, god's eyes in one. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1414}$ .
- FIG. 517.—From a girdle. Design: the flower *tōto'* and an ordinary water-gourd, not a double water-gourd. On the latter is a rectangular design with cross-arms probably representing the *tōto'*. In one of the rectangles shown, the cross-arms are omitted. The diamond in the rectangle represents the god's eye (see Design No. 54). The cross in the diamond represents the flower *tōto'*. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1400}$ .
- FIG. 518.—From a pouch. Design: flower *tōto'* surrounded by a god's eye (see Design No. 54). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{228}$ .
- FIG. 519.—From a pouch. Design: flower *tōto'*. The cross-like figures, two of them being threefold representations, denote the same design or the four regions. Possibly the rectangular designs composing the larva design (at the corners: see Design No. 8) are each an extremely conventionalized representation of the flower *tōto'* (compare remarks about Fig. 508). Repeated from Fig. 412. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1743} b$ .
- FIG. 520.—Pouch. Design: the flower *tōto'* in the form pictured as the royal eagle's heart, and in the form represented at either side of the double head, in the upper corners of the main field. As for the rest of the design, see Fig. 430. Repeated from Figs. 430, 442, 505. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{1364}$ .
- FIG. 521.—Pouch. The *tōto'* design here representing an eagle's heart is an interesting form clearly evolved from the one in Fig. 520. Repeated from Fig. 466.





Fig. 511.

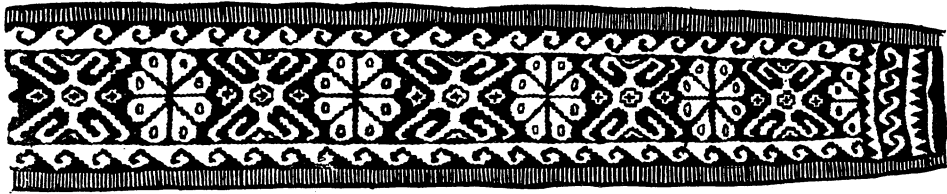


Fig. 515.



Fig. 516.



Fig. 521.



Fig. 512.

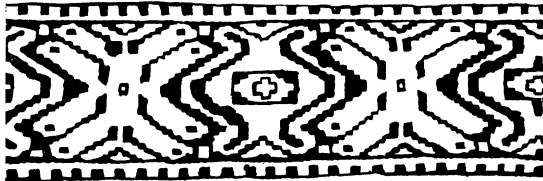


Fig. 517.



Fig. 518.

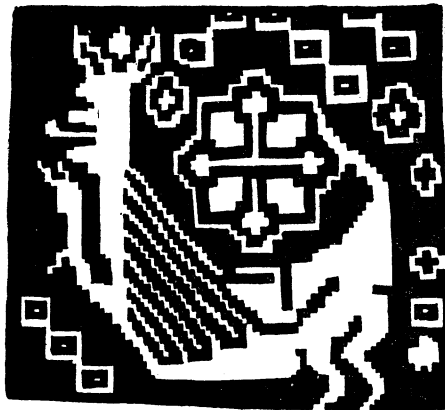


Fig. 519.



Fig. 513.



Fig. 514.

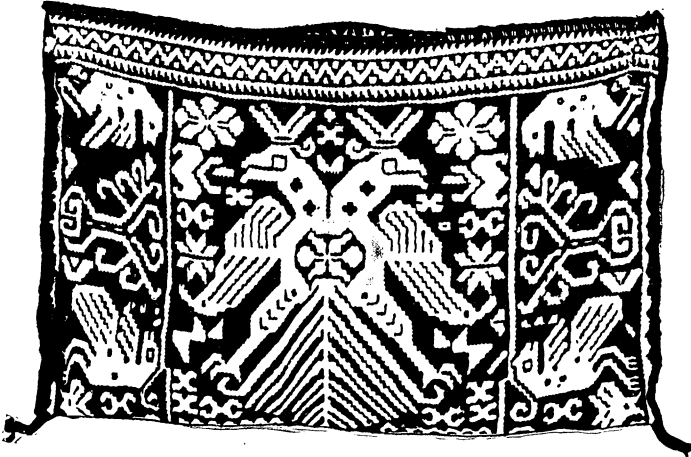


Fig. 520.

Figs. 511-521. Tōto' Designs.

**DESIGN No. 47.—FLOWER URAGATA.** See Figs. 522, 523.

Fig. 522. Design showing the Flower Uragata. Embroidery.

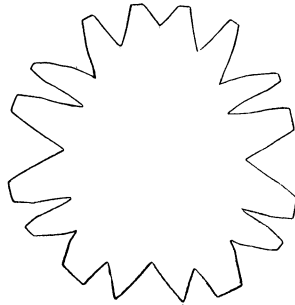


Fig. 523. A Paper Cutting representing the Flower Uragata.

This flower is embroidered in red on the shoulder of a man's black woollen shirt (Fig. 522). The form next to it (Fig. 523) was cut for me by an Indian with a pair of scissors to show me the shape of the flower.

**DESIGN No. 48.—FLOWER CORPUS**

(Huichol, *au'kwai*). See Fig. 391.

This is a beautiful white flower which the Mexicans call *Corpus*. It grows on a small tree, and has a strong, pleasant odor. It is extensively used at feasts, especially at those introduced by the Church, the women wearing them on their heads behind the ears, and the men placing them on their hats.

**DESIGN No. 49.—LILY.**

See Fig. 524.

FIG. 524.—Cat. No. 1738.



Fig. 524. Lily Design, Front and Side Views.

**DESIGN No. 50.—FLOWER TĀTE' AI'KUTSI.** See Fig. 525.

The name is interesting, as it shows that even flowers are considered mothers.

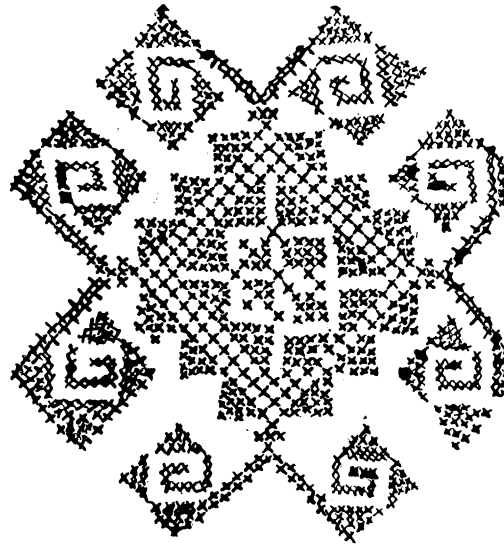


Fig. 525. Design: The Flower Tāte' Ai'kutsi.

*Ai'kutsi* means the drinking-gourd of Grandfather Fire, and refers especially to the votive bowl filled with a mixture of water and ground hikuli, the form in which this sacred little cactus is consumed at the feasts.

FIG. 525.—From embroidery on a cotton cloth pouch. Cat. No. 1738.

**DESIGN No. 51.—MOSS** (Huichol, *kwai ta'pali*). See Fig. 429.

The literal translation of the Huichol word is "flower of the rock." The design is seen in the middle of the upper part of a large pouch, and consists of a series of small drooping pyramids.

**DESIGN No. 52.—THE PLEIADES** (Huichol, *Semani'r*). See Figs. 526, 527; also XXII, 7.

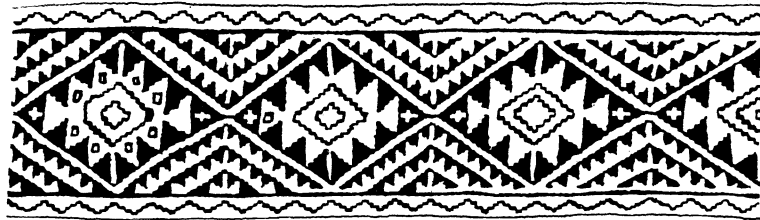


Fig. 526. Design: The Pleiades.

FIG. 526.—From a girdle. Design: double water-gourd (see Design No. 1) in a god's eye (see Design No. 54). The diminutive squares on the double water-gourd represent the Pleiades (see also Fig. 527). The same girdle is represented in Figs. 380, xxii, 7. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{29}$ .

**DESIGN No. 53.—LIGHTNING.** See Fig. 527; also 401.

The design is the same zigzag frequently found at the ends of girdles, and which may also represent the markings on serpents (see Design No. 57).

FIG. 527.—From a pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17} \frac{5}{29} a$ .



Fig. 527. Design: Lightning (the zigzag lines). The Small Dots represent Pleiades (Fig. 526).

**DESIGN No. 54.—GOD'S EYE** (Huichol, *si'kuli*).

See Figs. 528–530; also 376, 377, 380, 385, 386, 402, 456, 496, 503, 511, 512, 516, 518, 526, 534, XXII, 7, 8, etc.

In regard to the meaning of this figure, see Part I of this volume, p. 154. The design is one of those most commonly used. Though seldom if ever employed by itself, it gives character to the ornamentation, in form as well as in symbolic significance.

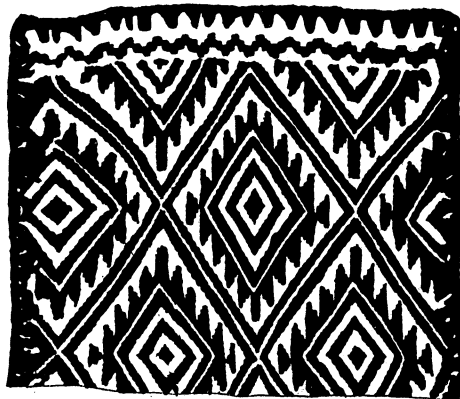


Fig. 528. God's Eye Design.



Fig. 529. God's Eye Design.

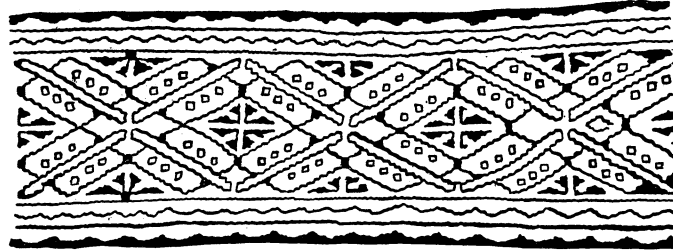


Fig. 530. God's-Eye Design.

FIG. 528.—Pouch. Design: god's eye; in the outer diamond representing the god's eye is shown the design of the double water-gourd (see Fig. 369, last designs). There are three representations of the god's eye within its main representation, the entire pouch being divided by cross lines into a pattern of god's eyes. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{34}$ .

FIG. 529.—From a pouch. Design: god's eye. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{6}\frac{5}{58} a$ .

FIG. 530.—From a girdle. Design: god's eye, the combination representing at the same time, as usual, the marking on a serpent's back (see Design No. 57). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{58}$ .

#### DESIGN No. 55.—FRENO (Huichol, *pilia'no*).

See Figs. 531–534; also 390, 397, 410, 423, 424, 440, 445, 449, 450, 490, 508, 509, 512, 515.

This design is the conventionalized rendering of the linking of hands as seen from the side. It is termed by the Indians *freno* or *pilia'no*; that is, “bridle” (Sp., *freno*), because the Mexican bridles have on either side of the bit a figure resembling one of the scrolls. The pattern is very frequently seen on borders of pouches and girdles.



Fig. 531. Freno Design. Underneath a row of Squirrels (see Design No. 11). Repeated from Fig. 423.



Fig. 532. Freno Design.

FIG. 531.—From a pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{60}$ .

FIG. 532.—From a ribbon. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{54}$ .

FIG. 533.—From a girdle. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{53}$ .

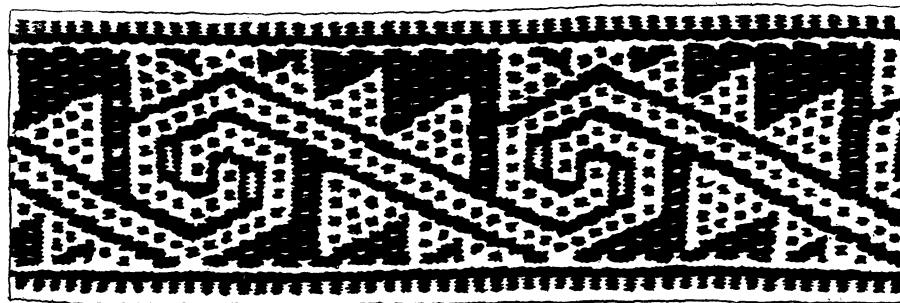


Fig. 533. Freno Design.

**DESIGN No. 56.—THE CROSS.**

See Fig. 534; also 386, 500; XXIII, 10, etc.

The cross is the symbol of the four cardinal points, and there is scarcely any symbolic object on which it is not to be found, though in the decoration of girdles, pouches, and household utensils it is not very much used. Its form is generally a plain Greek cross. It has been shown how the flower *tōto'* (see Design No. 46) is often reproduced as a cross.

FIG. 534.—From a pouch. Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1377}$ .



Fig. 534. The Cross Design. The Cross-Lines form Patterns of God's Eyes (see Design No. 54).

**DESIGN No. 57.—SERPENT-MARKINGS.** See XXII; also Figs. 370–385, etc.

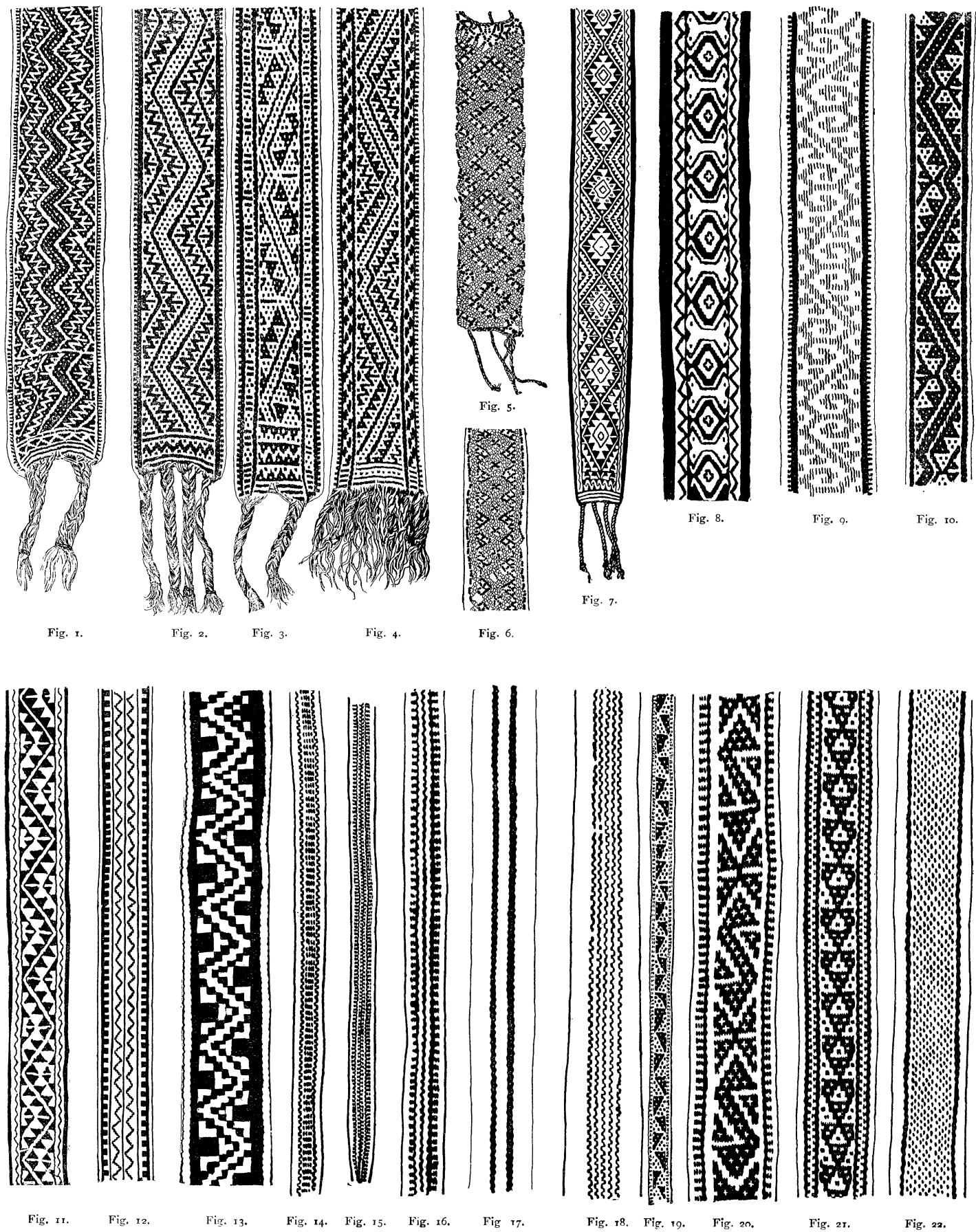
No matter what the markings on girdles may be, the latter are always considered as serpents, and the ornamentation is interpreted as the markings on the serpent's skin. Wristlets and anklets too, as well as hair-ribbons, are viewed as serpents. On Plate XXII are represented a number of designs to illustrate this point.

## EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXII.

### SERPENT-MARKINGS.

- FIG. 1.—From a girdle representing the serpent Mimye'lika. Design: the central zigzag line represents probably lightning; on each side of it are double water-gourds (see Design No. 1). The same girdle is seen in Fig. 378. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{9}\frac{4}{4}$ .
- FIG. 2.—From a girdle representing the serpent Täte' Ipou.<sup>1</sup> Design: the central zigzag line represents probably lightning; on each side of it are double water-gourds (see Design No. 1). The lateral borders also show double water-gourds (see Fig. 370). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{9}\frac{7}{7}$ .
- FIG. 3.—From a girdle representing the serpent Täte' Ipou (according to the original label, a rattlesnake). Design: the central zigzag line represents probably lightning; on each side of it are double water-gourds (see Design No. 1). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{9}\frac{1}{1}$ .
- FIG. 4.—From a girdle representing the serpent Täte' Ipou. Design: the central zigzag line represents probably lightning; on each side of it are double water-gourds (see Design No. 1). According to the original label, it seems as if the patterns on either side of the zigzag line in Pl. XXII, 2-4 and 10, are also viewed as butterflies (see Design No. 29). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{9}\frac{7}{7}$ .
- Figs. 2-4 have, by an oversight, been represented reverse side out. The front side shows practically the same designs, but with black and white reversed. The lateral borders of Fig. 3 show the double water-gourd design as it appears on the reverse side of textiles; see Figs. 370, 371, 373. The lateral borders of Fig. 4 appear on the front side as longitudinal zigzag lines.
- FIGS. 5, 6.—Wristlets in bead-work, each representing a rattlesnake. Cat. Nos.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{9}\frac{7}{7}$ ,  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{9}\frac{8}{8}$ .
- FIG. 7.—From a girdle representing a rattlesnake. Design: central band, god's eye (see Design No. 54) and double water-gourd (see Design No. 1); the squares on some of the double water-gourds represent the Pleiades (see Design No. 52). Double water-gourds are also seen on both sides of the central band. The same girdle is represented on Fig. 380; and Fig. 526. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17}\frac{5}{2}\frac{9}{9}$ .
- FIG. 8.—From a ribbon representing the serpent Wiæ'ro, the single figures represent the comb (see Design No. 2) and the god's eye (see Design No. 54) with a cross. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{18}\frac{5}{9}\frac{9}{9}$ .
- FIG. 9.—From a hair-ribbon representing the serpent Morea'ka, with vine design. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{3}\frac{3}{3}$ .
- FIG. 10.—From a ribbon representing the serpent Kalala's, with design of double water-gourd (see Design No. 1). Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17}\frac{5}{2}\frac{8}{8}$ .
- FIG. 11.—From a ribbon representing the serpent Kalala's (according to original label, Wiæ'ro), with design of double water-gourd (see Design No. 1). Repeated from Fig. 379. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17}\frac{5}{2}\frac{1}{1}$ .
- FIG. 12.—From a hair-ribbon representing a serpent. The lines represent tracks. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{14}\frac{5}{0}\frac{5}{5}$ .
- FIG. 13.—From a man's woollen shirt. Design: the serpent Aleako'r. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{0}\frac{9}{9}$ .
- FIGS. 14-18.—From pouch-ribbons representing the serpent Ui'po. Cat. Nos.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{3}\frac{6}{6}$ ,  $\frac{6}{17}\frac{5}{3}\frac{6}{6}$ ,  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{4}\frac{7}{7}$ ,  $\frac{6}{17}\frac{5}{2}\frac{2}{2}$ ,  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{7}\frac{4}{4}$ .
- FIG. 19.—From a pouch-ribbon representing the serpent Ha'tsi. The same ribbon with designs of double water-gourd (see Design No. 1) is represented on Fig. 382. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{17}\frac{5}{4}\frac{2}{2}$ .
- FIG. 20.—From a pouch-ribbon representing the serpent Ha'tsi. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{3}\frac{7}{7}$ .
- FIG. 21.—From a pouch-ribbon representing the serpent Kalasi'kis, a small snake found in caves and rocks. The same ribbon is represented on Fig. 381. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{6}\frac{1}{1}$ .
- FIG. 22.—From a pouch-ribbon representing the serpent Wikora. Cat. No.  $\frac{6}{13}\frac{5}{6}\frac{8}{8}$ .

<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this volume, p. 81.



Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians.

## EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIII.

### BEAD-WORK.

The figures in white are the significant parts of the designs. Wristlets and anklets as well as the upper parts of an ear-ornament are viewed as serpents.

- FIG. 1.—Wristlet. Design: double-headed serpent (see Design No. 22). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1572}$ .
- FIG. 2.—Wristlet. Design: root of bean-plant (see Design No. 35). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1575}$ .
- FIG. 3.—Wristlet. Design: the bird ravi'ki (see Design No. 21) and the flower tōto' (see Design No. 46). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1576}$ .
- FIG. 4.—Wristlet. Design: flower tōto' (see Design No. 46). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1579}$ .
- FIG. 5.—Anklet. Design: vine ha'pani (see Design No. 36). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1571}$ .
- FIG. 6.—Anklet. Design: boring larva (see Design No. 30). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{491}$ .
- FIG. 7.—Ear-ornament, the circular part representing a banana flower (see Design No. 46). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1579}$ .
- FIG. 8.—Ear-ornament, the circular part representing a tōto' flower (see Design No. 46). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1574}$ .
- FIG. 9.—Ear-ornament, the circular part representing a banana flower (see Design No. 39). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1582}$ .
- FIG. 10.—Ear-ornament, the circular part representing the cross (see Design No. 56). Cat. No.  $\frac{65}{1589}$ .





Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians.

