

Southwestern Ceremonialism

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For the native peoples of North America, unlike the European settlers who populated the continent and who confined Native American populations to reservations, the land and the natural environment itself had and continues to have important religious significance. In the Greater American Southwest (as in other parts of North America), native religion is rooted in a sense of place, and concepts of the supernatural are closely tied to the natural world. Plants, animals, and natural phenomena (sun, wind, lightning, rain) are not only important for the economic survival of Indian communities but also are intimately related to Indian concepts of supernatural power and to the ways in which ritual preserves the Indian way of life. Indian identity itself is closely tied to the local environment and, where Native American groups have been removed from their traditional habitat, not only have their economies been drastically changed or destroyed, but also their own identities, their collective sense of being, and their religious practices have been critically altered.

Ceremonialism is a broad term that covers a variety of religious practices or rituals; in the Southwest, these have centered on the maintenance of the natural and cultivated animal and plant life that sustains the Indian community, and the restoration of the individual's health and the continuation of a long life for the individual and the community. Rituals, then, focus on cultivation and hunting (sources of community sustenance) and on curing and warfare (related to the continued longevity of the individual and the community). Any ceremony or ritual is a set of actions recognized by members of a group to be sacred; these are usually performed by a specialist (a shaman or a priest) in order to communicate with the supernatural world and to influence worldly events (for example, to provide for a good harvest, to assure the abundance of wild game, to cure a sick individual, or to protect warriors in a raid). Finally, ritual contexts usually include the use of singing or chanting (often by the ritual specialist but also by a chorus) and dancing (usually by men impersonating various supernaturals). Both music and dance are crucial in communicating with the supernatural and in actually bringing the presence of supernatural forces into the human community.

The comparison of Southwestern ceremonialism will be developed by examining four aspects of religion in

each of the cultural groupings discussed: concepts of supernatural power; images of the cosmos and social world; the organization of ceremonies and ritual that, in turn, reflect the cosmologies already outlined and communicate with the supernatural to accomplish a particular goal; and the symbolism of particular sacred objects and actions used in ritual.

Much of the data on which the analysis is based was gathered in the early part of the twentieth century, culminating in field studies made in the 1930s. The richness of Southwestern ceremonialism as portrayed in these early materials has been altered by the impact of Western culture; many practices have died out and many ceremonies have been altered or discontinued. Many Indians in the Southwest have adopted Christianity or become members of the Native American Church. On the other hand, traditional ceremonies among many groups, particularly among Pueblo cultures, are thriving. This essay emphasizes continuity and stresses the similarities and differences in ceremonial practices among Southwestern cultures as they existed at a time when their traditional economies and social structures were relatively undisrupted by Anglo-American society.

Yumans: the Shaman, the Dream, and the Mountain

In discussing shamanism throughout the New World, Furst (1973-1974:40) outlines the characteristics of a shamanic world view where the universe is depicted as multi-layered or stratified, with an underworld below and an upperworld above. The layers of the universe are interconnected by a central axis (*axis mundi*). Man and animals and all the phenomena of the environment are qualitatively equivalent, as suggested in the "primordial capability of man and animal to assume each other's outer form." Thus, in mythic first times, "there is no difference in the outer shape of animals and people, each sharing the form of the other, but this condition finally gave way through transformation to the present division of form and function" (Furst 1973-1974:48). In a shamanic belief system, cultural and physical survival depends on a multidimensional equilibrium of various natural and supernatural forces of which the shaman is guardian and for whose maintenance he marshals all his gifts (Furst 1973-1974:45).

In some groups, this focuses on the problem of hunting, while in others it centers on the techniques of healing, either counteracting soul loss or removing a foreign spirit or hostile object of supernatural origin (Furst 1973–1974:54–55).

Many of these general characteristics of North American shamanic religion were apparent in the practices of the Yuman peoples of the Colorado River, both the agricultural peoples of the Lower Colorado (Mohave, Maricopa, Quechan, and Cocopa) and the predominantly hunter-gatherer groups of the Upland area (Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai). The River Yumans, whose patrilineal descent patterns, inherited chiefdomship, and close settled pattern along the river banks set them apart from the Upland groups, also have differing religious patterns. Their origin myths involve two quarreling brothers, one of whom creates humans and is the source of shamanic power. The other dies, and it is his cremation at a sacred mountain center that becomes the prototype for the mourning ceremony among the River Yumans (Quechan *kar'úk*), a communal ritual that features songs, speeches, a mock battle, and the burning of images representing the dead (“Mohave,” fig. 10, this vol.) (Forde 1931:262–264; Kroeber 1925a:750). The Mohave, Quechan, and those groups now amalgamated under the name Maricopa also have long song cycles (see Kroeber 1925a:776–770 for Mohave examples) that tell of ancestral wanderings or conflict with other groups and that are sung by those who have dreamed the power to do so.

In the remainder of their religious practices, the River Yumans share with the Upland groups an emphasis on curing (“Yavapai,” fig. 10, this vol.). The shaman who has the power to cure acquires it through a dream experience. Only among the Kewewkapaya Yavapai (Gifford 1932:233) is power acquired through a trance, not a dream. The connection between dreaming and power can be seen in the Maricopa word *k'šmaš* ‘one who has power’, literally ‘the one who dreams’. The Maricopa word for dream and spirit are the same: *šma:k* (Spier 1933:237–238, phonemicized). The dream is usually one in which the shaman travels to a sacred mountain place; there he encounters either a spirit of the mountain, a bird, or an animal who teaches him songs, gives him the opportunity to cure a sick person, or in some other way gives him the power to cure. In some instances, the spirit comes to the shaman and carries him to the “mountain home” (Gifford 1933:312–313). Among the Walapai (Kroeber 1935:188) a man may actually go to a mountain, build a fire in a cave, and spend four nights, during which time he dreams and acquires power from a spirit. In the Quechan, Mohave, and Kewewkapaya cultures, the spirits derive their power from the creator god or goddess. The power that a shaman acquires may be either positive or negative; it could be used to restore health or

harm or bewitch a person. Among the Quechan, Mohave, and Cocopa, shamans believed to be harmful have been killed (Forde 1931; Gifford 1933:312; Kroeber 1925a:778).

Yuman groups do not have a well-developed cosmology or a model of the universe that associated animals, birds, and supernatural beings with direction and color symbolism; however, origin myths contain the theme of emergence from a flooded world to a mountain refuge (Kroeber 1935:245; Forde 1931:176; Spier 1933:35). Among the Quechan and Cocopa in particular, the cosmos has four layers, with the Quechan soul at death traveling through these four planes to a final afterworld that is an ameliorated version of the world of the living (Forde 1931:179; Gifford 1933:306). Some of the song cycles of the River Yuman groups (Mohave, Maricopa, and Quechan) recount the travels of supernaturals or spirits in animal forms as they travel from mountain, river, or other locale overcoming crises and creating human life and culture. The places they visit may be thought of as constituting a cosmology, though not a rigidly patterned one, where supernatural events are associated with important features of the local environment. Among the Upland Yumans, where song cycles are absent, spirits seem associated with particular places and the symbolism of sacred mountains associated with the four directions is often used (Kroeber 1935:188). Power-giving spirits may derive from a mountain, a bird, or an animal, but spirits are not related to one another in an ordered or hierarchical manner. Furthermore, the source of power and its use are not always systematically connected; for example, songs from the eagle or the buzzard may be used to cure a variety of symptoms.

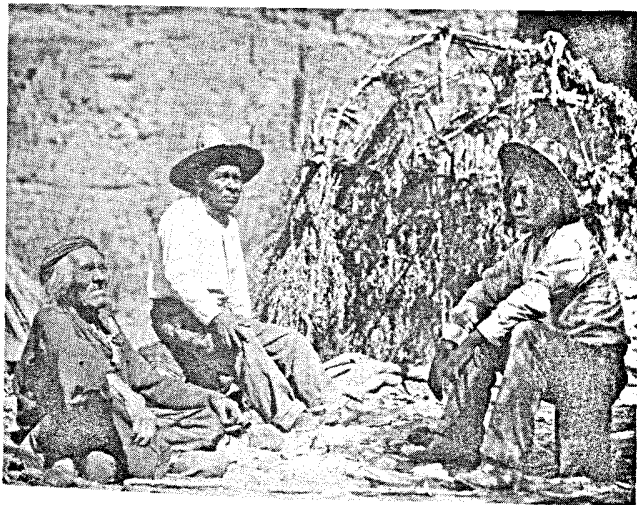
Curing rituals themselves are usually directed toward the removal of a foreign object or spirit from the patient's body. The Quechan shamans (Forde 1931:191) also treat patients for sickness due to soul loss, but this seems less prevalent than illness due to the intrusion of an animal or mountain spirit or an object sent by that spirit (its “arrow”). Accounts of cures indicate a variety of methods used by the shaman, but all involve his possession by a spirit helper and his consequent ability to extract and remove the troublesome source of illness.

Among the Havasupai, during the cure the spirit helper enters the shaman, becomes lodged in his chest and, when he sings, it is really the spirit that sings. The shaman sucks the patient and, in the process of applying his mouth to the patient's body, his spirit enters the patient and is able to draw out the trouble (Spier 1928:279). Among the Maricopa tribes, the shaman sings two or four songs over the patient and smokes to gain strength himself; he may also blow smoke over the patient's body (Spier 1933:384). The shaman may attempt to relieve the patient by brushing him with his

hand, blowing spittle over him, and sucking his body (Spier 1933:283). The brushing motion is toward the patient's feet in order to avoid driving the sickness toward the heart.

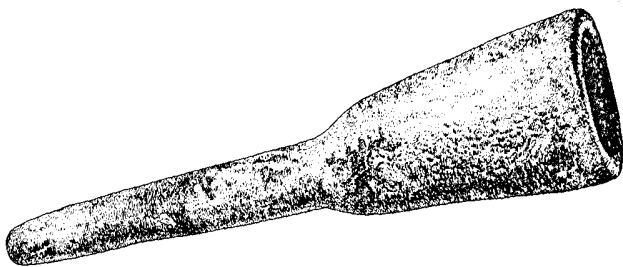
The Walapai shaman (in a cure described in Kroeber 1935:188–189) sends his own spirit to the mountain asking for help in curing the patient. The shaman prays to the mountains in the four directions, and the mountain spirit enters him through the mouth. Through a process of sucking, singing, and shuffle dancing, the shaman sends the mountain spirit into the patient's body and extracts blood, stone, and wood (the object in which the spirit causing the sickness resides) and thus sends the evil spirit back to the mountain.

The Havasupai, as well as the Quechan (Forde



Calif. Histl. Soc., Los Angeles: Title Insurance Coll., 3790.

Fig. 1. Rock Jones, seated in center, an important Havasupai shaman. In 1918 he was known as a weather shaman who had inherited his rain-making powers from his maternal uncle (Spier 1928:277–278). Later he also became a curing shaman (Smithson and Euler 1964:5, 11). Photograph by Charles C. Pierce, about 1900.



Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 277,924.

Fig. 2. Mohave clay pipe used by a doctor. The dark coloration is due to rubbing with green mistletoe. Length 13.5 cm, collected by J.P. Harrington in 1911.

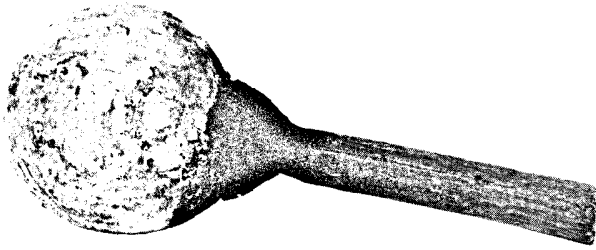
1931:197), have weather shamans (fig. 1), who obtain their power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, and lightning (Spier 1928:281–282). The Havasupai also held masked dances (discontinued around 1900), a practice possibly borrowed from the nearby Hopi, which, like the Hopi masked dances, brought rain and good fortune (Spier 1928:266–267). Several Yuman groups have shamans who are specialists in curing rattlesnake bites (Forde 1931:196; Gifford 1936:310; Spier 1928:283).

Underhill (1948) discusses Yuman ceremonialism in terms of the broader pattern of "the vision," which, in her view, provides the underlying stratum in Greater Southwestern ceremonialism. The essence of this vision complex is the "vision recipient" (usually a male) armed with a fetish representing his power and possibly a song or formula that this power has given to him. The power may be any natural phenomenon, but it acts as a universal, impersonal force. The power provides the shaman with a permanent miraculous ability in return for prayer and offerings directed toward the power (Underhill 1948:11–12).

The dream or vision should be viewed within the context of the shamanic world view, which consists of a layered universe, where there is an intimate connection and ultimate transformability of human beings and certain aspects of the natural environment; these aspects are charged with supernatural power and the shaman is the guardian of the equilibrium of supernatural forces. The symbolism of curing is consistent with this world view. The acquisition of power includes the theme of a "journey," an expedition through the medium of a dream to the natural/supernatural world beyond human society. The process of curing entails the reverse, the transportation of the supernatural spirit from the external world into the shaman's body, where it can be used to see the source of the disease or enter into the patient's body and combat the cause. Disease-causing agents are extracted from the patient through sucking, spraying the body with spittle, or brushing the body. The symbolism of penetration and removal is dominant.

Color, number, and direction symbolism are only weakly developed. There is some use of the number four in association with the idea of boundaries, as with the Maricopa four sacred mountains, the use of four songs to cure a patient (Maricopa), the Walapai division of the night into four dream periods, and the seclusion of the Walapai shaman during his quest for power for four days (Kroeber 1935:186). Red and white are the only symbolic colors; red is used by the Havasupai weather shaman to attract a mountain (earth) spirit, and white attracts the natural phenomena associated with the sky (white clouds, rain, lightning, and thunder).

The song and the use of the gourd rattle (fig. 3) provide the means of attracting the supernaturals that



Mus. of N. Mex., Santa Fe: School of Amer. Research Coll., 10871/12.

Fig. 3. Walapai gourd rattle with wooden handle. Length about 20.3 cm, collected by A.L. Kroeber in 1929.

actually possess the shaman, rather than being represented through masked figures, drypaintings, prayer-sticks, or other ritual paraphernalia used in other South-western cultures.

Underhill (1948) has emphasized the contrast between the individual orientation found in the hunting-gathering Yuman cultures (where the focus is on curing) with the more communally oriented rituals of the Pueblos, and the Pima-Papago, and even the mourning ceremonies of the River Yuman peoples. Within the vision-oriented, individualistic rituals of the Yumans, it is important to emphasize three themes: power is acquired through a dream "journey" where a shaman travels outside the social world to meet the supernatural; curing is begun through a first stage of penetration and possession during which the supernatural comes into the social world, directly entering the shaman's body and the patient's body; and curing is finally achieved through the removal (by sucking, brushing, or cutting) of the malevolent agents from the patient.

Apaches: Reciprocity and Long Life

Apache curing and ceremonialism illustrate the ways in which these themes are transformed in another cultural context to reflect a different relationship among the human world, the supernatural, and the natural environment. Apache and Navajo ceremonialism, like Yuman religion, focuses mainly on curing, though preparation for warfare was a secondary theme in all the Apache groups (Hill 1936; Opler 1941; Basso 1971). Navajo curing is quite different from the general Apache pattern, making it appropriate to deal separately with Navajo concepts of power, their cosmology, ritual, and symbolism.

For the Apache groups, particularly the Mescalero (Opler 1969), the Chiricahua (Opler 1941), and the Jicarilla (Opler 1946), the theme of the vision is important. Power (*diyi*) is obtained through a dream or visionary experience where the individual travels out-

side the social world. Accounts of the acquisition of power by shamans among the Chiricahua (Opler 1941:269–272) and Mescalero (Opler 1969:40–46) show that power reaches man through animals, plants, and supernatural phenomena that take human form to instruct an Apache man or woman in the appropriate ceremonies. During a vision experience, the potential curer is guided on a journey to a "holy home," often a cave in the mountains (Opler 1969:24), where supernatural powers reside (Bear's Home, Summer's Home, Medicine's Home, the Home of the Puberty Ceremony, etc.). Appropriate songs are taught the shaman, and he is given the necessary ritual objects that are used during a curing rite to attract supernatural beings (Opler 1969:133). "Assurances were given that supernatural power would appear and lend help when it was summoned and when it heard its songs and prayers" (Opler 1969:24).

Power, therefore, refers to a set of abstract and invisible forces that derive from certain kinds of animals, plants, and natural phenomena. Any of the various "powers" may be acquired by man, either by dreaming about the particular class of objects or by purchasing the requisite chants, prayers, and paraphernalia that activate that class (Basso 1966:150). Among the Jicarilla and Western Apache, some ceremonies, particularly the girls' puberty rite and the Bear ceremony (a Jicarilla rite) are learned from other practitioners, while other ceremonies are acquired through dreams. In other words, the Apache seem to have a traditional system, part way between the vision-oriented Yuman system and the Navajo system, where all ceremonies (except for divination) are learned through a period of apprenticeship.

Basso (1969) lists 28 sources of power among the Western Apache, ranging from natural phenomena (water, fire, thunder, lightning, wind) to flying bipeds (eagles, bats), cold-blooded creatures (snakes, lizards), and quadrupeds (elk, deer, mountain lion, bear, and horse). Basso makes it clear that it is not the animal, bird, or natural object that is "holy" or sacred, but the power itself. As in the Yuman case, sources of power are located outside the social world, either in the mountains (the habitat of the elk, deer, bear, and mountain lion) or the sky (lightning, rain, wind, the eagle, and bat).

Like the Yuman quest, Apache power acquisition has the quality of a dream-journey, but the curing rituals of the Apache include a different relationship with the supernatural. While Yuman curing seems to involve direct possession (that is, the spirit enters the shaman's body), Apache curing entails an indirect system of reciprocity. As Aberle (1967a) has elaborated this theme for the Navajo, the patient presents the shaman or medicine man with ritual prestations (*biyeel* 'his fee'); during the ceremony, through the use of the proper

songs and ritual actions the shaman attracts the spirit to come and use his power to cure the sick person. An "unbroken chain of reciprocity" binds the supernatural spirit, the shaman, and the patient. "Indeed, the chain is a circle; in the course of the ceremony the patient becomes one of the Holy Ones, a figure possessing temporary mana, not through trance or seizure, but through ritual contact and identification" (Aberle 1967a:27).*

The notion of a layered universe is implicit in the Apache belief in an underworld (Opler 1941:477-478), a mirror image of the Apache world, but where sickness and death are absent and where the environment is fertile, full of green grass and flowing streams. The world above ground is more structured than the Yuman cosmos, but there is no clear model of the universe that lays out the relationship of geographical entities like mountains and rivers, in terms of color and directional symbolism with associated birds, animals, and supernatural creatures. Among the Jicarilla, there is some indication of the bounding of territory by mountains and by four rivers (two male and two female; Opler 1971a), and the human body is used as a model for structuring the natural environment, as indicated in the texts collected by Goddard (Opler 1971a:313).

The number four is important and all Apache groups associate colors with each of the four directions, beginning with the east and proceeding in a sunwise or clockwise motion (the sacred direction). East is associated with black, the south with blue, the west with yellow, and the north with white. However, these associations are not nearly so prominent as similar ones are in Navajo and Pueblo ritual.

As part of the relationship of reciprocity among the Apache shaman, supernatural power, and the patient, during a curing ceremony the shaman's efforts are to attract the supernatural to the ceremony itself, through the correct prestations, prayers, and songs. There is less of a sense that the shaman himself becomes possessed during the ceremony. Instead, the ritual objects (for example, plants used as medicine, the fetishes constructed of animal parts or bird feathers) become imbued with the power of the supernatural. White shell and turquoise are sacred substances, and pollen (either tule pollen or corn pollen among the more agricultural Jicarilla and Western Apache) is used especially to impart sacred power to the participants in the ceremony.

The emphasis on removing evil influences from the patient's body, a central aspect of Yuman curing, is also part of the Apache ceremony. The shaman can often

find the sickness by making the patient transparent through holding an eagle feather over his body. Techniques for extracting the sickness among the Jicarilla, for example, include pulling, sucking and blowing, brushing, and frightening by gesticulating.

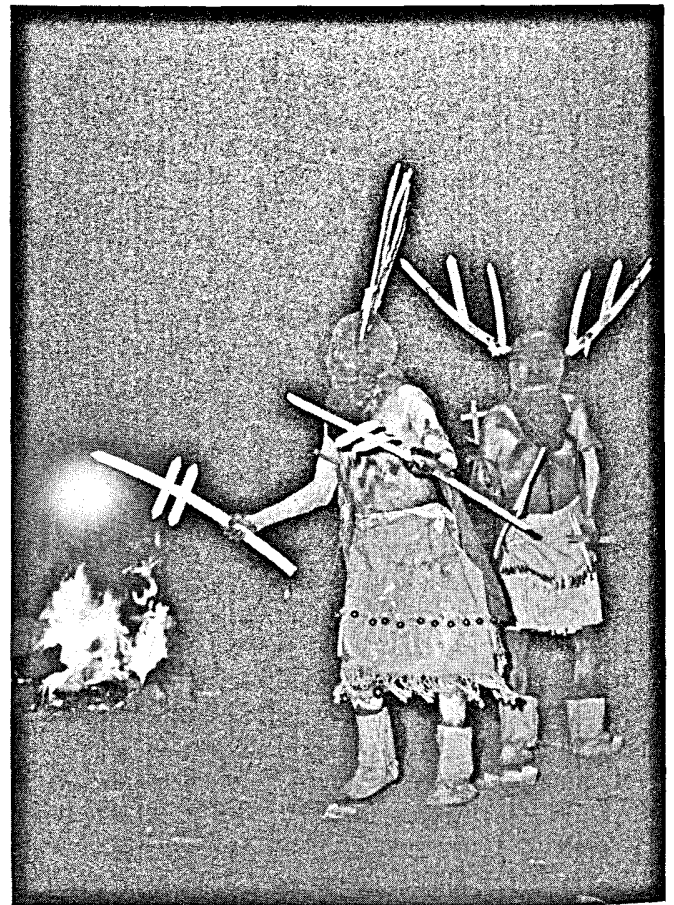
In addition to the themes of the attraction of supernatural power through prestation and the removal of evil influence, a third is apparent: the identification of the patient with the supernatural, with the result that the patient's body becomes "holy" or *diyí*, full of supernatural power. This theme is especially emphasized in the girls' puberty rite, a ceremony that is important in all Apache groups and that is learned rather than acquired through a dream or vision experience (figs. 4-5). In the Western Apache version, the girl is given ritual paraphernalia, including a sacred cane, a buckskin dress, and a white abalone shell to carry and wear throughout the ceremony. These symbolize longevity and protection and identify her with White Shell Woman, the female supernatural for whom the first puberty rite was performed. At one crucial point in the ceremony, the girl's identification with White Shell Woman becomes most apparent: while the medicine man sings, she kneels, raising her hands to the sun and, swaying back and forth, she assumes the posture in which White Shell Woman is generally believed to have experienced her first menstruation (Basso 1970:65).

The symbolism of long life is prominent throughout the ritual and is associated first with the pubescent girl and then with the entire community. The girl is given a ritual massage in order to assure a strong body in her adult life and, by running around the sacred cane, she progresses through the four phases of life and assures longevity. Toward the end of the ceremony and in the four days afterward, her identification with White Shell Woman means that she can bring good fortune to others and possesses the power to cure and make rain (Basso 1970:68; "The Apachean Culture Pattern and Its Origins," this vol.).

In the Mescalero and Chiricahua versions, supernatural presence is apparent not only through the identification of the girl with White Shell Woman, but also in the appearance of the *gáhé* spirits, impersonated by masked dancers (figs. 6-7; "Chiricahua Apache," fig. 11, this vol.). In preparation for the dancing, each dancer's body is painted and, when he dons the mask, he becomes sacred (*diyí*). The identification of the supernatural and the dancer (and, hence, the presence of the spirits at the ceremony) is clearly recognized in the songs sung at the ceremonial grounds during their dance performance.

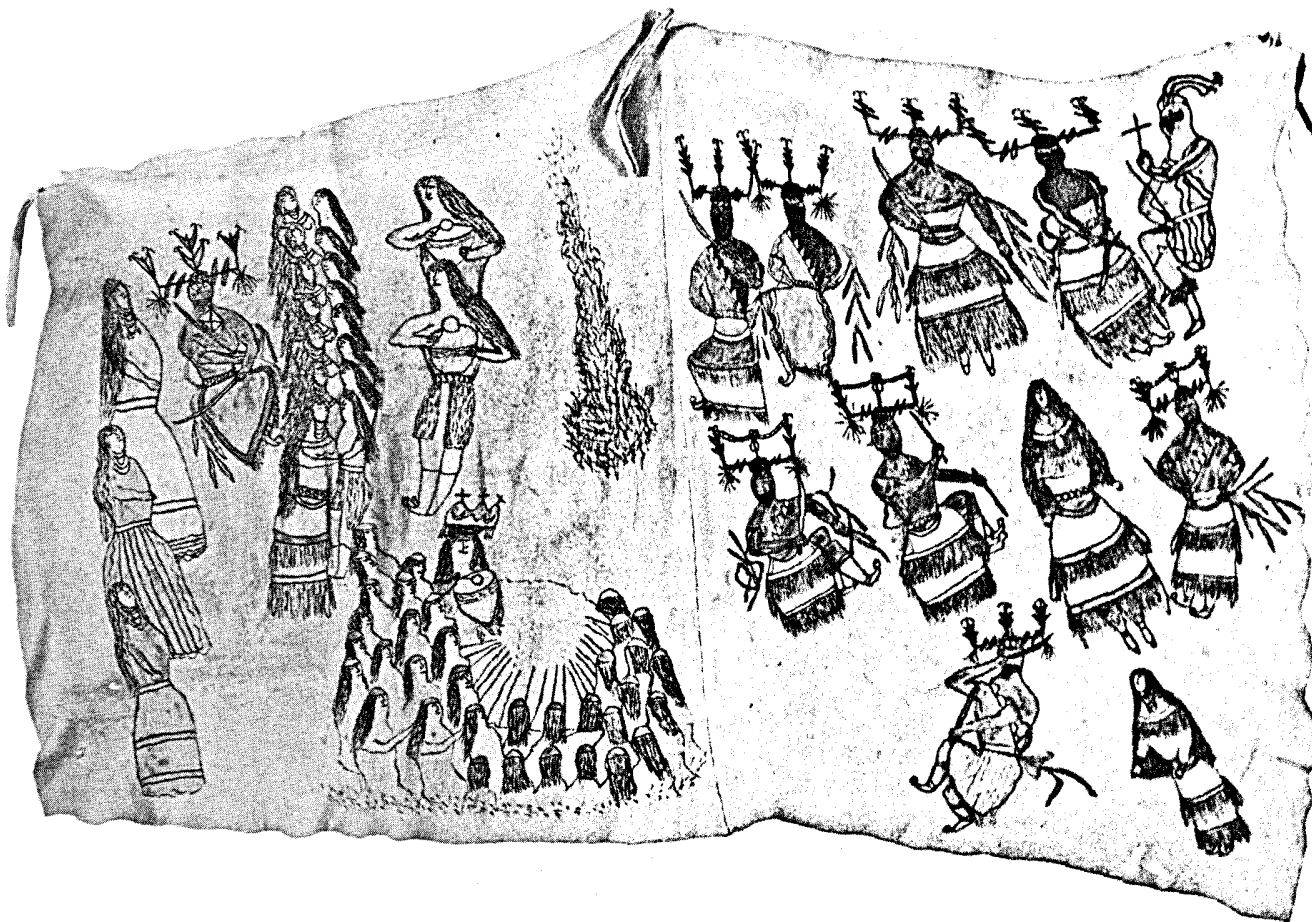
In sum, the characteristics of the shamanic world view and ritual practice are seen in an altered form in Apache religion. The theme of the layered universe is apparent, slightly elaborated with a greater use of the number four, color, and directional symbolism. The acquisition

*Opler (1968, 1969a) has presented evidence for the Apache groups that there is a distinction between a ceremonial *yeel* presented to the medicine man (which is actually intended for the supernaturals) and a secular payment for the medicine man's services; however, this perspective does not alter Aberle's analysis that reciprocity unites supernatural, medicine, and patient in a circle of relationship.



bottom left, Natl. Geographic Soc., Washington; top right, Mus. of N. Mex., Santa Fe; bottom right, U. of Ariz., Ariz. State Mus., Tucson: 24746.

Fig. 4. Apache girl's puberty ceremony (Sunrise Dance). The masked dancers, called Crown Dancers (Western Apache *gaan*), were frequently asked to participate to ward off potential evil. They usually performed at night and have become a standard source of entertainment at this ceremony (Opler 1941:87). top left, Tapping the sacred yellow pollen from cattail reed blossoms. The pollen is mixed with a little water and sprinkled on the pubescent girl (bottom left). top left, photograph by Tad Nichols at Whiteriver, Ariz., July 1941; bottom left, photograph by Bill Hess, Whiteriver, Ariz., Sept. 1976. top right, Western Apache ceremony at Ft. Huachuca, Ariz. The girl is being massaged by her sponsor. Members of a Black Cavalry or Infantry unit look on, while one uniformed soldier is participating as a drummer. Photographed about 1920s. bottom right, Crown Dancers. Photograph by Helga Teiwes, Beaver Creek, San Carlos Reservation, Ariz., 1969.



Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 270.076.

Fig. 5. Apache painting on tanned deerskin, depicting the girl's puberty ceremony. Figures are outlined in black and colored blue, yellow, pink, and orange. Length at center 47 cm, collected before 1910, probably at Ft. Sill, Okla.

of supernatural power through a dream journey, found in Yuman curing, is also a prominent idea. However, connection with the source of power is much more indirect and abstract; the curing shaman still experiences the dream, but the practitioner of the puberty ceremony (and other Apache rituals), through the correct prestations, learns the ceremony from a specialist. During the cure and the puberty rite, the supernaturals are attracted to the situation through songs and the prescribed use of ritual paraphernalia. This is most dramatically seen when the *gâhé* spirits arrive during the puberty ceremony, while in the curing rites, the ritual objects themselves symbolize the presence of powerful forces. The use of color, directional, and number symbolism, alluding to the cosmos, structures ritual actions and reinforces the connection between the ceremonial setting and the supernatural world.

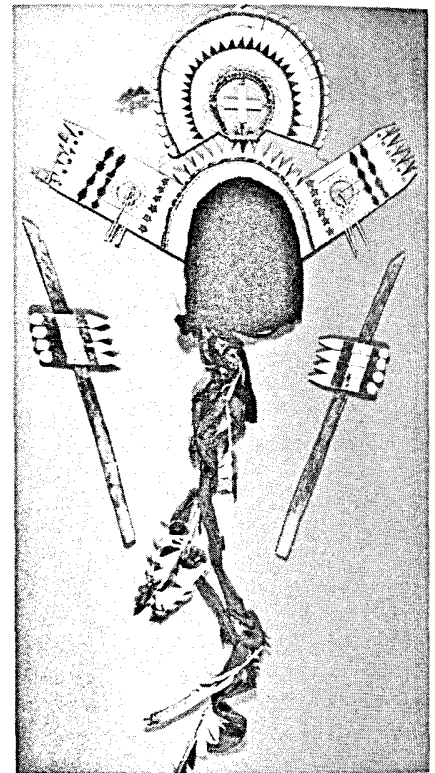
Much of the action during a curing ceremony is directed toward removing evil objects or supernatural power from the patient's body. In addition, a second, more abstract process occurs, more in keeping with the nature of Apache prestation and reciprocity. Rather than being possessed with supernatural power, sent into the patient's body by the shaman, the Apache becomes

identified with the supernatural. Likewise the pubescent girl, through appropriate dress and activity, becomes equated with White Shell Woman. The result of this combination of attracting the supernatural, removing intrusive influences, and identifying the patient with the sacred is to assure longevity, either in terms of a cured state for the patient or, in a puberty ceremony, long life for the young girl and blessings for the entire community.

Navajos: Reciprocity, Long Life, and a Structured Cosmos

Ritual reciprocity (or prestation), and the concomitant themes of removal and sanctification (or identification) become elaborated in the context of Navajo ceremonialism, where the cosmology and structure of rituals are more formalized and where the symbolism of song, ritual objects, and actions becomes more apparent.

Among the Navajo, power is not acquired through dreaming or the vision experience. The Navajo "singer" or medicine man is not a shaman but a priest. He learns the appropriate songs, medicines, and ritual actions necessary for curing a patient through apprenticeship



left, Ariz. Histl. Soc. Lib., Tucson: Hanna Coll.; right, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr. 372.990.

Fig. 6. Apache Crown Dancers. Traditional costume includes high moccasins (with upturned toes), skirts or kilts fringed and decorated with tinklers held up by a broad belt, bodies painted with specific designs, streamers with eagle feathers attached above the elbow, and elaborate hoods fitted closely over the head and tied around the neck (Opler 1941:109–110). The dancers carry pointed wooden sticks in each hand. The Crown Dancers represent mountain-dwelling spirits and their performance was used not only to keep evil spirits away but also to cure illness (Opler 1941:87). left, After painting themselves and preparing for the ceremony, the Crown Dancers move in single file down the mountain side. Costumed dancers include a clown on the far left. Photograph of Western Apache by Forman G. Hanna, Dec. 1925. right, Crown Dancer mask of wooden slats painted white, black, red, blue, and green atop a black cloth hood. The wooden wands are also painted. Height of headdress 61.0 cm, collected at White Mountain, Ariz. before 1935.

to a singer who already knows the rite he wishes to learn. Rather than a vision experience, the source of the ritual is a myth that relates how the ancestors of the Navajo acquired the ritual procedures from the supernaturals (Spencer 1957). The myth typically tells of a hero who experiences a series of misfortunes. He is aided by various supernaturals and in the process learns the ceremony that is instrumental in curing his illness or restoring conditions to their normal state. On his return, the hero teaches the ceremony to the people. There are important similarities between Apache dream-visions and Navajo myths including the visit to sacred “homes” of the supernatural and the kinds of help given. The main difference is that the Apache protagonist is a living shaman while the Navajo protagonist is a mythical figure; the Navajo hero is placed in a predicament of superhuman proportions while the Apache shaman is only seeking power. Thus, for the Navajo, the circle of reciprocity that links humans and the supernatural takes on an additional step. Prestations are given by the mythical hero to the supernatural in exchange for power. The singer offers prestations to his teacher in return for learning the ritual and, in a parallel fashion, the patient offers ritual prestations to the singer. In turn, the singer offers prestations to the su-

pernaturals during the ceremony, attracting them to the ritual for the benefit of the patient. Then, finally, at some phase of the ceremony, the patient becomes “holy” or *diyin* (powerful) (Aberle 1967a:27).

Like the Apache, the Navajo believe that sickness is contracted by improper contact with objects that are dangerous (*báhádzid*). The list given by Wyman and Kluckhohn (1938:13, 14) is similar to Basso’s (1970:37–38) list of Apache sources of illness. Wyman and Kluckhohn discuss contact in terms of “infection,” but the animal (or its supernatural power) sends its weapon or arrow into the patient (Haile 1938a:648). Kaplan and Johnson (1964:208) suggest that illness is the result of possession by the “breath” or “instanding one” of the dangerous animal, witch, ghost, or natural phenomenon.

As among the Apache groups, Navajo power can be used for positive effects (restoring health) or negative ones (causing sickness through witchcraft). This is seen in two pairs of Navajo concepts, the contrast between *diyin* (becoming sacred or sanctified) and *’ánt’ííh*, referring to witchcraft by other human beings or the action of etiological factors such as snakes, bears, and lightning. A parallel contrast is between *hózhó* and *hóchxóó’*. *Hózhó* is a state of “pleasant conditions,” of beauty or



Denver Art Mus., Col.:Pac-2.

Fig. 7. Chiricahua Apache Crown Dancers (*gáhé*). Men with drums and curved drumsticks accompany the dancers. Original painting in tempera on paper by Allan Houser, Chiricahua artist, in 1953.

harmony (see Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938; Wyman 1970a:7). The prefix *ko-* indicates that it is the environment, the locale (not just an individual) that is nice, beautiful, and good. *Hóchxóó'* indicates the opposite, a state of "unpleasant conditions" or "the ugly, unhappy and disharmonious environment." The purposes of a chant or sing are to counteract the "action against" the patient (*'áń'ííh*) and remove "ugly conditions" (*hóchxóó'*), and to produce immunity by making the patient *diyín* and thus create "pleasant conditions" (*hózhó*) (see "Language and Reality in Navajo World View," this vol.).

Navajo cosmology contains many of the same elements as are found among the Apache, but these are utilized in a more systematic and structured manner. The Navajo think of their cosmos as a circle where the "sky horizon edge" (*yák'ashbaqah*) meets the "earth horizon edge" (*ńík'ashbaqah*). The circular horizon is divided into "light phenomena." Each has an "inner form" (*bi'gistiín*) that is male or female, and each is associated with one of the four directions and one of four colors. As one Navajo informant depicted the circle (Haile 1943a), Dawn Man (associated with whiteness) lies on the horizon from east to south; Horizontal Blue Man lies from south to west; Evening Twilight

Woman (associated with yellow) lies from west to north; and Darkness Woman (associated with black) lies from north to east. The Navajo world is also bounded by four sacred mountains, each associated with a direction and a color. Four precious stones, four types of corn, and four birds are also associated with the mountains (Reichard 1945:215). The Navajo color-direction scheme has equations different from the Apache one. East is associated with white, south with blue, west with yellow and north with black. There is a definite pairing of north and black with *hóchxóó'* or evil things, and of white and east with the sacred or *diyín*.

The Navajo origin myth tells of the emergence of the ancestors of the Navajo from a series of four worlds into a fifth and also includes details of the origin of Navajo clans (Yazzie 1971).[†] Like Apache origin stories (Opler 1969:150), the Navajo myth tells of the impregnation of Changing Woman (White Shell Woman in Apache versions) by the Sun and the birth of her twins

[†]Some sources imply that there were only four worlds; the confusion seems to be based on whether the flood in the fourth world led to an emergence into a fifth world or whether the waters simply receded with the people still occupying the fourth world. Other sources differ; see "Navajo Views of Their Origin," this vol.

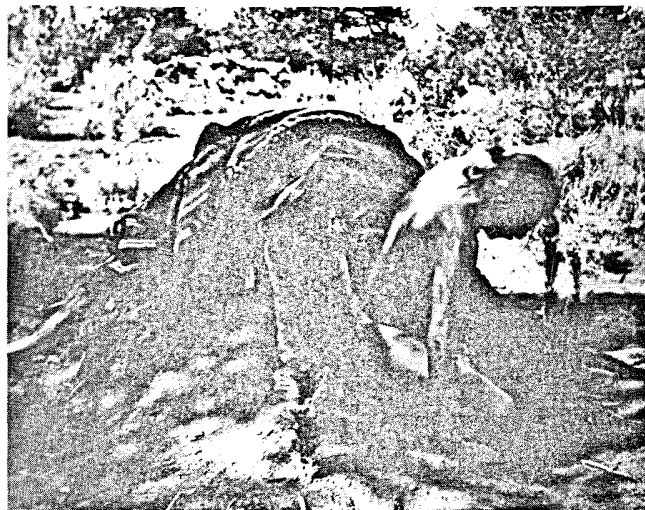


U. of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Fig. 8. Born for Water or *Tó Bájishchíni* (far right), one of the slayer twins, on an 18th-century pictograph in Pine River Canyon (Los Pinos) Navajo Reservoir district, N. Mex. He is drawn in red and resembles his masked dancer impersonator (the inverted triangle on the mask is characteristic) and his representations in modern sandpaintings (Schaafsma 1966:11–12). The two gods (*yé'ii*) at the left of the panel, under the rainbow, are red, green, and white. Photographer unknown, about 1960.

(fig. 8), who slay various monsters that had been endangering the people. The theme of an emergence and the notion of a layered cosmos is much more elaborated than in the Yuman cultures. The myth is more detailed: each world is associated with a particular color and, within each incident, the four colors and the four directions are utilized in patterning the events that explain the origin of important aspects of the natural environment (animal and bird species, the four sacred mountains and other important places) and of Navajo cultural items. Myths that tell the origin of each curing ceremony and the exploits of a hero—one of the *diyín diné'é* or Holy People—are filled with incidents that show how social relations between the Holy People parallel those among the Navajo themselves (Spencer 1957). There are two parallel worlds, the supernatural one, populated by the *diyín diné'é* and the social world of the *diné* or people. The pantheon of Holy People is not hierarchically structured, and there is no division of Holy People into various categories with certain prerogatives, privileges, or powers—quite different from Pueblo cosmologies. Likewise, the Navajo social world is relatively undivided, and even distinctions by age and sex, especially in the division of labor, are minimal.

Navajo ritual itself is centered on the restoration of “pleasant conditions” for the individual. Navajo chants are two, five, or nine nights in length (a “night” being



U. of Ariz., Ariz. State Mus., Tucson: top, 28643; bottom, 28646.

Fig. 9. Sweat house, used for purification before many Navajo rituals. top, Sweat house being prepared; bark pieces hold colored sand used in making the small sand painting running down the side of the house. bottom, Navajo man emerging from the sweat bath. Plumed wands are on either side of the entrance. Photographs by Simeon Schwemberger, St. Michael's, Ariz., before Dec. 1905.

counted from one sunset to the next). They are composed of component ceremonies, strung together in a specified order. Many chants include a bath, a sand-painting ritual, a sweat (fig. 9) and emetic ceremony, and an all-night sing the last night. Each component ceremony is composed of ritual acts that are directed against the etiological factor (for example, bears, snakes, lightning) causing the illness (see “Navajo Ceremonial System” and “Navajo Music,” this vol.).

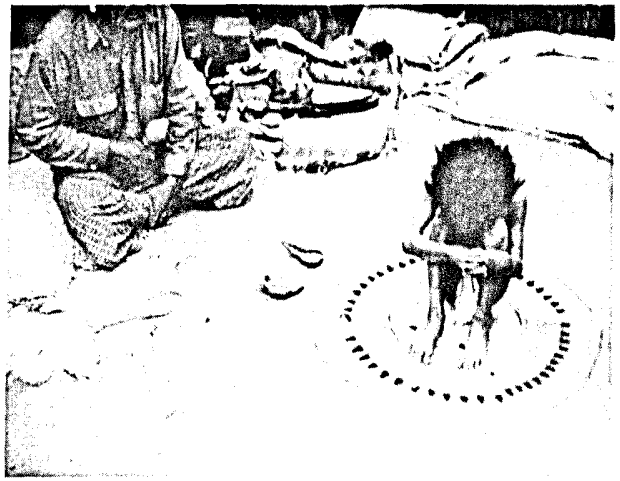
The Navajo model of the cosmos outlined above is expressed in the setting of the ceremony itself. The chant takes place in a Navajo hogan, which is circular like the horizon. Movement during a ritual is always clockwise or “in the direction of the sun.” Men sit on the south side of the hogan; women sit on the north side. The singer sits on the southwest side and the patient, when resting, sits on the northwest side. The east (where the door is located) is associated with *diyín*; prayersticks and other offerings are deposited toward

the east and the chant fetishes are arranged to face in this direction. The north is associated with *hóchxóó'* and objects that have been pressed against the patient in order to remove *hóchxóó'* are deposited toward the north. Each chant uses color and directional symbolism, though not always the same associations as in the cosmological model. The fourfold color-direction scheme is a condensed code for ordering and interpreting the myriad of ritual actions, using symbolic objects, that are performed during the chant. For instance, the cutting of prayersticks, the making of a sandpainting, and the text of a song-set all repeat this pattern, which, in turn, mirrors Navajo cosmology (Lamphere 1969:289).

The three themes outlined for Apache curing occur again and again throughout a Navajo ceremony: presentation through the presentation of a *yeel*, identification of the patient with the *diyín* by "applying to" or "taking in," and removal of *hóchxóó'*. They are repeated in each subceremony, in each prayer, and in each song-set; however, one of these themes may be dominant or emphasized in a particular subceremony. For example, during the prayerstick ceremony, prestations are important; during the sweat and emetic ceremony, the removal of *hóchxóó'* is crucial; and during a sandpainting ceremony, the identification of the patient with the *diyín* is the focus of the effort (fig. 10).

The total impact of the Navajo sing is that it brings a patient to a new state where he or she has become holy and where pleasant conditions have returned. This is often indicated at the end of a prayer or song; for example, "with pleasant conditions before me I go about" (Reichard 1944:92, line 383, retranslated), "These I have become again" (line 392), "pleasant conditions have returned" (line 396). Thus, Navajo curing is centered around the attainment of long life and the restoration of an ideal environment, often described by anthropologists in terms of universal harmony, happiness, and beauty.

Clearly, there are striking similarities between Apache and Navajo ceremonialism. Both place emphasis on the central theme of longevity, and both center on the individual, changing his or her state through prestation, removal of evil objects, and identification with supernatural power. However, there are also some important contrasts. In Navajo ritual, power is more abstract, attained through apprenticeship rather than through a vision experience. The cosmos is more structured, a bounded universe where the present world is the top of four layered worlds through which the Navajo emerged. Navajo ritual seems to replicate the cosmos more clearly, and color, sex, and directional symbolism is more fully utilized. Navajo ritual includes more agricultural symbolism as well. For example, corn pollen, as well as pollen from wild plants, is an important symbol of pleasant conditions. It is the symbol par excellence of sanctification. The sun is a more important



Natl. Geographic Soc., Washington.

Fig. 10. A Navajo priest with rattle treating an ill child. The patient is seated in the center of a Chiricahua Windway sandpainting. Photograph by John B. Breed, before 1939.

symbol than among the Apache, and the contrast between Father Sun and Mother Earth in Navajo world view reflects both agricultural influence and the importance of a male-female duality. Supernaturals representing corn (Corn Pollen Boy, Corn Beetle Girl) are important in myth and ceremony, and four domesticated plants—maize, beans, squash, and tobacco—are symbolized in many sandpaintings. During the Navajo girl's puberty rite, the central activity is grinding corn and preparing batter for a huge corn cake (*'alkaad*) to be baked in the ground during the last night of singing. The cake represents Mother Earth and, baked as a special offering to the Sun, brings special health and longevity to the girl (Frisbie 1967:12, 362).

Nevertheless, some of the themes prominent in Yuman and Apache ceremonialism are also important among the Navajo. Though encapsulated in a mythical context, the theme of "the journey" to find supernatural power is still present. The myth hero travels outside the social world and gains power through contact with supernatural power located above or beyond the human arena. Mountains, mountain animals, and birds, as well as natural phenomena, are the sources of power, though they are depicted as *diyín dine'é* and contrasted to humans or *diné*. Power can be used for positive or for harmful purposes. The positive implementation of power for curing involves a reversal of the "journey to power" theme. The supernaturals are attracted—by proper prestations, songs, and prayers—to the human world to counteract those evil forces (*hóchxóó'*) acting against the individual.

Pueblos: the Agricultural Cycle, the Masked Dancer, and Fertility

The Pueblo cultures of northern Arizona and New 753

Mexico are perhaps the best known of the agricultural groups in the Southwest. Although speaking languages of diverse affiliation (Kiowa-Tanoan, Keresan, Zuni, and Uto-Aztecan), they share a common agricultural economy, a commitment to adobe-village living, and a communally oriented religion focused on the agricultural cycle.

Pueblo ceremonialism is part of a larger group of maize ceremonies practiced throughout the Southwest, which celebrate the life cycle of Indian corn (planting, maturity, and harvest) (fig. 11). These maize ceremonies are an elaborate version of the vision situation, except that the vision itself is relegated to mythology. The officiant is a ceremonialist who has learned, not one song, but a complex ritual. According to tradition, this was dictated by the supernaturals to the first priest, who passed it on. Supernatural power in Pueblo religion has the same ambivalence—that is, the potentiality for harmfulness or for helpfulness—that is found in other Southwestern groups. However, as Underhill (1948:15–16) points out, the powers have become “differentiated and personalized, attaining almost the status of gods.”

Among the Pueblos the idea of two parallel worlds, one supernatural and the other social, is taken even further than among the Navajo. The supernatural world becomes divided into classes or groups in the same way

in which the social world is divided. Furthermore, there is a clear transformability of the social world into the supernatural one. In contrast to Yuman, Apache, and Navajo beliefs (where death releases the soul or “breath” to become a malevolent, sickness-producing ghost), among the Pueblo groups death transforms humans into ancestors who become supernaturals themselves. This is illustrated in table 1, which compares Tewa and Zuni cosmology.

The Hopi world view retains this same aspect of “conversion” or transformability, though without the more elaborate classes of humans and supernaturals found among the Tewa and Zuni. The Hopi cosmos is divided into an upper and a lower world, circumscribed by the sun’s circuit (Titiev 1944:171–178). At death, the Hopi go to the lower world of the dead and return as kachinas. All kachinas are believed to take cloud form—to be Cloud People—and their substance (navala) is liquid that is manifested as rainfall. Navala means “spirit substance of their fathers” (see “Hopi World View,” vol. 9).

The Tewa, Zuni, and Hopi cosmologies also have a horizontal, as well as a vertical, dimension, based on either the number four or six. For the Tewa, the four directions orient the horizontal plane and at the outermost edge are the four sacred mountains. Nearer the village are four sacred flat-topped hills, one in each



Mus. of N. Mex., Santa Fe: Dorothy Dunn Kramer Coll., 3314-23P.

Fig. 11. *Blessing the Seed Ceremony* as depicted in a watercolor by Gilbert Atencio (Uah-Peen) of San Ildefonso Pueblo in 1955. The Tewa summer chief blesses cultigens from each household in late Feb. or early March. This blessing will make the cultigens grow healthy and bountiful, when they are planted a month or so later. In San Juan a traditional shinny game followed the blessing of the seeds (Alfonso Ortiz, personal communication 1981).

Table 1. Examples of Pueblo Cosmologies

		<i>Tewa</i>		<i>Zuni</i>	
Supernatural	Moist People	<i>Dry Food Who Never Did Become</i> (souls of the Made People and all deities recognized by Tewa, some of whom appear as <i>kachinas</i>)	<i>Raw People</i> (<i>kʷapin ʷaʰoʷʷi</i>)	<i>Sun, Moon, Earth Mother Rain Priests</i> (<i>ʷuwanam ʷaʷsiwani</i>) (deceased human Rain Priests)	<i>Beast Priests</i> (<i>wenuʷ ʷaʷsiwani</i>) (deceased human Beast Priests)
		<i>towaʷê</i> (6 pairs of sibling deities who were the Tewa before emergence)		<i>Bow Priests</i> (<i>ʷapiʷla ʷaʷsiwani</i>) (deceased human Bow Priests)	
	Dry Food People	<i>Dry Food Who Are No Longer</i> (dead Dry Food People)		<i>Kachinas</i> (<i>kokkoʷkʷe</i>) and <i>ancestors in general</i> (<i>ʷaʷlaʷʷinaʷwe</i>)	
Human	Dry Food People	<i>Made People</i> (<i>paʷtowa</i>) (members of moieties, medicine men, clowns, and members of Hunt, War, and Women's societies)	<i>Cooked People</i> (<i>ʷakna ʷaʰoʷʷi</i>) or <i>Daylight People</i> (<i>tekʷohanman ʷaʰoʷʷi</i>)	<i>Beast Priests</i> (priests of medicine societies)	<i>Bow Priests</i>
		<i>towaʷê</i> (human counterparts of supernatural <i>towaʷê</i>)			<i>Ordinary Zunis</i> (<i>tewukoʷliya</i>)
		<i>Dry Food People</i> (ordinary Tewa who serve in no official capacity)			

Note: Members of each category of humans at death become members of the corresponding category in the tripartite hierarchy of supernaturals. The Zuni concepts of Raw and Cooked do not correspond exactly to the Tewa notions of Dry Food People and Raw or Moist People. The highest level of the Tewa hierarchy consists of supernaturals who never become "Dry Food People." Thus Zuni *kachinas* are Raw People, and Zunis are Cooked People in life but become Raw after death, while Tewa Dry Food People do not move into the equivalent category in the afterlife. Adapted from Ortiz 1969 and "Zuni Religion and World View," vol. 9.

direction, while nearer still are four sacred shrines of the directions. Finally, there are four dance plazas within the village and a sacred center of the village, "the Earth mother earth navel middle place" (see Ortiz 1969:18-21). The Zuni cosmology is based on the number six (the four cardinal directions, the zenith, and nadir) but shows the same characteristics as the Tewa one: vertical layers that correspond to horizontal distances, the use of directional symbolism associated with colors, the importance of the middle, and the internal differentiation of a human and a sacred world, each a replica of the other. The Hopi also have a system of correspondences of direction and color based on the number six. In contrast to the Zuni and Tewa models, the concept of "middle" is not centered on the village itself but in Sipapu, the place of emergence in the bottom of the Grand Canyon, west of the Hopi villages. Sipapu is represented symbolically in each kiva floor (vol. 9:568, 579). Thus, there are many middles, one in each kiva, that are replicated in various shrines in and around the village.

Thus, Pueblo cosmologies vary in form but, in comparison to the Navajo model of the universe, they are

more structured. Ortiz (1972a) has summarized their characteristics as including: the setting of careful limits or boundaries of the world; a well-elaborated conception of the middle or center of the cosmos; a dominant spatial orientation characterized as centripetal or "inward"; the importance of the *axis mundi*, or central pole, as a vertical bridge between the various layers of the Pueblo cosmos; and the use of dualism, for example, between Father Sun and Mother Earth, between "raw" and "cooked," and between moiety divisions in Tewa and Keresan villages.

All these features of Pueblo cosmology are reminiscent of the shamanistic world view described earlier, except that priests of powerful societies rather than shamans are the real guardians. Hunting and curing continue to be important concerns of Pueblo ceremonialism, but the agricultural cycle becomes the central focus of most ritual activity (fig. 12). Shamanic practice appears, for example, in the spectacular magical feats performed by members of the Zuni medicine societies (Tedlock 1976). In other words, Pueblo religion seems to be based on an essentially shamanistic world view adapted to the needs of an agricultural people.



N. Mex. Dept. of Development. Santa Fe: 12.105.

Fig. 12. The Basket Dance at San Juan Pueblo, an agricultural rite. Photograph by Wyatt Davis, 1942.

Pueblo ceremonialism is coordinated in terms of a calendrical cycle where the solstices and equinoxes are the orienting points. There is an implicit dualism between the summer agricultural part of the cycle and the winter portion, when warfare and hunting are stressed (Ortiz 1969:106). Different portions of the year are emphasized by different Pueblo groups. For the Tewa, the most intense ritual period is between the autumnal and vernal equinox, while for the Hopi it is between the winter and summer solstices (Ortiz 1969:105).

Ritual involves two phases. One important set of activities revolves around the retreats and prayer sessions of the ritual specialists, which take place in the kivas. For example, the annual cycle of "works" are performed by the Made People in Tewa villages, led particularly by the Summer or Winter chief. At Zuni, the rain priests go into seclusion during the summer to establish direct contact with the *?uwanammi* or *?uwanam ?a:siwani* (supernatural rain priests). A second set of activities focuses on the coming of the supernaturals, the kachinas, who appear at specified times of the year and for specific rituals (fig. 13) ("Zuni Religion and World View," vol. 9).

The three themes apparent in Navajo and Apache ritual—prestation, removal, and sanctification—assume a different character in Pueblo ceremonialism, as indicated by a closer examination of priestly retreats and public dances. Pueblo relationship with the super-

natural is also one of reciprocity, with the added dimension that the living take their places in the supernatural world at death. As Bunzel (1932:618) characterizes the Zuni relationship with the gods, "Zunis do not humble themselves before the supernatural; they bargain with it." Central to Pueblo ceremonialism is the offering of correct prestations: appropriate prayers, songs, and ritual objects to attract the supernaturals to the village. The most important prestation or offering is the prayerstick. As the Zuni data show, the symbolism of prayerstick offerings is quite different from that of Navajo prestations. The main offerings made by the Zuni to the "raw" people are those of food and clothing. Food is offered by Zuni women at every evening meal by throwing cooked food into the fire; other "food" offerings consist of tobacco, cornmeal tossed into the air, or large portions of food offered by men who take quantities to the river (Bunzel 1932:620). "Clothing" consists of *telikina-we* or prayersticks, small smoothed sticks to which feathers are attached. Sticks are offered by each family at the winter solstice and as part of every ceremony and are usually made to a particular supernatural (Bunzel 1932a:500).

B. Tedlock (1971) argues that the offering of prayersticks is really an act of sacrifice. The markings on the prayerstick symbolize a person—with eyes, mouth, and feathered clothing—who is called a "sacred younger sister or relative" and who stands for the maker (B. Tedlock 1971:10). The supernaturals, in accepting the prayerstick (representing both the person and clothing for the supernaturals), take the "life," "breath," "thoughts" of the prayerstick. They also hear prayers for long life, food, clothing, and good fortune. "The sacrifice is the vehicle of communication or the mediator between these people (the profane) and their gods (the sacred). The message is the paradox: a life for a life. My life (in surrogate form) for the necessities of my life" (B. Tedlock 1971:16). The gods receive the self-sacrifice and prayer that went into the making and presentation of the prayersticks, and the Zuni receive the good will of the supernaturals.

The theme of removal is much less important among the Pueblo groups, being associated mainly with curing ritual rather than with agricultural, hunting, or war ceremonies. Curing is in the hands of societies rather than the prerogative of individual medicine men. Among the Hopi, each kiva society cures diseases connected with improper contact with its paraphernalia, while Zuni and Keresan groups have distinct and important curing societies. Much curing revolves around the counteracting of witchcraft, for example, White's (1932:118–122) description of recapturing the "heart" of a patient stolen by a witch at Acoma. During the ceremony, medicine men suck intrusive objects from those present and evil is brushed away with eagle plumes dipped in ashes—both practices reminiscent of Yuman curing. The im-



left, John E. Wilson, Tulsa, Okla: Mora #178; right, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 128,739 and 128,744.

Fig. 13. Musical instruments of the kachinas. left, White-faced Alo Manas of Walpi playing rasps for the Heheya Dance. They scrape an animal shoulderblade across the notched stick to produce the rhythmic sounds. Photograph by Jo Mora, 1904-1906. right, Hopi hand-held gourd rattles. These decorated examples are painted with pottery clay, but plain gourd rattles were also used. top right, Black design on green ground, with wooden handle and cloth wrist strap; bottom right, Buffalo rattle, black crosses on white ground with pieces of white wool attached, and wooden handle with string wrist strap. Feathers are also used as rattle decorations. Length of top right 24 cm, both collected by Matilda C. Stevenson at Mishongnovi in 1885.

portant differences are that the ceremony is communal, with most members of the village participating as patients, and that agricultural symbolism is central. The heart, rather than the soul, is the human aspect that has been taken away. It is represented by a bundle of rags containing corn kernels and is recaptured through a symbolic fight involving medicine men who represent bears and mountain lions. The heart bundle is then untied, and each member of the audience receives a kernel to eat. In the final phases of the ritual, each participant is given medicine to drink, and medicine is blown over them to drive away malevolent influences.

In contrast to the minor theme of removal, actions signaling the arrival of the supernaturals include some of the most public and dramatic aspects of Pueblo ceremonialism. The gods or kachinas are represented through masked impersonation and dancing by members of the kachina societies, one of the most important ceremonial associations among Pueblo groups. The kachina organizations are tribal-wide in all the Western Pueblos, joined by all children at Hopi, Acoma, and Laguna, but restricted to males at Zuni. The kachina society is less important among the Keresan and Tewa Pueblos and is of a completely "underground character," with dancing performed inside the kivas rather than in public plazas. At Taos, Picuris, and Isleta, masked dancing is absent from ritual. Masked impersonation plays a role in Apache and Navajo ceremonialism, but among Pueblo groups, it is part of a religion tied to the agricultural cycle, to a more elaborate cos-

mology, and to a configuration of symbols where fertility, as well as longevity, are important themes.

Kachinas appear in a large number and variety of Pueblo public ceremonies, but perhaps the most dramatic are those rituals that celebrate the annual coming of the supernaturals to the village (for example, the Zuni Shalako ceremony and the Tewa water-pouring ceremony) or their return to their sacred home (the Hopi Niman ceremony). The Zuni Shalako takes place at the end of the ritual year, in late November or early December before the winter solstice ceremonies. On the final day of the ceremony, five masked supernaturals arrive from the west, cross the river into the village, and plant prayersticks at six excavations representing the six kivas. They retreat to one of the new houses that has been repaired or built for the ceremony and will be blessed by the presence of the gods. Late in the afternoon, the Shalakos (six impressive birdlike figures) arrive in a procession, and each is escorted to a house that is blessed by planting prayersticks and seeds inside the threshold. During the evening, in each of the six houses a dialogue is started between the house owner and the Shalako. This songlike litany recounts the story of the creation and the migration of the Zuni people to "The Middle Place." Food is served to the Shalako, offered to the ancestors at the river, and fed to other guests. After midnight, the two Shalako impersonators take turns donning the Shalako mask and dancing while other masked supernaturals (including the Koyemshi or clowns) appear and dance also. In the

morning, after a ritual washing, receiving gifts of food, and participating in a final closing ceremony, the six Shalakos and other masked supernaturals depart to their home (Kachina Village) in the west (Bunzel 1932:702-777). See "Zuni Religion and World View," volume 9, for illustrations of these ceremonies.

The coming of the supernaturals to Hopi is less dramatic and occurs in late November with the appearance of the Soyal kachina, who arrives in the village in old garments, dancing with the movements of an aged man to symbolize the belief that the kachinas are "locked up" at rest in their underworld homes during the period between the winter and summer solstice. At the last public appearance of the kachinas each year (the Niman or Home ceremony), when the dancing ends in the village plaza, the kachinas are blessed with smoke and medicine-water and are given prayer-feathers and sacred cornmeal. The Kachina clan chief makes a long speech of farewell, thanking them for past favors and praying for continued help from the supernaturals. Then the dancers are led to a special hollow shrine; the cover is lifted and each impersonator drops some of his prayerstick offerings into the shrine. The closing of the lid symbolizes the close of the kachina dances and their departure until the winter solstice, when the cycle begins again (Titiev 1944:110, 128). See "Hopi Ceremonial Organization," volume 9, for views of these ceremonies.

In the Tewa villages, supernaturals appear at the water-pouring ceremony given by either the Winter People or Summer People to mark the transition from childhood to the status of a Dry Food Person for Tewa boys and girls (Ortiz 1969:38-40). Their presence is preceded by a litany called "shouting the emergence path" where either the moiety chief or two sacred clowns trace the journey of the gods from distant lakes to the kiva. The kachinas arrive, are received by the sacred clowns, and their messages are interpreted by the moiety chief. The kachinas bless the people by "catching goodness from six directions" and passing it on to the people, who reach out and take it in. The people eat the sacred melons brought by the kachinas, and the two moiety chiefs also offer a thanksgiving prayer. The final response of the villagers emphasizes the "life of abundance" that will result from the coming of the supernaturals (Laski 1959:34-59).

These ritual pageants express the theme of the "journey" in a completely different context. In Yuman religion, the shaman journeys outside the social world to find power, and the process of curing involves the journey of supernatural power to the shaman and the patient's body. This same process became more and more stylized in Apache and Navajo curing, the journey for power even taking place in a myth in the Navajo case. Supernatural presence is realized through identification rather than possession. For the Pueblos, the supernat-

urals come in impressive visual form, and their arrival in the village may even dramatize the group's origin and migration to the present village. The presence of the kachina is an important occasion for feeding the supernaturals or offering other prestation in return for their blessings and good will.

In the public dances, as well as during the secret retreats that precede them, ritual actions and objects symbolize two important themes: longevity and fertility. Long life, also the goal of Navajo and Apache ritual, is found most strikingly in the Zuni concept of the "road." At birth, "the Sun Father sets the proper span for each Zuni's life and gives long roads to some and short roads to others" (Tedlock 1975:259). Zunis often end their prayers asking that their roads be completed and fulfilled, that is, that they lead long and abundant lives.

The theme of fertility is seen in the broadest sense in the desire for a life of abundance. But, more concretely, there is a concern with rain, which will bring good crops. The prevalence of water symbolism is striking in Pueblo religion, if only in contrast to the Yuman, Apache, and Navajo, where water symbolism is much less important.

Examples are numerous. The Pueblo cosmos is often bordered by oceans or lakes. In the Tewa water-pouring ceremony, the kachinas emerge from these lakes before coming to the village. Zuni prayersticks are made from red willow because willow roots are connected to a common root stock, just as Zuni springs are connected to an underground water system (B. Tedlock 1971:4; Bunzel 1932:710). The willows thus symbolize the bringing of long life and rain to humans. Sacred water is placed on Tewa altars contained in a bowl with jagged edges, indicating a cloud-shaped design. During the Cochiti Green Corn or Tablita Dance (vol. 9:373, 376) dancers use gestures that invoke the rain-bringing kachinas, lightning, clouds, fog, and growing crops (Kurath 1959:545). For the Hopi, the navala, the life-giving spiritual essence is essentially liquid, manifested as rainfall. Finally, at death, initiated Hopi and Zuni themselves become kachinas or "cloud people," who bring rain to the living.

Pima-Papago: the Shaman, the Communal Feast, and the Pilgrimage

The Piman peoples, like the Pueblos, had a set of communal rituals celebrating the life cycle of corn and focused on fertility and rainmaking; while these ceremonies have fallen into disuse, shamanism and curing have been preserved, becoming the center of traditional religion. The villages along the Gila River constituted the Pima (called 'the River People' in Pima-Papago) but, by the time Russell (1908) visited them in 1902,



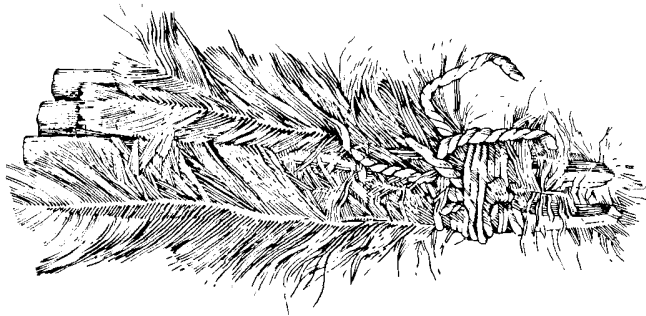
Fig. 14. Santa Clara Corn (tablita) dancers. Photograph by Richard Erdoes, summer 1975.

there were only fragments of an old ceremonial cycle in evidence. Russell was able to collect versions of the origin myth, examples of oratory, and material on shamanism; but it is Underhill's (1946) fieldwork in the 1930s with the Papago (called 'the Desert People') to the south that must be consulted for a fuller picture of what the communal rituals in these loosely organized villages must have been like. Bahr et al.'s (1974) subtle and extensive analysis of a Papago shaman's theory of illness gives a clearer picture of Papago curing, which remained viable on the Arizona reservations in the 1960s.

Supernatural power was acquired in several ways by Piman men and a few women; some individuals became powerful shamans (*má:kai*), while others remained laymen who could use their songs for curing. In the nineteenth century, shamans performed magic feats in relation to warfare, hunting, and rainmaking, while in the twentieth century they have become private diagnosticians and healers. Russell (1908:257-258) gives several examples of the hereditary passing of power from father to son, but the most frequent method of gaining power was visionary. Like the Yumans, power was ac-

quired through a dream vision while the recipient was asleep, rather than in a waking state as among some of the Plains cultures. In some dreams, the supernatural visitor, in animal form, takes the recipient on a journey to the mountains or to the sea (Underhill 1939:169); but often the dream is more "stationary," with the spirit instructing the dreamer. As one shaman expresses it, the animal "appears" (in visions) and "confronts" the person, teaching him songs and other knowledge (Bahr et al. 1974:308).

For the Papago, these dreams often came as a result of contact with powerful supernatural forces through slaying an enemy, killing an eagle, or taking a salt pilgrimage. (Among the Pima, only warfare was elaborated as a source of power.) All three activities took the individual outside the social world, placing him in contact with the supernatural and necessitating a purification ritual on return home (Underhill 1946:192-252). Afterward, an individual might be visited by an animal spirit who becomes his tutelary and source of power (see Underhill 1946:268). Songs acquired through these visions are often taught to other Papago men, who sing them during curing rituals (Bahr et al. 1974:242).



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Fig. 15. Pima medicine sticks (*ʔo'mina*), an important part of a shaman's equipment. Always bundled together, with string (as here) or cloth. This set of 4 is sharpened at one end and painted green. Originally each stick had feathers attached. The sticks would be distributed at feasts to ensure health with some being buried later, to keep fields moist (Lumholtz 1912:107). Length 16.0 cm, collected by Frank Russell in 1901-1902.

The Piman universe is not highly structured. The origin myth tells of the creation of the earth by Earthmaker, a subsequent flood from which the supernaturals escape, and the final prominence after emergence of *ʔIʔitoi* 'Elder Brother' who creates the Pimans and their neighbors, teaching them various arts and ceremonies (Underhill 1946:8-12; Russell 1908:206-230). In subsequent episodes, *ʔIʔitoi* is killed and revived many times, an example of the "dying god" theme also found in Yuman mythology. In fact, the origin myth combines elements prevalent in Yuman and California mythology with other themes (such as the flood and the emergence) that are found in Pueblo and Navajo origin stories (Underhill 1946:12-13). The number four is prominent in both myth and ritual and there is some use of color symbolism, but Piman cosmology is relatively "unshaped" in clear contrast to the elaborate Navajo and Pueblo use of number, color, and direction to orient ritual and replicate the universe in a ceremonial context.

Piman rituals of diagnosis and curing, on the surface, seem similar to Yuman practices, but the theory of illness recalls Navajo and Apache curing. Piman 'staying sickness' (*ká·cim múmkidag*), much like Navajo and Apache sickness, is caused by dangerous objects or parts of dangerous objects. These include animals (coyote, deer, bear, rabbit, dog), birds (hawk, eagle), some insects and rodents, and some natural phenomena (cloud, lightning). All have both "strength" and "way," which sicken people. When a patient misbehaves toward one of these dangerous objects, he is said to have trespassed on the "way" of that object. As a result, the "strength" of that class of objects will create symptoms of illness within the patient's body (Bahr et al. 1974:21). As in the Apache system, it is not a particular animal, bird, or object that causes sickness but an impersonal, abstract "power," or strength, of that kind of object.

In practice, various "strengths" from different objects may enter the patient's body and only at a later date cause the person to become ill. The task of the shaman is initially that of diagnosis: to "see" the various strengths and disambiguate them, since they may have penetrated the body in various ways and become layered within it. Two kinds of diagnosis are possible, a shorter ritual performed during the day (*kúlañmada*) and a longer ritual (*dóajida*) performed during an entire night. Both involve diagnosis by "blowing"; the shaman's own breath is augmented by blowing tobacco smoke over the patient's body and, in some cases, by fanning the body with an eagle feather or by using a divining crystal. All these actions "illuminate" the strengths within the patient's body and may lead to a cure if the "strength" does not show up again (Bahr et al. 1974:189). The songs the shaman sings make his tutelary spirits happy and draw them from their mountain haunts, so that they communicate the nature of the illness to the shaman (Bahr et al. 1974:182). After disambiguating the strengths, sucking is done in order to manipulate the strengths and extract them from the patient's body. See "Pima and Papago Medicine and Philosophy," this volume.

The Piman curing ceremony is performed by laymen rather than a shaman; it does not involve sucking, but blowing and singing are important ritual acts. In contrast to the shaman's diagnosis, the songs sung by the curer (which have been learned) persuade the spirit to stop causing the illness. Blowing, rather than illuminating the strengths, also persuades spirits and introduces "breath" into the patient's body to cure the illness. Fetishes are also pressed onto the body to introduce the curative strength of the fetish (Bahr et al. 1974:220-221). In other words, during a *dóajida*, the shaman brings a spirit (usually the tutelary from whom he learned the song) into the curing setting and pulls the strengths out of the body once they are "illuminated" and separated from each other. The symbolism is one of penetration and removal. The curing ritual, in contrast, is "prayerful." When the curer sings the songs the spirit likes to hear, the spirit responds automatically and brings its skill to bear on the illness, causing the strengths within the patient's body to cease or diminish (Bahr et al. 1974:230). The curer is concerned with asking for help on the patient's behalf rather than grappling with the sickness directly (Bahr et al. 1974:232). This ritual exhibits indirect and reciprocal relationships comparable to those between Navajo singers and the supernatural rather than the directness of shamanism of the Yuman type. In the Papago case, as well as the Navajo, power to cure has become more abstract; the songs are learned (though, for the Papago, they ultimately come from a vision experience) and the spirits are petitioned with the proper song. A sort of bargain or reciprocal relationship is struck.

In contrast to this individualized curing system, many of the Papago villages, even as late as the 1930s, held one or more of the communal ceremonies centered around the themes of fertility and rainmaking. Each traditional Papago village had a Rain House (*wá?aki*) or ceremonial shelter lived in by the Keeper of the Smoke, the most prominent village leader, and his family (Underhill 1946:233). This ceremonial house was large enough to hold all the older men of the village and was used for the brewing of liquor for the summer rainmaking ceremony. Each village had a fetish bundle wrapped in eagle down and kept in a basket in the hills away from the village. The village officials included a crier, war leader, hunt leader, and game leader. This set of hereditary offices was extremely flexible compared to the hierarchy and range of secret societies found among the Pueblos. Songs and speeches, which were an important part of each ceremony, were performed by ordinary men of the village ("Pima and Papago Social Organization," fig. 1, this vol.) rather than by initiates into secret societies or a hierarchy of priests.

Prominent among the rituals of the old ceremonial cycle in the Papago villages were the rainmaking ceremony, ceremonies to promote the growth of corn, and the *wí'gida* 'Prayerstick Festival' ("History of the Papago," fig. 3, "Kachinas and Masking," fig. 5, this vol.). The rainmaking ceremony, performed in July of each year, involved the fermenting and drinking of a liquor made from the fruit of the giant cactus. "The idea is that the saturation of the body with liquor typified and produces the saturation of the earth with rain" (Underhill 1946:41). Songs and speeches made during the two-day fermentation process and the final drinking ceremony establish the purpose of the ceremony as a petition for rain and allude to the association between drinking, white clouds, and rain. At the high point of the ceremony, the cactus liquor is offered to each of four men representing the four directions with the exhortation: "Drink, friends! Get beautifully drunk! Hither bring the wind and the cloud" (Underhill 1946:59).

In the period following the rainmaking ceremony, when the corn was planted and growing, some Papago villages held ceremonies to "sing up the corn." These may have involved replenishing a shrine or, more usually, included the singing of "scraping stick" songs, which describe the growing of corn and the coming of rain. The Prayerstick Festival was held every four years at the village of Achi, Arizona, and a similar ceremony was held at Quitovaca, Sonora, every August. This elaborately planned ceremony, "to keep the world in order," took 10 days of preparation in which men from each of the five participating villages composed songs and prepared prayersticks made from turkey down (symbolizing rain and renewal). The central event was a day-long pageant in which masked dancers from each

village paraded around the ceremonial plaza, each group carrying an effigy (usually a cloud or mountain) while singing the specially composed songs that referred to the image. Other important participants were corn dancers, corn sprinklers who blessed cornmeal on participants and spectators by throwing cornmeal, masked dancers representing the Sun and Moon, and ceremonial clowns (or *náwíjhu*) who had the power to cure and grant special favors. At the end of the ceremony, the prayersticks were distributed to villagers (at least to the older men) and were kept in storerooms or houses for good luck.

Without the complex ceremonial organization of the Pueblos, these Papago ceremonies utilized much of the same symbolism. Masked dancers were present at the Prayerstick Festival but, except for the clowns and the Sun and Moon figures, they did not represent particular supernaturals. There were village leaders and officials for particular ceremonies, but there was no hierarchical arrangement of these offices, which, in turn, replicated a supernatural hierarchy. However, the use of prayersticks, the importance of cloud and water symbolism ("History of the Papago," fig. 5, this vol.), the use of corn sprinkling as a blessing, and the association of feathers and water all recall symbols utilized in Pueblo ritual. Underhill (1946) refers to these ceremonies as communal food ceremonies, stressing their celebratory aspect more than the presence of supernatural forces. The Hopi Niman ceremony, the Zuni Shalako, and the Tewa water-pouring ceremony focus on the pilgrimage of the supernaturals into the human world. Papago religion stresses this theme, as well as its opposite: the pilgrimage of humans outward toward a supernatural source. The quest for power took men out of the Papago village (to kill an enemy, slay an eagle, or find salt) to confront power away from home. In addition, these journeys, especially the Papago salt pilgrimage, seem to fuse individual encounters with power (important in the shamanic side of Papago religion) and the community need for rain and good crops.‡ The salt pilgrimage incorporated the symbolism of individual power dreams with the symbolism of agricultural plenty as represented by planting prayersticks along the pilgrimage route, throwing cornmeal on the waves of the ocean, and casting prayersticks into the sea. On the one hand, the men who went on the salt pilgrimage had to undergo hardships and individual tests of strengths, such as running along the beach, advancing into the ocean (viewed by the Papago as the edge of the world and fraught with power and death); on the other hand, the speeches and songs sung on the journey mix the imagery of clouds, water, feathers, smoke, and rain. Again, the aspects of a shamanic world view combine

‡Salt pilgrimages are described for Zuni, Hopi, Cochiti, and Laguna, but they were not so elaborate as those of the Papago.

with the needs of an agricultural people but, in this case, in a looser, less hierarchical, and less ordered way.

Conclusions

Underhill viewed Southwestern ceremonialism in terms of two basic patterns—that of the shaman who acquires his power through a vision and that of the ceremonialist who participates in communal rites. Both patterns have a similar goal, the arrival or presence of the spirits or supernaturals (Underhill 1948:50). This chapter has elaborated on this contrast and has shown how ceremonial practices represent additional transformations or shifts in the same themes.

The acquisition of supernatural power varies from the dream-journey typified by the Yuman and Piman shamans at one end of a continuum to the learning of ceremonies by Navajo apprentices or members of Pueblo secret societies at the other. The journey becomes relegated to mythology (as in the Navajo case) or incorporated in a communal pageant, where masked impersonators re-enact the coming of the supernaturals, an event from the mythological past. The journey theme may take men away from the human world for a confrontation with supernatural power (as in the Yuman shaman's dream or in the Piman man's participation in the salt pilgrimage) or may bring the supernaturals into the human arena (as in the Apache *gáhé* dances, the Navajo sandpainting, or the Pueblo kachina performances).

Concomitant with these differences in the acquisition of power are differences in the nature of the cosmos. At one end of the continuum, the Yuman and Piman cosmoses are relatively unbounded and unstructured, while at the other end Pueblo cosmologies are very elaborate; they utilize number, direction, and color symbolism to classify animals, birds, and sacred places. Pueblo cosmologies are also bounded and imply not just a division between the human and supernatural world but a hierarchical arrangement within each world and the ultimate transformability of humans into supernaturals at death. The Apache and Navajo cosmologies, the Navajo more structured, are somewhere in between.

Where power is attained through a dream-journey and where cosmological beliefs are relatively unstructured, curing ritual stresses the penetration of the human world by the supernatural and the merging of that power with both the shaman's and the patient's bodies. Where there is a bounded and more structured cosmos and where supernatural power is obtained through learning, ritual contexts illustrate a reciprocal relationship ("bargaining" or "give and take") between humans and the supernatural. Among the Navajo and Pueblo cultures, great importance is attached to "proper performance of the ritual," that is, making proper pres-

tations in return for supernatural power and good will. At the same time, rituals replicate the cosmos, that is, they utilize the same color, sex, and directional symbolism found in the cosmological model. Piman diagnosis emphasizes penetration and merging, but Papago food rituals, though communal, did not have the quality of replication, since the Piman cosmos is so undefined and unstructured.

The symbolic objects used in ritual are constructed from natural substances: plants, animals, birds, earth, and water. The same natural substances may have a very different meaning depending on the ritual context. Table 2 presents several examples. Feathers (particularly bundles of eagle feathers) in Yuman, Apache, and Navajo curing are used to brush away or pull out the intrusive object that has made the patient sick. Here feathers are part of the symbolism of removal. In Piman diagnosis, eagle feathers help the shaman to "see" the intrusive "strengths" and hence are preparatory to removal. In Pueblo cultures, in contrast, feathers on prayersticks represent the clothing of the supernaturals; when deposited with the proper prayers, they become part of the symbolism of prestation and sacrifice. Papago prayersticks do not seem "sacrificial," and the feathers attached to them (eagle down) are associated with rain and water.

Tobacco smoke helps the Yuman and Piman shamans to see evil substances inside the patient that must be removed. The Navajo singer offers a smoke to the supernaturals as part of a series of prestations. Among Pueblo groups and in Papago communal ceremonies, smoking is equated with moisture and rain, that is, with the symbolism of fertility.

Finally, the use of pollen or meal varies from group to group. Among the Yumans, pollen is not used. Among the Apache, natural pollens are used to sanctify the patient. The more agricultural Southern Athapascans use corn pollen for the same purpose, while in Pueblo and Papago communal rituals, it is cornmeal that has sacred qualities. For the Pueblos, it represents food and sustenance for the supernaturals; among the Papago, meal in the past seemed both to sanctify and to bless. It was used to make a "road" for the dancers in the Prayerstick Festival, to summon individuals to participate in ceremonies or cures, and perhaps to protect individuals from supernatural power (as when thrown on the sea by salt pilgrims).

In addition to these variations or transformations, it is important to emphasize, as Underhill (1948) has done, the unifying aspects of Southwestern ceremonialism. In all groups compared, there are suggestive indications of a shamanistic world view that has been defined by Furst (1973–1974) to include a layered cosmos, the mythological equivalence of humans, animals, and supernaturals, and the balance of supernatural and natural forces through the specialist's access to power.

Table 2. Comparisons of Cosmology and Ritual Among Southwest Cultures

	<i>Yumans</i>	<i>Pima-Papago</i>	<i>Apache</i>	<i>Navajo</i>	<i>Pueblo</i>
Power acquisition	Dream journey	Dream journey Pilgrimage to power source	Dream journey Apprenticeship	Apprenticeship	Membership in religious society
Cosmology	Less bounded Less structured	Less bounded Less structured	Moderately bounded Moderately structured	More bounded More structured	More bounded More structured
Cosmos as related to ritual	Merging: Supernatural powers penetrate in direct manner	Merging (diagnosis/curing ritual) Limited replication (communal ritual)	Replication of cosmos through symbolic objects and actions	Replication of cosmos through symbolic objects and actions	Replication of cosmos through symbolic objects and actions
Ritual: focal themes	Curing by removing danger/evil	Curing by removing danger/evil Fertility Rainmaking	Health Longevity	Health Longevity	Longevity Fertility Rainmaking
Ritual: symbolic objects					
<i>Feathers</i>	Removing danger/evil	Removing danger/evil	Removing danger/evil	Removing danger/evil	Supernaturals' clothing
<i>Prayersticks</i>	not used	Making sacred	not used	Prestation	Sacrifice
<i>Tobacco Smoke</i>	Seeing danger/evil	Seeing danger/evil Rainmaking	Prestation	Prestation	Rainmaking
<i>Pollen, Cornmeal</i>	not used	Blessing Making sacred	Blessing Identification	Blessing Identification	Making sacred Supernaturals' sacred food
Ritual: symbolic actions					
<i>To Attract Supernatural</i>	Singing, use of rattle and fetishes	Singing, use of rattle and fetishes (diagnosis/curing ritual) Singing, speech-making, making prayersticks (communal ritual)	Singing Offering prestations	Singing Recitating prayers Making sandpaintings of supernaturals Offering prayersticks and other symbolic prestations	Singing Reciting prayers Planting prayersticks Making altars with fetishes and sandpaintings of supernaturals
<i>To Remove Danger/Evil</i>	Sucking Blowing Spitting Sending spirit into body	Sucking	Sucking	Sucking Pulling motions Sweating and taking of emetic	Sucking Spitting Recapturing heart stolen through witchcraft
<i>To Sanctify and Mark Presence of Supernatural</i>	Actions indicating spirit possession of shaman	Pageant of masked dancers (communal ritual) Pilgrimage to power source	Actions that identify patient or pubescent with supernatural Crown dancers	Actions that identify patient or pubescent with supernatural Yeibichai dancers	Arrival of masked kachina dancers

More important, Southwestern religion, like that of other Native American cultures, is closely tied to the natural environment. Native cosmologies are rooted in conceptions of time and space that lay out the local terrain in a particular way, imbuing it with supernatural meaning. Natural objects—animal parts, plants, feathers, pollen, ground rock, small stones—are made into

ritual objects and are used to attract positive supernatural power, remove dangerous power, and represent sacred presence. Ceremonial specialists using these objects and actions communicate with the supernatural in order to insure that natural and cultivated plant and animal life continue to be abundant and that individual and communal health and prosperity are maintained.