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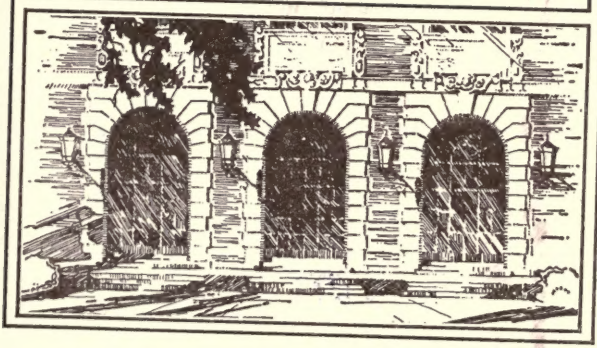

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Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men

BY

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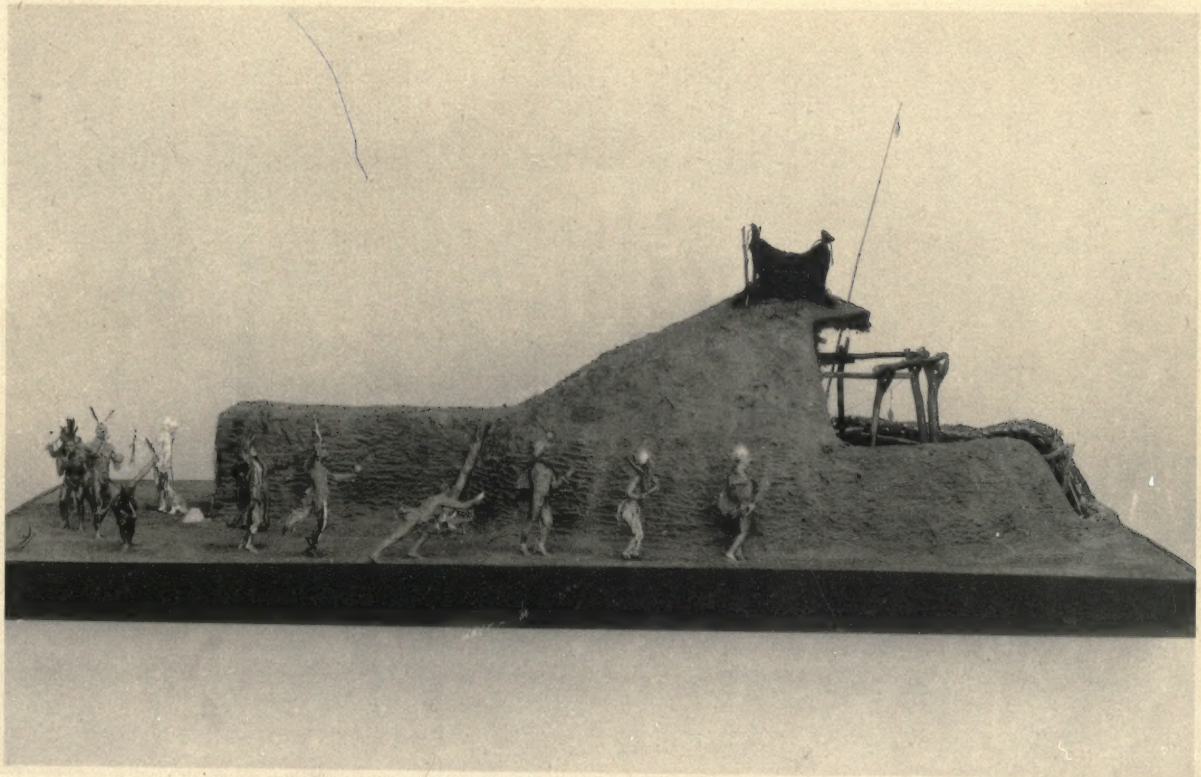

DANCE OF THE MEDICINE MEN, PAWNEE.

MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 49, HALL 5.

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FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
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LEAFLET NUMBER 8

Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men

A general description of the Pawnee, with an account of their religious beliefs and social organization, has been given in Leaflet No. 5 of this series. Although geographically a Plains tribe, they differed in several respects from the typical tribes of the region. While the latter were all nomadic hunters, the Pawnee were settled agriculturists, inhabiting permanent towns and subsisting largely on their crops. When on hunting trips, they used the typical skin-covered tent of the plains, but in their towns they built large houses of wood covered with earth. A model of one of these houses is shown in the miniature group illustrating the annual ceremony of the Medicine Men.

The earth lodges of the Pawnee were dome-shaped, about forty feet in diameter and fifteen feet high. The roof was supported by two concentric rows of uprights, the outer row being planted just in front of a ledge, about a foot and a half high, which entirely surrounded the inside of the lodge. The outer posts, which varied in number according to the size of the lodge, were about seven feet high, and were placed about the same distance apart. The inner row of posts stood about half way between the outer wall of the lodge and its center, and were about twelve feet high. They varied in number from four to ten. All the uprights were forked and bore a row of cross beams, which supported rafters extending from the outer uprights to a point

just over the center of the lodge, where an opening about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole. Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way, built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the east. In the center of the floor there was a circular fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*, the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other religious paraphernalia of the family were hung. Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping platforms were built. These platforms were made of poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while their outer ends were supported by forked posts and beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats. A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were considered most honorable, were occupied by the older children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles, then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old people. As many as ten families, all related by blood, sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms and other furniture were removed when the lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not shown in the miniature group.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred bundles and were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed by societies whose members had some secret in common. In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7, an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies of the second class, those of the medicine men were the most important.

In every Indian tribe there were a number of persons, called medicine men by the whites, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers which enabled them to recognize and cure disease. They were believed to have received their powers from some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as the result of instruction by some person who had received such powers. Although they frequently employed sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the uninitiated, many of them believed that they really possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over the people. In most of the populous tribes they were organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets consisting of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

able or willing to confer power, and there are some indications that all those recognized as guardians were related to one or another of the four supernatural beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star. It was believed that every man passed at birth under the influence of some supernatural being. No one knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest himself later in the man's career. He was usually discovered when the man fell sick during childhood. Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man, he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in English. Of these, the curative power was considered by far the most important. The ability to perform feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the medicine man possessed the knowledge which would enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations. By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the will of another to his own and to render his patient passive during ceremonies so that his power could go to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu* power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the individual attacked in this way was helpless until some other medicine man, who understood the power, exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee there was a class of men and women, not true medicine men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were feared and disliked by the better element. Like the medicine men, they were organized into a society, but nothing is known of their ceremonies.

The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a number of societies which were united by certain secrets which they had in common. In addition to these secrets, which were known to all medicine men, but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society and even each member had individual secrets. The oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine village all of whose members were said to have originally been medicine men. Its members derived their powers from a number of different guardians. In the other medicine societies, which were organized at a later date, all the members derived their powers from the same guardian. A man might become a medicine man as the result of a supernatural experience during which powers were conferred upon him directly by his guardian. Such experiences were sought through long continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined his guardian, he applied to some medicine man who had derived his powers from that being, and asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and during this time, as part payment, the medicine man exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils whose wives would remain with him in his booth in the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

wished, and in this way the women learned his secrets and became able themselves to practice medicine. The origin of the medicine societies is described in the following legend:—

"Once there was a man who lived alone, and did not mingle with the rest of the tribe. One night he had a wonderful dream. He dreamed that he stood on the bank of a wide river, and that a water monster came to the surface and spoke to him. He was so much impressed by this dream that he decided to seek for the river. He had several pairs of moccasins made, filled them with dried meat and parched corn, and started out, traveling eastward. He traveled for many days until he came to a great stream of water which he called Kits-ta-rux-ti ('the Wonderful River'). He stood upon the bank looking down, and all at once the water monster he had seen in his dream rose to the surface. It was very large and long. On its head was hair of many colors, and around its mouth were many-colored feelers. It did not speak to him, but dived, and the man leaped into the river after it. He found himself in a lodge of animals. Beside the altar were an owl and a beaver, while all the other animals sat around in a circle. Near the entrance were two ponds and by each of these two big geese. In the west of the lodge sat a woman. The water monster which had led him to the lodge of the animals lay to the south of the entrance, and acted as spokesman for the other animals. He said, 'My son, I come to you from the Big Waters. I was sent to you by Tirawa to instruct you and to tell these animals to instruct you in their mysteries. When you go home, tell your people to make an image of me and lay it in the lodge as I am now lying. The fireplace you see is not a fireplace, but a wonderful turtle. The woman sitting in the west is not a woman, but a thing of clay. She is a witch woman. The geese that stand by the ponds, when they flap their wings, make a noise

that can be heard in the heavens. Their noise wakens the gods to a remembrance of their promise to pity mankind and give them power.'

"When the water monster had told the man these things, the other animals came forward one by one, and also taught him their mysteries. When all had finished, the water monster told the man to go home and build a lodge like the lodge he was then in. He was to live in this lodge alone, and the water monster would come to him in his dreams and tell him what to do next. The man left the animals' lodge and went home. He built himself a lodge of willows, and in it he made an image of the water monster. The image was complete except for one thing. The monster had something white on its head, and the man did not know what to use for this. In the night the monster came to him in a dream and told him that he must go upon a high hill and catch eagles. He was to dig a pit three or four feet deep and cover it with branches. He must then kill several rabbits, skin them, and lay them on the branches. He was then to crawl into the hole and wait there until an eagle came down to seize the rabbits.

"The man did all this and he was crouching in the hole when he heard a noise like the wind. He looked up through the branches and saw it was an eagle flying down to get the rabbits. When it settled and began to eat, the man slipped his hand between the branches and grasped its legs. He drew it down into the pit and wrung its neck, then straightened the branches and waited for another. After a time a second came, and he killed that also. Then he carried them home and stuck their downy white feathers on the head of the image with blue mud. The image was thus completed.

"Every night after this the man slept in the lodge with the image and had dreams of the monster. In these dreams the monster told him how the cere-

monies of the medicine lodge were to be performed. At last it told him to prepare for another journey. He must go east again, but to a different place, and there the animals would give him many things. The next day the man set out and went east until he came to the place where Freemont, Nebraska, now is. There he camped on the high bank of the Platte River.

"There was an island in the river, and the man saw, as soon as it was dark, that sparks of fire were coming up from it. He heard mysterious noises of drumming, singing and shouting, and then the rhythm of a dance. In the water he could see fish swimming about with fire in their mouths. He watched and listened for a long time, then he fell asleep. The island was another lodge of the animals, and when he awakened, he found himself inside. In the lodge he saw the beaver, the owl, the otter, the ermine, the bear, the buffalo, the wolf, the mountain lion, the wild cat, and all sorts of birds. He stayed with them for many days, and they taught him more mysteries. At last they told him to go to a nearby hill where they had cleared a site for a medicine lodge. The deer led him from the animals' lodge and put him safe on the dry land. When he came to the place for the medicine lodge, he found everything ready. All the animals had cleared away the grass. The badgers had dug the holes for the posts, the beavers had cut them down and peeled them, and the bears and mountain lions had carried them up the hill. The animals helped him to raise the framework and told him how to lay on the willows and grass and cover the whole with earth. They then told him to return to his village and to tell the chiefs to bring the people to the new place, which had been selected for them by the animals.

"When the man arrived at the village, he sent some one to ask the chiefs to come to his lodge. When they had entered it, he told them that he had a mes-

sage for them from the animals. They were to bring the village to the new place. The man told what the animals had done for him, and how they had built a new kind of house, and wanted the people to live in houses of this sort and keep in them the sacred things which they would give them. Before the animals made this house, the Skidi did not know how to build earth lodges. The chiefs listened to him and were glad. They said they would obey the animals.

"That night the man dreamed that, before the tribe set out for their new home, they must tear down the walls of his willow lodge and take the image of the monster and set both up in the river, just as they had been set up on dry land. By this they would show the animals in the water that they were trying to do as they had been told. When they had done this, they broke camp and moved down the river to the new place. They made their camp just to the east of the lodge the animals had built. All the people helped him to finish it in the way the animals had told him. When it was completed, he burned sweet grass in it to make it a sweet-smelling place.

"That night there were great noises heard in the island which was close to the village. The man waited in the new lodge, and the animals came and told him what to do next. They said that opposite the entrance of the lodge was to be the holy place. He was to dig a fire place and model around it a turtle with its head toward the east, its tail toward the west, and its legs toward the four world quarters. He was to make another image of the monster and lay it with its head and tail near the entrance and its body running around the lodge. He was also to make an image of the witch woman, like that he had seen in the first animals' lodge, and place it in the west. Lastly he was to tell the people to kill different kinds of birds and hang their skins from the posts of the lodge. The people helped

him to do all these things. When the lodge was ready, he went down to the river and waited until night. The animals took him into their lodge once more, and there he saw the loon standing in front of the altar and several loon skins lying at one side. The animals gave these to him and told him how they were to be set up, and taught him certain songs he was to sing.

"The man lived alone in the lodge for a long time. The animals came to him from the river at night and took him around over the country, showing him the different roots and herbs and telling him their uses. After a while he invited a few other men to come to his lodge and instructed them in the mysteries which had been taught him by the animals. In this way they also became medicine men. They stayed in the lodge, and whenever they went out, they painted themselves with blue clay and put eagle-down on their heads. Two of their number were selected as messengers and servants. One of these wore the skin of the magpie, and the other that of a muskrat for the magpie and muskrat were the errand men of the animals' lodge.

"In the autumn, when the crops had been gathered, and many buffalo had been killed, these first medicine men invited other men of the tribe to come to the lodge and learn the mysteries. These men were told to leave the village, purify themselves, and fast for four days. When they came to the medicine lodge, the man who had built it sang a song and recited a ritual, and then told them to go to the river bottom and cut young willows and cotton woods. One man he sent to the east to cut a cedar tree. They brought the trees to the lodge and with the willows and cottonwoods they made little lodges around the inside of the large building. The cedar tree was set up to the north of the entrance, and a little lodge of cedar bows was built on the south side. When the lodges were finished, the leader of the medicine men called a man from each lodge to him and

gave him the skin of the animal which was to be the guardian of that lodge. The men stayed in the little lodges, fasting and singing until they fell from exhaustion, and went to sleep. When this happened, the leader took the skin of the animal to whose lodge the man belonged and laid it on him. This animal would tell the man in a dream what he was to do. When he awoke, he would tell his dream and would find that he could do this thing.

"After this had gone on for some time, the leader selected a night to have the mysterious dance. Before they commenced, he stood in front of the altar of loon skins, given him by the animals, and called the men to him one by one. He embraced each and breathed into his mouth. Then he went and sat by the altar. He had taught them a song, and now each man put on the skin of his guardian animal and began to sing this song and dance. At a certain place in the song every one of them fell to the ground as if shot. When the song was ended one of the men got up. He saw something lying beside him that looked like a small oval fragment of clear ice. Each of the other men found a thing of the same sort beside him, and all of them laid these things in a line on the west of the fire place. The leader told them that these things had been given to them by the animals. They must swallow them, and then they would have the power to hypnotize and influence the people. They did this and returned to their small lodges.

"They stayed in the big lodge for several days more, trying their powers and doing all sorts of sleight of hand. When the last day of the ceremony came, they all dressed up according to the animal that was their guardian. They went out and marched around the lodge once, with two men carrying loon skins from the altar in the lead. Then they entered the lodge again and crowded around the fire place, stamping to

awaken the turtle. Then they passed out of the lodge, dancing, and each man imitating his guardian animal. As they went, they did all sorts of sleight of hand so that the people could see they had magic powers. When they had shown their powers to the people, they entered the lodge once more and sang songs and imitated the cries of their guardians. They made a great commotion so that the people outside could see ashes flying up through the smoke-hole. That night they did more sleight of hand tricks in the lodge, and sang and worked magic until about two o'clock in the morning. Then they tore down the little lodges and carried them and the images of the water monster and witch woman down to the river. As they went along, they shouted and sang and hypnotized one another. They threw the mysterious things that gave them hypnotizing power into one another, and the men who were struck fell down as if shot. The rest of the village looked on, and were mystified by the wonderful things they did. When they came to the river, they put the little lodges and the images in the water in the positions they had had in the big lodge.

"When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leader told them that they were to hold dances in the winter and spring and after the first thunder, but they were not to show their powers or do sleight of hand at these times. The great dance was to be in the fall, and then they would do sleight of hand, and work magic of all sorts and renew their powers. He told them to go back to their families and build themselves earth lodges like the medicine lodge. He went on living alone in the medicine lodge.

"The people lived in that place for a long time, and every fall they built new images in the medicine lodge and had their ceremonies. Each time the ceremonies lasted two or three months. Other men found other animals who gave them powers; and when the lodge

was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between cere-

INTERIOR OF MEDICINE LODGE, PAWNEE.

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monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster was made, the leaders assigning to different men the task of getting the things needed and making the different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman, were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

When the images had been made, a ceremony was held by which each of the medicine men received power from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white downy feathers. That night they made the images of the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of the main posts or on a cord running across the upper part of the lodge.

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

the report had been made, other men were sent to cure them.

The next morning, a number of women were summoned to the medicine lodge and told to go into the timber and get loads of wood. When they returned with their burdens, they were brought into the lodge, fed, and instructed in some of the mysteries. Then they returned to their homes. In the afternoon the medicine men once more dressed to imitate their guardians and came out of the lodge, dancing and performing various sleight of hand tricks. The favorite trick seems to have been to thrust long rods down their throats. They repeated the outside performance four times. That evening they built a great fire inside the lodge and invited all the people to an exhibition of sleight of hand. These performances were repeated every night for a month or more, and it was during this time that new medicine men were initiated.

When a man desired to join the medicine lodge, he told his relatives and friends, and they helped him to gather property of all sorts. When he had enough, he went to the lodge, taking the gifts with him, and approached the man from whom he wanted to learn the mysteries. He passed his hands over the man's head and arms and said, "Medicine man, I am poor. I stand before you a poor man wanting to learn the mysteries you possess. Look upon these gifts which I have brought you." When he had done this, he presented the medicine man with a filled pipe. If the latter was willing to teach him, he accepted the pipe and took the young man into his booth with him.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the booths and images were removed from the lodge, carried down into the bed of the river and placed in the shallow water in the same relative positions they had

occupied in the lodge. As the procession went down to the river, the medicine men mesmerized one another, and performed sleight of hand. It was customary, before the witch woman's image was placed in the water, for some woman among the bystanders to remove all her clothing and ornaments and place them upon it. When this ceremony was finished, they returned to the medicine lodge, offered smoke to the animal gods, and sprinkled the floor of the lodge with water to cleanse it and free it from the powers that had been summoned there during the ceremony. After the lodge had been purified in this way, the medicine men held a feast and returned to their homes. The two medicine men to whom the altar belonged remained behind to take it down and roll the various objects up in the bundle in which they were kept between ceremonies. This completed the ceremony, and the owners of the lodge were free to live in it as before.

In addition to the serious performers in the medicine men's ceremonies there were certain men, called *kitscoa,* who acted as clowns. They wore masks made from corn husks, rawhide, wood, and feathers, dressed grotesquely, and daubed their bodies with mud. It seems to have been their duty to perform strange antics during the ceremonies to amuse the people, and particularly to imitate in a mocking spirit the serious acts of the others. They were said to represent hairy dwarfs or supernatural beings who had mysterious ways and of whom the people were afraid. Similar clowns play an important part in the ceremonies of some of the Pueblo tribes.

The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight of hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers at-

tributed to them. The ceremonies also possessed certain social functions, for the spectators included women and children as well as men.

This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON

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