

New Mexico Anthropologist

Volume 6 | Issue 1

Article 3

3-1-1943

Navaho Girl's Puberty Rite

Leland Wyman

Flora Bailey

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nm_anthropologist

Recommended Citation

Wyman, Leland and Flora Bailey. "Navaho Girl's Puberty Rite." *New Mexico Anthropologist* 6, 1 (1943): 3-12.
https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nm_anthropologist/vol6/iss1/3

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Anthropology at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in New Mexico Anthropologist by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

NAVAHO GIRL'S PUBERTY RITE

LELAND C. WYMAN AND FLORA L. BAILEY¹

Although the Navaho girl's puberty rite has been described in a general way by various authors,² no detailed account of the objective behavior has been published. Such an account, with certain additional data, will therefore be presented here.

The name of the rite, *kina·ldá*, has sometimes been rendered "first menses" but seems to be used to refer to the ceremonial rather than to the physiological event. Navahos themselves cannot agree as to the exact translation of the term. One reliable informant said that according to some native opinions it is a verbal form meaning "sliding off the house," and Father Berard has told us that it probably refers to the ancient practice of segregating the menstruating girl in a separate house and might be rendered "house sitting" (*kin-house*; *na·ldá*—from the verb "to sit").³ Obsolescence of this practice would account for the confusion regarding the translation. The rite is performed twice, at the first and second menstrual periods, the second performance duplicating the first (although two informants said the second might not be held if there is not enough corn meal for a cake, or some other circumstance interferes). The same, or different, singers may be employed for the two ceremonials. The rite is obligatory, even though marriage before puberty has occurred. It "keeps the girl strong and healthy" (Hill).⁴

The rite commemorates and is supposed to be a duplication of that performed for Changing Women at her catamenia. It was performed at the instigation of First Man and First Woman who were planning for the birth of future generations ("so all the people would have many babies"—DS), "to enable her to create a new race, and to transmit to this new race the power of generation."⁵ Changing Woman first menstruated during the last quarter of the moon, so do

1. The authors have been faculty members of several Field Sessions in Anthropology of the University of New Mexico.

2. G. A. Reichard, "Social Life of the Navajo Indians," *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, vol. 7, 1928, pp. 135-139; E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, New York, 1907, vol. 1, pp. 94-128; Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, Saint Michaels, Arizona, 1910, pp. 355, 446.

3. The "real name" for menstruation, used "when Changing Woman had it," is *ʔa·di· cósí* ("small bleeding"), but a common, less polite appellation is *co·ʃin* ("menstrual blood"), also used to designate the disease (arthritis) resulting from contact with it. Other euphemisms are *do·bahacídí* ("something is in my way"), and *da·seah* ("I am sick").

4. This designation refers to information which Dr. W. W. Hill has kindly allowed us to quote from his field notes.

5. See B. Haile, "Origin Legend of the Navaho Enemy Way," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, no. 17, 1938, pp. 85, 251. Several of our informants have stated that the reason for menstruation is "to bring babies." A girl begins to menstruate because the sun rays hit her in the hips (Hill).

women today (DS). Three other informants, however, designated the first quarter or the full moon as the period when women now menstruate. The details of the first performance are described in the Emergence Myth. Several versions have been published⁶ and in them may be found the traditional sanctions for the acts and procedures of the present day rite.

The kina-ldá is a part of Blessing Way⁷ (of Talking God's Blessing Way (DS), sung by Talking God over Changing Woman at her first menses). Indeed, in the Emergence Myth it is stated that Blessing Way began with Changing Woman's puberty ceremonial, and that the twelve Hogan songs of Talking God originated here.⁸

The Navaho rite is a four day ceremonial (four nights according to Navaho reckoning), with an all night singing on the final (fourth) night. It is comparatively simple in contrast to the elaborate, nine day girl's puberty rite of some other southwestern Athapascans, e. g., the Chiricahua Apaches, where there may be a year of preparation, an elaborate costume for the girl, erection of a special ceremonial structure, dancing by masked impersonators of the Mountain Spirits, and social dancing by the guests. Many of the acts and procedures, however, in the two ceremonials, Navaho and Apache, are similar.⁹

THE TYPE PERFORMANCE

Of numerous performances witnessed, the one selected for detailed description here was sponsored by DS (50 yrs., clan 35, singer of Game Ways)¹⁰ near Two Wells, New Mexico, for his daughter (MS). The final night began on July 2, 1942. For comparison, certain details from another performance (I) will be given, in parenthesis preceded by I. This one was at Mariano Pass, New Mexico. It was sponsored by AY's father (AY—clans 16, 17) for AY's brother's daughter ("about 12 years"), whose mother had been dead three years. The final night was on July 10, 1940. Supplementary information was

6. W. Matthews, "Navaho Legends," *Memoirs*, American Folk-Lore Society, vol. 5, 1897, pp. 134, 230, 238; P. E. Goddard, "Navajo Texts," *American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers*, vol. 34, 1933, pp. 63 ff. 150 ff.; B. Haile, 1938, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-91; B. Haile, "Creation and Emergence Myth of the Navajo," mss. on file at the Museum of Navaho Ceremonial Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico, p. 254; M. C. Wheelwright, *Navajo Creation Myth*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1942, pp. 76, 77. [The parenthetical initials refer to specific informants or to other individuals].

7. See L. C. Wyman and C. Kluckhohn, "Navaho Classification of their Song Ceremonials," *Memoirs*, American Anthropological Association, no. 50, 1938, pp. 5, 18; C. Kluckhohn and L. C. Wyman, "An Introduction to Navaho Chant Practices," *ibid.*, no. 53, 1940, pp. 184, 186.

8. B. Haile, mss., *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 254, 270; 1938, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 91, 251.

9. See M. E. Opler, *An Apache Life-Way*, Chicago, Ill., 1941, pp. 82-134.

10. Additional details concerning informants and personnel, and an explanation of the designations employed above may be found in L. C. Wyman, W. W. Hill and I. Osanai, "Navaho Eschatology," *The University of New Mexico Bulletin*, no. 377, 1942, pp. 9, 10. Clan numbers are according to G. Reichard, 1928, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

obtained for the most part from DS, B, TM, AY, and MN. Information concerning the menstrual cycle came from Bailey's informants in the Ramah and Chaco Canyon regions. Statements enclosed in quotation marks are by DS, unless otherwise indicated.

Personnel. Sponsor—DS. P ("patient")—MS, DS's dau., 15 yrs. "next month", clans 36, 37, B, A, Two Wells. S (singer)—HT, DS's cross-cousin (his "father's clan"), ca. 60 yrs., clan 29, NA, S. (Blessing—alleged expert, Navaho Wind, blackenings from Enemy Way and Red Ant Evil, prayer ceremonials), between Gallup and Tohatchi. GH (girl's helper)—DS's bro.'s dau., 33 yrs., clans 34, 32. TS—P's mother, clans 36, 37, NA. LS—P's sister, 19 yrs., clans 36, 37, M, A. XS—P's sister, 25 yrs. clan 20 (mother dead), M, NA. SS—DS's oldest sister, clan 35, NA. TN—female, elderly neighbor (not a relative), clan 16, NA. L.C.W., F. B., M.O.—white spectators.

Expenses. "The usual fee for the singer is not much, five or seven dollars and a piece of cake. But you have to feed a lot of people."

Puberty hair thong. A girl informs her mother (and her father—Hill)¹¹ of the catamenia and plans are made for the ceremonial. It may begin at noon on that day, or it may be delayed for two or three days (not more than four days—DS; two day delay usual—MN) if time is needed for preparation. The first ceremony consists of tying the girl's hair with a special thong, of unwounded buckskin according to DS, but of mountain lion skin according to other informants¹² (prevents baldness—Hill). Her mother unbinds the girl's hair letting it hang down her back (assures abundant hair—Hill) and ties the thong around it while someone (her father or brother) sings the *na-lyéhi biði-n* ("soft goods song, same as *yó-dí biði-n*"). Some of the hair is combed forward in bangs over her face. The thong is worn for four days, being removed at the *hair washing* on the final morning (*v. i.*), and is kept and used for other girls. She is also dressed in her best clothes and jewelry.

Ceremonies of the first three days. The girl races (*v. i.*) each day, at dawn (DS), at noon after the molding (Hill), or at both times (Hill). Molding (*v. i.*) is performed, on a single blanket, each day at noon. Restrictions are in force throughout this period.

Restrictions. During the ceremonial the girl must eat only mush and bread, avoiding salt, sweets ("sugar or canned fruit"), meat, and hot food. If she eats sweets or salt she will be weak and unable to cook or weave (Hill). She must eat by herself outside the hogan (Hill). (I—Patient stayed in a hogan south of the ceremonial hogan near the cook shade, between ceremonies). She must not hit

11. Traditionally her mother and father; see Haile, 1938, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

12. See G. Reichard, 1928, *op. cit.*, p. 136; W. W. Hill, "The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, no. 18, 1938, p. 168.

children, scratch herself hard, stretch, laugh too much (to avoid having deep wrinkles on each side of her mouth), nor look over her shoulder (so she will have common sense when she grows up). She must retire late and arise early, not sleep in the daytime, and not lie down too much, so she will not be lazy. She must be busy during the day, especially grinding corn for the cake (*v. i.*), but on the last day she may rest since she has to sit up during the all night singing. She must obey her father and mother. These restrictions are for the future benefit of the girl herself.

The menstrual blood of a young girl is not considered very dangerous but as she grows older it becomes more so (because she has children), and certain precautions are taken to avoid contact with it. A menstruating woman should stay at home, not attend ceremonials or see sandpaintings, avoid livestock and children, stay away from the fields (lest they dry up), not fetch water, not use the sudatory, nor urinate where there would be danger of contact (a special hole may be dug for a urinal—Hill). Four days after the cessation of flow a bath should be taken, in plain water or in a sage infusion, or she may take a sweat bath. Her clothes should also be washed. Contact with menstrual blood causes crippling, "hump back"—arthritis deformans (if swallowed), or a sprain (if stepped on). Intercourse with a menstruating woman will cause impotence and later paralysis (Hill). Menstrual blood may be surreptitiously placed in food to injure "someone you hate" (DS). Children who "won't stay home and work, but visit other families and eat there", are disciplined by threats that menstrual blood will be put in their food by those they eat with (DS).

Preparation of pit oven. In the type performance a pit about 4 feet in diameter and 9 inches deep was dug by DS, about 100 feet east of the ceremonial hogan, and a fire was built in the pit on the morning of day 3 (July 2). The pit is dug by men, any distance east of the ceremonial hogan and any size (depending on amount of meal for cake). "In the winter the fire is built the night before since it takes longer to heat the pit. After use the pit is left and used again for the second performance ("supposed to use it") if it is in good condition. A new one must be dug for another girl."

Preparation of cake. During the first three days the corn was ground on a metate at home by the patient's mother, sisters, and "all the family, sisters, brothers." Some boys used a machine grinder. "If you don't have a machine you can take a 25 lb. sack to a relative's hogan, so it goes faster." Some was ground at TS's mother's home (I—AY had some ground by machine at Pinedale on the way to Mariano Pass). Patient grinds and rests "every hour or whenever she wants to." It takes nearly 100 lbs. of corn for a "good pit", and 6 or 7 lbs. of wheat (for sprouted wheat flour).

The batter (taná·ni·l) was kneaded in the ceremonial hogan at the west by LS, SS, TN, and briefly by TS, from 5:00 to 6:00 P. M. (F.B. and M.O. were asked to help). "It is done when it turns white" (LS). Half a pailful of boiled raisins was added.¹³ "They pick the women who know best to boss it." Two bundles of new stirring sticks¹⁴ (4 and 8 sticks) which had been used to stir the batter at the beginning rested horizontally on a western beam of the ceremonial hogan.

Two bundles of corn husks, which had been soaked in water, were placed by the tubs of batter. At 8:10 P. M. the patient, LS, XS, F.B., and two boys carried the batter—and the patient the husks—to the pit oven. The coals were removed and the pit swept with a wet broom and a twig brush (at sunset, about 8:30). TS made a cross of four corn husks, butts at center, the bottom one pointing south and the top one north, and gave it to the patient. She stood southeast of the pit and placed it (oriented) in the center. The women lined the pit with husks, tips pointing sunwise. The patient poured in the batter from the southeast (sunwise—Hill). XS brought a basket of white corn-meal with which the patient sprinkled the cake from west to east, south to north, and sunwise (east to west and back, south to north and back—Hill). All women present sprinkled meal (sunwise—Hill) over the cake ("communal prayer to the cake"; "as they sprinkle it they say something like 'My corn is going to grow' or 'I will have a lot of sheep'"—Hill). Husks were laid over the batter in the same pattern (cross in center, etc.), paper was placed over them, moistened dirt was sprinkled on the surface by all the women, the hot ashes were replaced, and the fire rebuilt on top.

Boys and men watched from a distance, occasionally pretending to push each other towards the pit oven with much laughter. "Any women may fix the cake. The man who owns the home may help if they need him, but not any men from outside. Just women is better."

Blessing of goods. At 8:15 LS brought a trunk and seven suit-cases ("containing clothes, jewelry, blankets") and stacked them neatly at the west in the ceremonial hogan. Later DS brought a blanket, a mountain lion skin ("deer or mountain lion skin is good to put things on") a large sack and a singer's bundle and placed them in front of the patient's place. SS added two bridles (which she retrieved the next morning during the cutting of the cake). DS placed the basket containing a piece of yucca root, with a grass hair brush over it with tip to the east (this he had brought to the ceremonial hogan

13. Details of preparation may be found in F. L. Bailey, "Navaho Foods and Cooking Methods," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 42, 1940, p. 281. TS prepared the sprouted wheat flour because "she knows how." "It gives the cake a better taste." "In the old days seeds were chewed up and added to sweeten it. Today sugar is added" (Hill).

14. See Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

and oriented at the west at 8:00 P. M.) on top of the pile. Their presence during the ceremony brings good luck with and increase of similar goods (bridles—good luck with horses). Anyone may bring goods during the ceremonial, especially relatives, and good friends if they ask permission of the family. In a Blessing Way the family may do it but not others (DS).

*Consecration of the ceremonial hogan and communal pollen prayer.*¹⁵ At 8:00 P. M. the Singer entered the ceremonial hogan. There were eight men already present. At 8:55 the women entered and general conversation ensued until 11:00. Supper was served from 11:00 to 11:15, to the men first. At 11:30 there was communal pollen prayer, and DS rubbed pollen on four roof beams (ceremonial order). (I—Singer also put pollen on the east and south of the pile of goods).

All night singing. The singing started at 11:45. Twelve Hogan songs (in 2 groups of 6 each with a pause between) were sung, then 2 groups, of 5 and 2 songs each. Then (12:30) the patient left the ceremonial hogan and returned immediately. "In Holy Way ceremonials the patient must leave at the end of the First songs, but in this one the patient may leave at the end of the Hogan songs or later if she wants to. Others may not leave until she does." There followed, with pauses between, songs in groups of 2, 2, 5 (pause, 1:15-1:25), 4 (pause, 1:30-1:45; food served), 5, 8 (Changing Woman's and White Shell Woman's songs), 3, 2 (2:40 A. M.), 6, 2 (the patient left and returned during the last one; pause, 3:05-3:20), 4 (pause, 3:55-3:40), 4 ("Mountain songs"), and finally 12 Dawn songs in groups of 2, 2, 3, 2 (pause, 4:26-4:30; patient left and returned), and 3. Total—78 songs. (I—singing started at 11:15 P. M. Groups of 16 [Hogan songs], 5, 7, 2, 2, 3, 6, 9, 2, 4 [2:30 A. M. 15 minute pause, food served], 10, 5, 1 [lasted 10 minutes]. Total—72 songs). "They just kept track of the 12 Hogan songs which the Singer sings. Mountain songs and Talking God's songs may be sung next. The rest are any kind they want to put in, mostly Changing Woman's songs and Soft Goods songs (one man used Horse and Sheep songs). Anyone may start a song if he knows it" (it was observed that various men led different song groups). (I—"There were four singers there who knew the songs and they picked someone to lead when they got started." Song groups were led by at least nine different men).

There were present Singer, Patient, 23 men, 15 women and children (12 adults), L.C.W., F.B., M.O. (I—Patient, 23 men, 10 women, L.C.W., F.B)

Hair Washing. At 4:45 a boy brought sand for the platform and moved the pile of goods from in front of the patient to the top of the stack at the west. The Singer oriented the basket and yucca root on

15. For an explanation of ceremonial terms and procedures see Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, *op. cit.*

the platform and at 4:50 began the special soapweed song ("used for Changing Woman"). GH made the suds and washed the patient's jewelry (the patient had been wearing much jewelry, some her mother's.) The patient removed the buckskin thong, washed her hair (I—girl's helper watched it), and left it untied. "The bath helper should be a relative (of any clan) who is good and honest. She receives a piece of cake. The basket is kept by the family." The one used was bought by the sponsor about eight years ago and had been used two or three times for Blessing Way only. "The bath water is dumped against the wall behind the patient's seat, to bring good luck to the home." (I—Singer disposed yucca root *ca.* 80 yards northeast of the ceremonial hogan).

The race. At 4:55 A. M. during a song (zá·hde·sin—Legs song) the patient ran out of the ceremonial hogan and followed by LS and 9 boys (whooping, "just for fun") ran about 200 yards to the east, returned to the lead, re-entered the ceremonial hogan and sat in her place (I—race performed twice. "She can run to four directions or twice to the east"—B. Patient was accompanied by "her cousin" who had had her first puberty rite "about 25 days ago" and was going to have the second in a few days). "Anyone, young or old, may race with her. Old people may run a little way, stand there, and join her on the way back. They run from 200 to 400 yards, depending on how much they can stand (at 7:30 the previous evening some boys had cleared the sagebrush from the far end of the course). They often race twice (some singers make them run twice). Changing Women ran in four directions but the Holy People stopped that after the Navahos started it; a singer who knows the story will let the girl run only to the east. The girl is supposed to win. If anyone passes her he will get old before the girl does. The race is performed at dawn on each of the four days (for 4 days, after the molding, at noon—Hill). The race means that the girl will be brave (she will have a lot of horses and sheep, and will become a good mother—Hill)."

Cutting the cake. At 5:10 the patient was called from the ceremonial hogan by TS to cut the cake. The men rested in the ceremonial hogan. SS and TS swept the ashes from the top (with a grass brush). XS brought a butcher knife, S cut a piece, about 4 by 12 inches, from the southeast edge (I—east; "any place"—DS), and continued cutting around the edge sunwise. TS continued cutting where SS could not reach (I—Patient's paternal grandmother; "Patient's mother should cut it"—DS). A second circle was cut after the first was removed, leaving a center disc (I—a square) two feet in diameter. Twenty-seven pieces were thus cut from the periphery, laid on a board, and carried into the house by XS and a girl. Finally XS cut the center disc (yi·lka·d bizé·h—cake's lungs; "it goes to the singer") into four pieces (east to west, south to north), and SS (I—Patient's father) cut off the tips of the quadrants, dug a hole in the

center of the pit, and buried them ("to feed the earth"—DS, MN). "A man may help lift out the center piece" (I—Patient's father did this). Eleven women were present. The patient watches the procedure ("she is there to get a piece for the singer"). Breakfast was prepared and eaten, finishing at 7:15.

Hair Brushing. At 7:15 all entered the ceremonial hogan and sat as before. GH sat behind the patient with the grass hair brush. "They used to have a special brush for this ceremonial, of 'knotty grass', which is hard to get. They may use an ordinary hair brush now." The patient held the buckskin thong and GH brushed her hair with rhythmic strokes while the Singer sang a special Soft Goods song (yó-dí biđi·n) called be²ešde²elné ("fixing up something").

Application of white paint. The Singer placed a pinch of argillaceous sandstone (na·salá·le·š) in the basket. GH placed a few straws from the hair brush in the basket, added a little water (ceremonial order), and crumbled and mixed the stone. The Singer sang the le·š biđi·n while GH applied white paint with the straws to the patient (ceremonial order), and then a streak upward on right, then left cheek, finally to her own cheeks. "Paint it upward if you want to grow taller, downward if shorter, crosswise if fatter." Next the female relatives and finally all the spectators applied paint to their cheeks ("anyone who wants to, relatives first"). "The white paint is like a token¹⁶ so the Holy People will know you. It comes from a place called na·salá ("something lays along") up in the hills between Smith Lake and Thoreau, where Changing Woman got her white paint the first time. Singers use it for prayersticks, figure painting, etc."

Molding. Everyone left the ceremonial hogan and stood in two lines just east of the door, women to the south, men north. The patient's blanket was placed on the ground ("or her mother's, because the patient is giving the sing") and the spectators placed their blankets (some men their coats) on it ("or a buckskin; everybody does it; it brings good luck"). The patient lay prone on the pile, head towards the ceremonial hogan, face to the south, arms abducted at right angles to her body. GH (I—Patient's "little mother") kneaded her arms up to her shoulders ("to make her shapely and beautiful" like Changing Woman), and straightened her hair continuing the motion to her feet, "to make it long". (I—The kneading was more thorough, another woman helping to massage the patient's chest and hips and to pull her head and feet, to make her tall. Four motions were made with the palm of the hand toward the patient's face, "so she won't talk too much or say anything bad as she grows up"—DS. One song was sung by the Singer who had remained in the ceremonial hogan. A woman placed a year old girl on the blankets and the patient placed her hands below each ear and raised the child about

16. See Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

head high, the woman lifting below the child's arms, "to make her grow tall." "This is done only if the child's family wants it to grow fast.") The patient then tossed the blankets and coats one by one to their owners, who caught them in their right hands ("means they will have new blankets"). Then everyone re-entered the ceremonial hogan and sat as before while GH brushed the patient's hair and tied it in a queue ("this must be done in the ceremonial hogan like Changing Woman"). Molding is done at noon on each of the four days, to make her strong; to make her spine straight; by a rich woman, to make her rich (Hill). If they want the girl to be short they strike the top of her head and the soles of her feet (Hill).

Serving the cake. The patient stood at the northwest in the ceremonial hogan and TS at her left passed her the pieces of cake to give away. She gave five large pieces, about 4 by 12 inches, to the Singer (later she gave him other large pieces in a sack, "the center of the cake"), and to four other men ("5 or 6 big pieces from the edge go to those who sing all night; they are given in any order").¹⁷ The singer is served first (Hill). Then the patient stood at the west holding a basket, TS placed a smaller piece of cake (*ca.* 3 by 5 inches) and a box of crackerjack in it, and a boy went by and took them. This was repeated as all present filed past the patient sunwise and were served "in any order". "Apples, candy, bread, etc., some furnished by neighbors (DS and TS had gone to Gallup on the previous afternoon to buy the Crackerjack), may be given to everybody with the cake. It will bring good food as long as they live, so they hurry to get some. The girl's helper should put them in the basket. The Holy People used a basket of white shell or turquoise. A good singer knows how to do it that way" (this was not done in performance I). Finally everyone left the ceremonial hogan.

SOUR RED OCHRE

A medicine (čí·h dókŕ·ž—sour red ochre) for the cure of or protection from the effects of contact with menstrual blood contains ingredients which must be prepared in the girl's puberty rite (none was made in the type performance but "if it's needed they have to make it"). "Enemy red ochre", from the Hopi or from Taos (B), also a black and a red corn kernel (B. Haile, ms.), are tied in a bundle to the girl's belt during her first *kina·ldá*. She carries it for the four days, and immediately before each race she spits in it (to make it stronger). This is ground with the other ingredients at a Flint Way chant (in a Day-time Chant—3í·e· hatá·l—B). These latter (according to B) are salt (from Zuñi Salt Lake); skins of bluebird, yellow bird, woodpeckers

17. The last piece was given to a younger man amid general laughter, but DS claimed that he was the patient's "relative," had sung all night, and that there was no attraction between them. Cf. G. Reichard, *op. cit.* p. 139.

(birds with red top on head);¹⁸ plant medicine (various life medicines, e. g. earth medicine, black stalk medicine, etc) which have been placed in a bluebird's nest and gathered after the birds have sat on them; petals of Indian paintbrush; charcoal from lightning struck trees; "blood discharge", obtained in winter, of wolf, mountain lion, eagle ("all those animals whose bladders are used in gall medicine"). Another recipe, given in the Flint Way origin myth,¹⁹ contains enemy red ochre and corn kernels (prepared as above); plants "that have blood", i. e. mountain mahogany root, alder root, red bush, "big" bearberry, chokecherry, sourberry, service berry, red raspberry, bladder pod; collections of food from Oraibi and Taos; the "blood discharge" of a doe, wolf, mountain lion; marrow of rabbit, deer, mountain lion, wolf, flicker, red breast, woodpecker, large black bird, sapsucker, daredevil; "salt's foam" (salt deposit).

It should be made by women belonging to clans beginning with "water" (e. g. Bitter Water, Big Water, etc.), but not by members of táci-ni clan for this would "dry up everything" (DS). For hunting the red ochre should be carried by a girl of Deer Spring clan (DS).

Sour red ochre is eaten (and rubbed on the chest—B) in the presence of a menstruous or post-parturient woman, at a ceremonial, "in a hospital", or in a crowd. The odor of the blood "makes you sick", choked up, nauseated, faint, and dizzy" (B, DS). A singer's voice fails "if the patient is that way", so he eats sour red ochre to improve it. A singer administers it to the patient in any ceremonial, except Blessing Way, if he suspects the presence of a menstruous woman. A husband also uses it for protection, and hunters use it in various ways (DS). It is used when a person is seriously hurt and medicine must be given quickly.²⁰

Boston University School of Medicine.

Tuscan School, Maplewood, New Jersey

18. Red rump feathers of nuthatch (Hill, 1938, *op. cit.*, p. 176).

19. B. Haile, "Flintway Chant of the Navaho," ms. on file at the museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Santa Fe, p. 399.

20. B. Haile, Flintway ms. *op. cit.* p. 399.