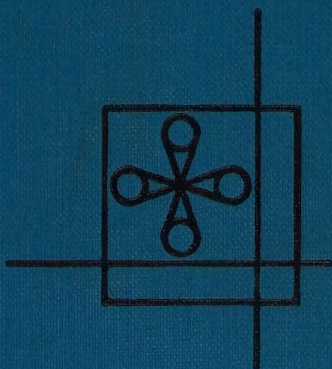


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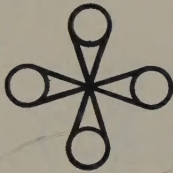
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By means of an exhaustive study of the symbols to be found within Navaho legend and ritual, Gladys Reichard has arrived at a scholarly and comprehensible interpretation of the complex religion of that tribe.

As a result of her residence among them, she has acquired a unique familiarity with the Navaho language, semantics and point of view. Her participation in their ceremonials has also given her first-hand knowledge of the exorcistic as well as sanctifying character of their symbols.

This book, therefore, discusses with rare authority the Navaho attitude toward his place in the universe, his obligation to his fellow men and to his gods, and his conception of the supernatural. And, perhaps even more significantly, it reveals how, through symbolic ceremonial practice, the Navaho achieves a harmony with his world, his deity and the universe.

BOLLINGEN SERIES XVIII

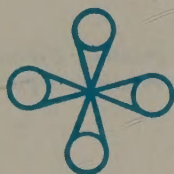


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GLADYS A. REICHARD

NAVAHO RELIGION

A STUDY OF SYMBOLISM

VOLUME I



BOLLINGEN SERIES XVIII

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TO
ROMAN HUBBELL
FOR INCALCULABLE AID AND ENCOURAGEMENT

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PREFACE

The materials on which *Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism* is based are varied. With the aid of grants from the Southwest Society and the Council for Research in the Social Sciences, of Columbia University, here gratefully acknowledged, I spent, since 1930, eight summers and parts of two winters on the Navaho reservation, learning the language and participating in the daily and the ceremonial life. I planned the field project as a result of studying and retranslating Gray Eyes' dictation of the Male Shooting Chant Holy, recorded in text by Father Berard Haile in 1924 and given me by the Southwest Society in 1928. Red Point's family settlement at White Sands, six miles south of Ganado, Arizona, was my headquarters. There I witnessed performances of the Male Shooting Chant Holy given by Red Point, two of which were sung over me. After Red Point's death, in 1936, Jim Smith became my instructor, especially for the Male Shooting Chant Evil; together we made phonographic records of the prayers and songs.

Red Mustache of Kinlichee instructed me in the Big Star and Endurance chants, and dictated the myths. Others from whose knowledge I benefited were Black Mustache, Red Point's close friend, of Klagito; Boy Chanter of Salaine, two chanters from the neighborhood of Rough Rock, a Shooting Chanter from Keam's Canyon, Yellow Lefty from the vicinity of Tuba City, and another chanter whose name I did not learn. All these singers of the Male Shooting Chant Holy had acquired their knowledge directly or indirectly

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from Gray Eyes, having been themselves his pupils or having learned from one of his students.

In 1937, tłǎ'h,* of Newcomb, New Mexico, dictated to me *The Story of the Navajo Hail Chant*, and took me to chant and other rite performances in the vicinity of his home. The late Hastin Gani, father-in-law of Jim Smith, both of Beautiful Valley, knew many chants; he specialized in the Beauty Chant. I visited his family and saw him often, and got much information and many explanations from him. To the expert performances of the Feather and Wind chants, sung by Feather Chanter of White Cone and the late Wind Singer of Ganado, I owe perspective; to Rain Singer of Ganado, careful details of divination and the Rain Ceremony.

When Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons edited Stephen's *Hopi Journal* she found his Navaho notes, which were particularly valuable since they had been taken so early as 1883-85. In 1924, Red Point painted in watercolors forty-eight sandpaintings of the Shooting chants and dictated their explanations for the late John Frederick Huckel. A selection from the Huckel Collection, which is now at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, was published in my *Navajo Medicine Man* (1939). From this collection, which contains sixty-three other paintings, and from the manuscript which accompanies them, I learned much, since they contain details not elsewhere available.

Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant resulted from collaboration with Franc J. Newcomb, who collected the eighty sandpaintings of the Bush Collection, at Columbia University.

I am as greatly indebted to the uncopyrighted works listed

*For a note on Navaho language, see page xix.

PREFACE

in the bibliography as to those for which permission to quote has been granted—by Harvard University, The Linguistic Society of America, the University of Chicago, and Miss Mary C. Wheelwright.

In addition to the persons and institutions mentioned above, many friends, white and Indian, have contributed vastly to my comfort and pleasure, as well as to my work. Of many excellent interpreters, Adolph Bitanny was primarily responsible for the illumination shed upon the intricacies of the Navaho language.

I am especially grateful to Barnard College and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve for extra time during which to pursue the work; to Dr. L. C. Wyman and Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn for discussions of incalculable value; to Dr. Roman Jakobson, Dr. Claude Lévi-Strauss, and the late Dr. Clark Wissler for suggestions in preparing the manuscript; and to Dr. H. S. Colton, of the Museum of Northern Arizona, and his entire staff for putting all their facilities at my disposal.

Others who have helped me in innumerable ways are Mrs. Roman Hubbell, Mrs. Barbara Goodman, Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Ambrose, Mr. and Mrs. Horace Boardman, Mr. and Mrs. John Simm, and Mr. and Mrs. Fred Wilson. In assuring all of my deep gratitude and appreciation, I take sole responsibility for the conclusions reached and for errors of fact or interpretation which may have crept into the work.

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*Barnard College,
Columbia University.*

NOTE ON THE NAVAHO LANGUAGE

Since the Navaho language is very different from English, and particularly since the religion has a highly specialized idiom, I sometimes use Navaho words, chiefly when I can find no satisfactory English equivalent. They appear in a phonetic typography, which has no capital letters, even for proper names (such as *co* and *be'ȳotcidí*) and words that begin a sentence.

In this as in all my earlier publications, I have consistently held to the same phonetic system. I have accepted the Sapir-Hoijer descriptions of the sounds (see Bibliography) according to the system Sapir and Hoijer were using when I started my work in 1930 (they have since changed the characters). A brief explanation of those I use follows:

The vowels—*a*, *e*, *i*, and *o* (there is no *u*)—are pure, with continental European values; they are very short. There are several vowel modifications, all as important as the vowels themselves: *-̇* (superior dot after the vowel) indicates lengthening of the vowel; *-̣* (cedilla under the vowel) indicates nasalization of the vowel, as, for example, in French 'enfant' (in Navaho phonetics, *ạfạ*). Pitch is grammatically important in Navaho. If the vowel or syllabic *n* has no diacritical mark for pitch, it is neutral in tone; if it has an acute accent (*ˊ*), it is high; an inverted circumflex (*ˋ*) indicates a rising tone; a circumflex (*ˆ*) indicates a falling tone.

The following consonants have approximately the same values as in English: *h*, *k*, *kw*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*, *t*, *ts*, *w*, *y*, *z*.

NOTE ON THE NAVAHO LANGUAGE

The symbols b, d, and g differ from English in being unaspirated; English speakers often hear them as p, t, or k.

j is a voiced spirant, like j in French 'je.' c is the voiceless form of j, pronounced as sh in English 'show.' dj is the corresponding voiced affricative, pronounced as j in 'judge.' tc is the voiceless affricative pronounced as ch in 'church.'

As I have said, ɶ and ɷ have the same phonetic values as in English: that is, z is voiced, as in 'zone'; ɶ is voiceless, as in 'so.' dz is the voiced affricative, as in 'adze'; ts is its voiceless counterpart, as in 'bits.' In Navaho, dz and ts may occur initially or intervocalically.

There are five sounds in the l-series: l is the voiced lateral as in 'law'; ɭ is the voiceless lateral approximately as in English 'play.' The voiced affricative dl, its voiceless counterpart tɭ, and the glottalized affricative tɭ̥ do not occur in English. Examples in Navaho are dloh, 'laughter'; tlah, 'salve'; and tloh, 'hay, grass.'

The sound represented by the Greek gamma (γ) is a velar voiced spirant, approximating r in German 'Garten' (as pronounced in Berlin). γw is its labialized form, which before a, e, and i, particularly when intervocalic, may be heard as w. x is the voiceless spirant, approximating ch in German 'ich'; xw is its labialized form, as in Navaho xwi'h, 'satisfaction.'

ʔ is the glottal stop, as in Navaho 'e'e'a'h, 'west.' It is similar to the sound heard for the 'tt' in the New York City dialect pronunciation of 'bottle.'

ṁ, ṅ, ṭ, ḷ, ts̥, tɕ̥, tɕ̥̥, and ʔ are glottalized forms of the sounds described above—none occurs in English or the best known European languages.

(For a comment on the spellings 'Navaho' and 'Navajo,' see page 747.)

INTRODUCTION

The Navaho, largest and most colorful Indian tribe in the United States, is superficially the best known. Its members wear costumes derived from old Spain and the cowboy tradition, and they travel on horseback or in covered wagons more frequently than in pickups, trucks, or sedans. They crowd to the 'squaw dance,' where, within a mile of highway or railroad, their eerie singing and strange rites carry the ordinary white person miles from reality and back uncounted years into what he considers the prehistoric past. Occasionally he can watch a sandpainting being made and used for its original purpose; more often he sees reproductions which have for him an exotic appeal.

Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism tries to demonstrate that there is much more to the dance, song, and sandpainting than the primitiveness that meets the casual eye; that there is a religious system which has for years enabled the Navaho to retain their identity in a rapidly changing world. Its aim is to show how and why these people are preoccupied with ritual, and further, how the principles of their system differ so radically from our own as to be almost incomprehensible to whites, even after considerable study.

The 'squaw dance' is only one of many ceremonies performed to protect Navaho society, its means of subsistence and acquisition, its medicine, and above all, its peace of mind. Song, dance, and sandpainting are each only one of numerous parts necessary to the ceremony, which is actually a complicated charm. To it Dr. Washington Matthews gave

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the name 'chant,' since long and elaborate prayers chanted or intoned are still another ritualistic requirement. Other recorders, especially in the last fifteen years, have called the ceremonies 'ways,' translating literally a Navaho position. For instance, Night Chant has become Night Way or Nightway; Mountain Chant, Mountainway or Mountain Top Way; the War Ceremony¹ has become Enemy Way. In my opinion, the change has added to the terminology but little to the understanding of Navaho ceremonialism, and I am content to use the old term 'chant.' Since no English word is adequate to describe the religious complex, explanation and interpretation must be substituted.

A Navaho ceremony, whatever it may be called, is a combination of many elements—ritualistic items such as the medicine bundle with its sacred contents; prayersticks, made of carefully selected wood and feathers, precious stones, tobacco, water collected from sacred places, a tiny piece of cotton string; song, with its lyrical and musical complexities; sandpaintings, with intricate color, directional, and impressionistic symbols; prayer, with stress on order and rhythmic unity; plants, with supernatural qualities defined and personified; body and figure painting; sweating and emetic, with purificatory functions; vigil, with emphasis on concentration and summary. But it is the selection of these and other elements and their orderly combination into a unit that makes the chant or ceremony effective. Few of these details were unknown when I started my work, but the reasons for their selection and their meaning as a whole had been only vaguely realized. This analysis has shown that the interpretation is based on an interlocking system of associations.

A ceremony may last from one to nine nights—the Navaho count by nights—and the intervening days. The first night

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of a typical nine-night ceremony consists of an hour or two of singing, which accompanies a simple ritualistic performance. The early morning hours of the first four days are taken up with sweat-emetic rites, composed of numerous and intricate ritualistic acts whose purpose is to drive out evil and purify the patient and all other participants. Several hours of the early afternoon of each day are devoted to the preparation of prayersticks, over which a responsive prayer is intoned by chanter and patient. The prayersticks are then placed at designated points—under a rock, near an arroyo, under a tree at the south, in a branch of a pine tree at the west—where the gods must see them. The prayersticks carry a compulsive invitation to the deities to attend the ceremony. If the sticks are made properly and deposited according to deific decree, and if the prayer is repeated without a mistake, the gods cannot refuse to come. The two main emphases of the first four days are on exorcising possible evil and on invoking the deities.

At pre-dawn of the fifth day the contents of the chanter's bundle—all items sacred to the chant, though odd and non-descript to the white man—are laid out on a mound which forms an altar a few yards from the door of the dwelling in which the ceremony is held. As each piece of ritualistic property is placed, the chanter utters the appropriate sentence of a prayer and the patient, as a symbol, takes hold of the property. The altar is there to announce the preparation of a sandpainting inside the house, to inform the gods that they are expected, to warn persons not concerned that they should stay away. One painting is made on each day of the second group of four days. A simple painting may be finished by one or two painters in half an hour; an elaborate one may require from three to forty assistants working eight or ten hours. When the painting is finished,

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the patient sits on it, while the chanter applies sand from the various figures of the painting to specified parts of the patient's body, and performs other ritualistic acts. All this is to identify the patient with the deities represented in the painting. The rite lasts about half an hour on each of the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, and from an hour to two and a half hours on the eighth, the last, day. A part of the sand-painting ritual of the eighth day is the body or figure painting, which serves to identify the patient with the deific helpers. Early on this day a final rite, combining exorcism and the attraction of good powers, is the bath. The patient, with the aid of relatives, shampoos his hair and washes his body in suds made from yucca (soapweed) root and dries himself with coarse, ceremonially ground corn meal.

On each intervening night, that is, on nights two to eight, the singing resembles that of the first night, becoming longer as the ceremony progresses. Just as the sandpainting of each day is representative of a group made up of numerous paintings—Thunders, Snakes, Holy People, Arrow People, and the like—so on each night certain groups of songs are chosen from a vast number known to the chanter. He designates and starts the song; the chorus of laymen assisting him carries it on. If they do not know it, the chanter sings until they learn it or until it is finished. Generally each rite becomes longer and more elaborate as the chant proceeds.

The eighth day is called 'The Day.' It is often a very busy one what with the bath, sandpainting, body or figure painting, and preparation for the ninth night. On this, 'The Night,' the singing lasts from late evening until dawn, the purpose being to summarize all the purification, invocation, attraction of power, and identification of the entire ceremony. Song-groups representative of all the rites are included. The night becomes a vigil, theoretically for all present in the

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ceremonial dwelling, practically for those most concerned. To show he is in sympathy with the entire effort put forth in the chant, the patient concentrates on all the songs and the few ritualistic acts. Since power is to the Navaho like a wave in a pool, always effective though becoming weaker the farther it radiates from chanter and patient, each person in attendance derives benefit from what is done in proportion to his proximity to the ritual.

The Navaho has always been recognized as an individualist. Since his inherited membership in a clan and a clan group imposes upon him rigid restrictions, as well as obligations to a great many people, and his acquiescence in his religious system requires the strictest sort of discipline, one may well inquire wherein his individualism lies. To answer, one must understand the ramifications of the socio-religious system.

Doubtless the most important factor is that he does not feel bound. He retains his individualistic attitude because of the system rather than in spite of it. Since his membership in a clan and clan-group and an additional relationship to his father's clan and clan-group make it possible for him to consider a great many persons obligated to him, he emphasizes his privileges rather than his duties, which, in the opinion of an outsider, may be quite onerous. The elaborate ceremonies are possible only if assets are accumulated—sheep, horses, cash, labor, transport, and, above all, willingness to provide. If Tall Navaho decides to have a Mountain Chant sung, he calls upon Shorty to donate a sheep and invites him to attend the performance. Shorty considers the request an honor, for has he not upon several occasions borrowed small sums from Tall Navaho which he has not yet returned? But if in the course of the winter, eight other ambitious relatives, some of whom Shorty hardly knows,

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request contributions, he may become a bit chagrined at the drain on his resources; though he may grumble, he does not assert his individuality and refuse, nor does he feel that his individualism has been violated. If he cannot give a sheep, he can at least promise to help with the singing, and his wife will aid with the cooking and even contribute some flour and baking powder.

When Tall Navaho's wife enters the hogan or ceremonial enclosure, unmindful of ritualistic requirements other than knowing that women sit at the north side of the hogan, she may stalk casually to the right of the fire, since that is the shortest way to the place she is bound for. The chanter or someone else will say, "Go around the fire," meaning 'move in a clockwise direction.' She reverses, goes the roundabout way, and takes her place. She does not interpret the request as depriving her of her individuality any more than Shorty does if the chanter tells him to wind a string around a withe in a clockwise direction when he has unthinkingly started to wind it counterclockwise. The homogeneity of belief interprets dogma as protecting individualism rather than impinging upon it.

From approximately eight thousand in 1868 the Navaho population has grown to more than fifty thousand. This small tribe, adapted to a pastoral life, occupies more than 25,000 square miles of land, most of which is accessible only with difficulty. Consequently, the residence groups of two, three, or at the most twelve houses and from three to fifty inhabitants are, properly speaking, mere settlements; they rarely attain, even in irrigated districts, the character of villages. Of necessity, therefore, Tall Navaho, Shorty, and their sisters have had to learn to act independently from earliest childhood. In fact, there are many times when inability to do so may be fatal, either to the person or to his

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herd—the right-minded Navaho puts the flock ahead of himself since it represents the bulk of the family's resources. Theoretically, a Navaho female, child or adult, should never be left entirely alone. Actually every individual spends many hours alone.

I consider solitude the basic reason for Navaho development of and insistence upon self-reliance. The right to come to one's own conclusion is respected, though the decision itself may be 'talked down' in a family or local council. The individual is persuaded; he is not high-pressured into a judgment contrary to his own.

It is no wonder then that loneliness has become a mythical and religious symbol, that from loneliness stem some of the greatest powers the Navaho conceive. The co-operation that extends from the individual, on the one hand to family and all residential relationships, and on the other to clan members, father's clan relatives, clan-group members, and finally, to strangers, seems to be due to the fight against loneliness. I believe that the Navaho derived his clan organization from observations of some tribe or tribes he met in the past, rather than that he himself originated it. However encountered, the clan organization was adopted, emphasizing help as a primary ideal which gives the lonely individual security in his broad and often unfriendly terrain. I am an alien, but Navaho social theory included me as a responsibility, and the persons practicing it unconsciously were able to give me the feeling of security they themselves had achieved. This, in brief, is an explanation of the privilege a Navaho individual values in his personal subordination to his group, and an explanation of his extreme pleasure in any group activity, be it harvesting, building a dam, or attending a council meeting, rodeo, ceremony, or Christmas party.

There is another limitation to which the Navaho submits—

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the finality of an older person's decision. The judgment of a grandparent has priority over that of a parent, that of an older sibling over that of a younger, even if it be that of a twin only twenty minutes older. The principle, though verbally unformulated, is thoroughly binding in practice. Once during a grave crisis in the relations of members of the family of Red Point (hereafter abbreviated RP), my judgment, reluctantly given, was accepted as final. Surprised as I was at the whole affair, I was even more astonished to learn that my decision was so important because I was the senior of the group at the time. "We have no older relative to consult," the quarreling man and woman explained after requesting and acting upon my advice. They considered this lack such a calamity that the family soon after made a liaison with another large family living four miles away, although the clan and other ascertainable relationships were very tenuous. RP's children gained an 'older sister' in the person of the sixty-year-old mother of the second family, and the arrangement has since been quite satisfactory.

A good Navaho is, therefore, an individual who can and may make his own decisions, but he is most stable if he has social corroboration. To this end he must develop fortitude, particularly to endure the often exorbitant demands of his physical environment, a major requirement of the economic life and the religious dogma. Ideally, the 'good' individual should be industrious, dependable, tractable, skillful, good-humored. He should be able to live with others without friction, for social relations are a part of the universal scheme which demands harmony for right living. If he has certain of these qualities he may be expected to obtain wealth, which will help to make him respected. If, however, his skill and management make him wealthy too quickly, particularly if he gains property through stinginess or refuses

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to help his kin, he may be accused of chicanery, or worse, of practicing sorcery, especially if one of his skills is chanting.

These qualities are the ideal; but, oddly enough, the prototype in several biographical descriptions of successful medicine men is a youth who has, of all the good qualities, primarily intelligence but who, until he starts his professional training, is the Navaho idea of a wastrel. He assumes no responsibility. He resists the admonition to marry and settle down. He may work, but he is sometimes lazy, at best unsteady. He is a rover, traveling widely, becoming a professional visitor, usually at a home where there is a desirable girl or a bevy of attractive women. Just as soon as marriage, which involves a tie, is hinted at, he mounts his horse and moves on. He does not invest such property as he may gain, but spends it in dissipation, particularly gambling, although he may gain by the same means. An old man, reformed, boasts of youthful philanderings and tolerates those of his grandson or nephew, but does not condone their irresponsibility for the results of their dalliance.

To even the most thoughtless youth the chants and ceremonies have a great appeal, and crowds of young men are a common sight at any religious gathering. There are various reasons for their attendance: at a ceremony, companionship and feasting are to be enjoyed; there may even be racing and other sports; the young men may spontaneously start a rodeo. Going to the 'sings,' as they are often called, makes a good excuse for roaming. There is still more to it, however. Often a chanter needs something that requires sustained effort; he must have an herb that grows fifty miles away. It is not unusual for an apparently undisciplined young man to volunteer to go for it on horseback and to bring it back on time. Many delight to act as chanter's assistant. They gather wood ritualistically for the sacred

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fire, sort out tiny bits of jewels for the prayerstick offerings, patiently bunch twigs of blue spruce and Douglas fir to be tied with careful knots to ceremonial articles. Most young men enjoy making sandpaintings.

In the ceremonial hogan there is good, informative talk; ritual preparation and its accomplishment give pleasure. No phase of Navaho religion is doleful. Reverence means keeping things in order, not pulling a long face. Few rites demand silence. When it occurs, as during a prayer, it is to allow concentration rather than to emphasize decorum. In addition, singing seems to have tremendous appeal for the Navaho youth. If a young man is not able to attend the sandpainting rites or to take part in any of the eight-day activities, he will, nevertheless, exert himself to be present at the Vigil, which, according to white standards, is devoid of action, monotonous, in fact often boring. I have never met a Navaho who thought so. I have attended many a night's singing, staying from beginning to end. Often the women give evidence of weariness, some sleep for short intervals, but many men seem to get more and more interested as the night advances. They sing more vigorously as new groups of songs are introduced, much as if they are progressively stimulated by their own efforts. Since the songs carry symbolically the plot of what the Navaho believes to be the original adventures of the chant hero, it is likely that the singers follow the development as carefully as we follow a good drama. They know what is going to happen, anticipate the familiar, and take pleasure in identifying themselves with it. Finally, with the dawn and the end of the series, comes a feeling of elation at the accomplishment of a long, detailed, but joyous task. It seems to me important that the most profane youth, though he may assert that young people do not believe these things any more, derives great comfort from the whole experience. Even

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the most sophisticated Navaho is occasionally sung over, but he may have the sing at an isolated spot so as to escape criticism and the accusation of being 'superstitious.'

All this inescapable tradition accounts for the development of the Navaho chanter, who is no ordinary individual. He differs from the youth untrained in ceremonial lore and the youth who has not settled down, in that he has knowledge and, in acquiring it, has accepted responsibility for the welfare of his fellowmen. Not only is he charged, through correct performance of a ceremony, with the well-being of the patient he sings over, but he must risk the danger that his knowledge, weakened by error, may harm him. Nevertheless, the intelligent youth, grown older, though he may have been a waster, may be persuaded to take up the chanting profession. To do so, one must have wealth, for a novice must pay his teacher for all he learns. Of course, he gets paid for singing after his training is complete. When he becomes an independent singer he gives a fee to his instructor after each performance—a sort of voluntary royalty. Sometimes an older chanter accepts from a younger relative a mere token payment, kinship being a substitute for property. On the other hand, wealthy old men who are not learned may furnish the means for a young man to take the proper chant training. As in most societies, old men are more likely to have wealth than young ones.

A chant may be learned in several ways. Once a novice has decided upon the profession, he or his intermediary makes an agreement with an older man who is an expert, and pays a fee, the amount being unstipulated and voluntary. If the novice has time, he may go to live with the chanter for some months, even a year, studying intensively. Concentrating on the songs, prayers, and ritualistic acts, he will assist whenever his teacher chants; the chanter will explain details

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and their reasons to his pupil. When judged competent, the novice is sung over to initiate him, fix his knowledge, and protect him from the danger of possessing chant power. From this time on he is considered a singer and may be requested to sing. RP spent months at Gray Eyes' home learning the Shooting Chant; tłá'h left home to devote years to the various types of the Night Chant, meanwhile giving up all other activities.

Some men cannot arrange to specialize in this way. They take up their training piecemeal, making it a point to attend every performance the teacher gives, asking questions and getting help from him more informally whenever possible. Such men earn their way as they go, saving to pay for a ceremony to bless a set of equipment now and then. There is no time limit on learning; chanting is a lifetime interest. Jim Smith (JS) had sung the Male Shooting Chant Evil and the Male Shooting Chant Holy for a long time before he acquired the wide boards and bundle prayersticks at the ceremony described in Concordance C of this work. He had to borrow these important items before he got his own. He is a popular chanter, regards his knowledge with assurance, and doggedly persists in filling in the gaps. He knows the Night Chant but has never been able to have the masks dedicated for himself and has never sung it.

I do not mean to indicate that all chanters are male. Most are—all my instructors were—but there are respected women chanters. Although all the Shooting Chant² singers I encountered trace their knowledge to Gray Eyes, many considered his sister a final arbiter in disputes.³ A woman was famed for singing the Night Chant, considered by the Navaho as the highest achievement, and several sing the Female Shooting Chant and have taught it to other women. Unfortunately, I have never known a woman chanter. There

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were some mild complaints about my not being a Navaho and about my using pencil and paper; but I never heard any objection on the ground that I am a woman to my presence at a ceremony or my ambition to learn. A wife is more likely to help her husband acquire knowledge than to set herself up as a chanter.

Usually men who take up chanting are approaching middle age and those who have arrived are elderly or old. However, one of my instructors was called Boy Chanter because he had learned the Shooting Chant well enough to sing it by the time he was twenty-six.

Although Navaho singers act independently and are not organized into a priesthood, those who sing the same chant often discuss differences. Their deliberations serve as a check on the individual who may inadvertently make a mistake, and may also bring out distinctions in teaching. Often a discussion shows that one instructor advocated details or an arrangement of one kind, whereas another emphasized something different. Most of the discussions seem trivial to whites, but to the chanters they are of paramount importance, and they attest to the Navaho insistence on individual opinion.

From my sample of more than a dozen chanters, none may be chosen as representative or typical; each differs in important respects from the others. RP was energetic, active, dominating. tǎ́h was energetic, ambitious, self-confident, gentle but firm; he sought no personal glory. Hastin Gani (HG) was patient, somewhat phlegmatic and easy-going, and not in the least aggressive; he practiced numerous ceremonies—his specialty was the Female Beauty Chant. Red Mustache (RM), like RP, was for many years undisciplined. After much persuasion his maternal uncle prevailed upon him to marry and learn to sing. As an old man he emphasized his reform and his subsequent contentment with the course

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he had chosen, adding with pride that for some thirty years he had been faithful to his wife. JS differs from them all in having always been a solid, dependable, obliging, unerring, but unimaginative citizen. He is purposeful and steady, rarely gets excited even when all others about him lose their heads.

Yet all the chanters I know have much in common. All are friendly and gracious if properly approached. All value the power inherent in knowledge. Possession of esoteric information commands respect and predisposes chanters to communicate more. In this they follow tradition. An old man of the Mountain Chant myth admonishes his discouraged sons, unsuccessful in the hunt: "You kill nothing because you know nothing. If you had knowledge you would succeed." ⁴ All chanters share the same assumptions: the conviction that dogma is final and everlasting, a common belief in the universal order, assurance that man has or may obtain power to fit into the world securely and smoothly, and faith in their own power to correct error when it becomes necessary to reduce the friction generated by ignorance in the universal machine. These ideals hold them together, but the chanters reserve the right to be themselves, to criticize and even, after discussion, to continue to differ. In many respects chanters differ from lay Navaho chiefly in the high specialization attained by rigorous training and in their more marked idealism.

When asked about the satisfactions of a chanting life my acquaintances, all except tǎ'h, mentioned first economic security. They could hardly be expected to formulate certain other rewards that are apparent to an outsider who has observed them in action over a period of years: Ritualistic power increases their influence in the community. Less tangible, and impossible to separate from other aspects, is

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the singer's aesthetic reward from his profession. The conviction of having done the right thing, of having been put back into order after straying, is the great satisfaction the Navaho derives from religious practice. The difference between the greater and the lesser chanter is the degree to which the sacredness of the charm that is his chant pervades his life. The most ordinary Navaho may have no interest in causes or meanings, but trusts in punctilious ritualistic performance; the chanter is recompensed even more by his erudition since he knows the reason for each detail.

The body of Navaho mythology is to Navaho chanters what the Bible is to our theologians. The singer discussing his belief, as well as the layman asked a direct question, resorts for his answer to myth, which he considers final. It is therefore almost impossible to separate mythology or mythical concept completely from reality or practice. Because nearly every Navaho has some faith in his ceremonies, whether he knows the significance or not, and because he cites myth for his reasons, I consider the myth material a major contribution to the analysis and interpretation of the religion. Though in some of its concepts it may seem childlike, it is never childish, and its very childlikeness is sometimes merely evidence of a deep realization of spiritual things. Consequently, Navaho chant mythology should no more be relegated solely to the realm of children than our Bible.

The mythology has two aspects, the secular and the sacred. In certain ways, especially in the plots, both aspects have material common to many American Indian tribes. Among the secular myths, some of the Navaho coyote tales, for example, can hardly be distinguished from those of a number of other tribes; and when they can be, it is because the narrative style is characteristically Navaho. The sacred

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myths, which account for particular ceremonies, are distinctive in the way the plot assists the development of ceremonial detail, and in the intentional though implicit explanations of the parts and the whole. As in the determination of the chant, so in the myth, differentiation depends upon selection.

P A R T O N E

D O G M A

CHAPTER 1

NAVAHO CATEGORIES

NAVAHO DOGMA is based upon a cosmogony that tries to account for everything in the universe by relating it to man and his activities. It assumes that even before man existed, the purpose for his appearance on the earth and his use of all nature's apparatus was formulated—by whom, no one knows. To the Navaho religion means ritual. Each ceremony has its own myth, a long account of deific decrees, from which it derives its authority. In it human activities are so co-ordinated with supernatural adventures and ritualistic explanations that the myth plot aids the chanter's memory. After the scene has been set and the plot developed, most legends become purely descriptive of the sacred properties and the accompanying ritual. The implied explanations must be elucidated by the chanter.

Mythological decree is just as real—that is, 'circumstantial'—to a Navaho as his dinner. Morgan, in his study of dreams about human wolves, bases some of his most important conclusions on a differentiation between circumstantial and imaginary or mythological evidence.¹ My experience convinces me that evidence cannot be separated in this way. When any subject is discussed, whether a Navaho is ostensibly indifferent to religion or a fervent believer, at some point his only recourse is to tradition, especially when cause or purpose is involved.

The song, the myth, the material properties, the ritualistic acts, the rites that make up the ceremonies are held together

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by an elaborate system of symbolism, a sum total of numerous associations. Various phases of nature, life, and human activity have a place in this system. Before the symbolism, which is in a sense exotic, can be understood, some of the basic Navaho beliefs must be examined.

One reason for the confusion is that the white man has gone about interpreting Navaho religion as if it were the same as his. Details that define Navaho beliefs, though perpetually surprising in their originality, are not confusing once the principles are grasped. The chant may sound like a jumble of diverse elements; places are introduced, gods characterized, ideals formulated by verbal, musical, and material symbols. Properties demand a wide knowledge of plants, animals, minerals. Tangible and intangible elements are interwoven in the sand- and figure-painting, dance and pantomime, accompanied by songs, drums, and rattles. A good chanter so integrates the innumerable details as to give an impression of a smooth sequence. As we probe deeper we come to comprehend in some degree how the co-ordination is brought about, but we are likely to conclude falsely that the whole thing is merely a feat of memory, not a system at all.

In Navaho religion no one thing has more absolute significance than another. We may speak of 'high gods' as members of an elaborate pantheon, but Changing Woman or Sun is no more important at a particular moment than the humble roadrunner or a grain of corn. In the entire conceivable span of time the 'great gods' may perhaps dominate, for their power spreads over all space and time. Since, however, for the most part the ceremony is concerned with the specific moment, omnipotence and omnipresence are subordinate ideas, if indeed they exist as absolutes.

Although Navaho dogma stresses the dichotomy of good and evil, it does not set one off against the other. It rather

emphasizes one quality or element in a being which in different circumstances may be the opposite. Sun, though 'great' and a 'god,' is not unexceptionally good. He seems always to have aimed to make the world fit for man's habitation. Why then did he father the monsters, the terrible creatures that long hindered the realization of this very purpose? The answer to this and other similar inconsistencies is that what is wholly good is merely an abstraction, a goal that man as an individual never attains. Everything except the concept itself may have some evil in it, but is classified as good if good prevails qualitatively or quantitatively. Similarly, few things are wholly bad; nearly everything can be brought under control, and when it is, the evil effect is eliminated. Thus evil may be transformed into good; things predominantly evil, such as snake, lightning, thunder, coyote, may even be invoked. If they have been the cause of misfortune or illness, they alone can correct it. Like cures like. Examples of good turned to evil are less common, yet when Changing-bear-maiden's lore, which was essentially good, was combined with the power of Coyote, which was innocent of control, it became evil. Good then in Navaho dogma is control. Evil is that which is ritually not under control. And supernatural power is not absolute but relative, depending upon the degree of control to which it is subjected. In short, definition depends upon emphasis, not upon exclusion.

For this reason such words as 'always,' 'never,' 'most important' are out of place in describing supernatural ideas, because no category is exclusive—all overlap or include exceptions. The classes of deity illustrate the monistic principle. The characterization of First Woman in some settings puts her in a class wholly evil, yet she, like Sun, seems to have had the vision of a world made for man, and

the purpose of bringing it into being. When she withdrew from that world she said she would bring colds and similar afflictions, thereby allying herself with evil, yet the part she played in the creation and training of Changing Woman was totally good.²

To illustrate further the position of a being in more than one category let us consider the chanter. Though by effort and training he may get control of supernatural power, he is not a success until he *is* that power. Before taking up the singer's course he is human; while learning to sing he identifies himself with the mythological heroes who experienced dangerous adventures in order to gain the power of the chant; as he intones their names and uses their symbols he becomes successively the Persuadable, the Undependable, even the Unpersuadable Deities; and as he uses the properties that stand for them he may become the Helper of Deity, of man, and even of the evil powers. According to a basic principle of Navaho ritual, identification, the chanter incorporates within himself the entire complex of godly notions and even has the power to make others like himself, that is, like gods. He is a center that receives power from all proper sources and distributes it to all worthy subscribers.

The Navaho, though apparently specific, may actually be generalizing. They often give particular reasons for belief or ritual that may be identical with those given at other times to explain other things. For example, to the question what would happen if a man looked at his mother-in-law, the invariable answer is: "He wouldn't feel good. He would go crazy and act like a moth at the fire." This seems a distinctive enough punishment until we learn that the same fate is in store for anyone who breaks an incest rule, who sees a ghost, or wittingly desecrates a sacred object.³ It is indeed a general penalty for breaking familiar taboos.

Again we may be misled into jumping to conclusions concerning the character of certain supernaturals or their functions when we read for the first time that someone, let us say Coyote, "will have charge of dark cloud, heavy rain, dark mist, gentle rain, and vegetation of all kinds." It seems a lot when we consider how thoroughly Coyote is despised. Then we find that, at a time when his power was requested and he obdurately refused, the gods offered to put him in charge of darkness, daylight, heavy rain, gentle rain, corn, vegetation of all kinds, thunder, and the rainbow, and he accepted.⁴ This list is not too different from the first, and at least concerns the same individual. Continuing the analysis of mythology we find that Frog, who was beaten in a race by Rainboy, was recompensed for the loss of his body by the return of his feet, legs, and gait, and by being put in charge of 'dark cloud, heavy (male) rain, dark mist, gentle rain, and holiness wherever they may be'; and further, that Rainboy, after initiation, was put in charge of 'heavy and gentle rain, snow, and ice.'⁵ By this time we may well ask, "Who *is* in charge of rain?," for Changing Woman too has charge of female rain and vegetation of all kinds.⁶ We must, therefore, conclude that despite the precise specification, these promises are stereotyped, signifying, "We shall give you our best if you will help us"; in other words, they are actually a rationalization or systemization. No particular being is in charge of rain, because one is dependent upon another.

The confusion of analogical thought should constantly be kept in mind when a classification is being studied. When the Navaho says two things, which turn out to be very different, are the 'same,' 'similar,' he is not avoiding the truth, but construing the words with meaning entirely different from ours. The primary meaning of 'alike' in Navaho is 'used for the same purpose,' 'having the same function'

—analogous rather than homologous. Consequently, things may be 'alike' when they are symbolically associated or complementary.

Several characteristics of the Navaho language frequently cause misunderstanding. Words may be bipolar; that is, a word may have a meaning obvious in a particular context, and in another setting the opposite. An element that means 'up' may also mean 'down'; one that at times means 'on' or 'upon' may mean 'off' or 'off from on'; 'from (there)' frequently means 'to here, hither.' Hence, good may sometimes be evil and vice versa.

Another linguistic habit, of considering a whole, all, or any one of its parts as the 'same,' affects classification. For example, *djic** means 'medicine bundle as a container,' 'medicine bundle with all its contents,' 'contents of medicine bundle,' or a 'separate item of a medicine bundle.' The chanter knows perfectly well that the hide or muslin wrapper is not the 'same' as the bull-roarer, that the 'wide board' differs greatly from the talking prayersticks or from the otterskin collar, yet in certain circumstances each is *djic*. He is acutely aware of the context and, therefore, of 'sameness' and 'difference,' whereas his questioner is unable to determine the meaning because he is ignorant of the cultural context.

Aware of diversity in interpretation, the conscientious investigator does not take as final a Navaho's statement that another prayerstick, another rite, another song, is the same as the one he has seen or heard. By attending the second day's performance as well as the first and, subsequently, the third and fourth, he gets his most valuable data. Compiling

*See pp. xix for a note on the Navaho language. In this work, the Navaho phonetics are printed in the same typography as the text. In accordance with phonetic practice, capital letters are not used.

the details day by day is very different from comparing elements from various chants only, although eventually we must do that too.

The following examples are given in some detail in an attempt to make the reader realize that a revamping of assumptions is essential if Navaho categories are to be compared with our own. On the day Wyman saw the sandpainting illustrated in *An Introduction to Navaho Chant Practice*, Figure 23, he asked what painting would be used the next day. "Just like this, only blue," was the reply. The next day the painting was that of Figure 24 of the same work, a picture much more complicated and with many different features; even similar details in the second painting were colored differently from those in the first.⁷ Both had the same function, but the second elaborated on the themes of the first.

In the field of ethnobotany, Wyman corroborates my conclusion. Defining the terms 'Navaho family' and 'Navaho genus' he writes: "The Navajo think of plants as falling into large categories according to their use (purpose or method). . . . They regard the species in a category as being definitely related in some way, although the same species may sometimes belong to more than one category. In a few instances, these groups do contain a number of species from the same botanical family, although this is because they have similar morphological or pharmacological properties. . . . A Navajo [botanical] family may be named for the ceremonial in which the constituent species are used; the etioloical factor held responsible for the disease treated with the herbs; the disease or disease group itself . . . ; the supposed pharmacological effect of the herbs; the method of preparation for use; the method of administration. Family names may be combinations of these factors."⁸

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Much attention has been devoted to classifying Navaho ceremonies, but it is difficult to reconcile such statements from informants and texts as: "The Shooting Chant is the same as the Hail Chant. . . . Everything [in the Hail and Water chants] is exactly the same. . . . Our paintings, prayer-sticks, tobacco pouches, bundle properties, our rattles are alike." ⁹

A superficial glance at the myth or any part of the ritual of the Shooting, Hail, or Water chants shows marked differences in the elements specifically mentioned. The purpose, however, is the same; afflictions caused by lightning, hail, and water are felt to be so similar and the association among the symbols of the three chants so close that one may be substituted for another.

The chant name is another case in point. The choice is arbitrary; one item of an associated group is just as likely to be selected as another. The places, times, functions, and origins from which chant names may be chosen are infinite. The name selected for a particular chant may combine many associations, either of the chant symbols or of symbols representing a cross section of the dogma.

'Shooting Chant' is a short form of *na'atōe*, 'concerning-the-shooting-of-objects-that-move-in-zigzags.' Lightning, snake, arrow, or indeed any one of many other names might have been chosen; all indicate what the chant stresses. Hail stands for things injured by cold storms. Most storms are accompanied by lightning and wind, but summer storms with hail are less usual, as are winter storms accompanied by lightning. Consequently, a chant is differentiated from the Shooting and the Wind chants, by its distinctive symbols related to hail; at the same time these symbols are associated with the main symbols of the other chants. Unlike the Shooting, Hail, Wind, and Water chants, the Bead Chant gets its

name from the major conflict of the explanatory myth, whose purpose was to obtain valuable ornaments symbolized by the word 'bead'; the Endurance Chant from its chief episode, a race between the powers of evil, represented by Changing-bear-maiden, and the power of good, symbolized by Youngest Brother.

What for many years has been called the Mountain Chant is named for the dwelling place of the many spirits the chant invokes, summarized by Bear, Snake, and Porcupine. The Night Chant, which supersedes all others, is named for the time during which a major performance, the dance of the masked gods, is held. Another common name for the Night Chant, Grandfather-of-the-gods (*γé'i' bitcei'*), refers to Talking God, leader of the dance.

The freedom of association illustrated by sandpaintings and chant names indicates the existing confusion similar to that which accompanies an attempt to classify disease, and is comparable with that which arose in classifying plants. Since the ideal is well-being, one of the most frequently encountered irregularities is bad health. Causes of disease are fixed by analogy; medically and ritualistically determined causes coincide only by accident. A ceremony may be recommended to drive away fear, to cure symptoms—colds, fever, sore throat, fatigue, itching, lameness, rheumatism—and, since disharmony may show up in ways other than illness, the same ceremony may be held to attract the good offices of animals, rain, and the protective gods. Although disease is included, it is by no means the chant's exclusive purpose; affinity with our medical terms, if there is any, is fortuitous. The ceremonies should, therefore, be classified on magical-associational, rather than medical, principles.

The Bead Chant is said to be sung for skin irritations, yet RP sang it for a young man who had some serious abdominal

trouble and no itching. According to Kluckhohn and Wyman, the Bead, Eagle, Feather, Wind, and Awl chants were sung for head affections. The Night Chant is supposed to be especially effective as a cure for insanity, deafness, and paralysis; the Mountain and Hand Trembling chants purport to cure mental uneasiness and nervousness—ailments not further defined. The Shooting Chant is armor against diseases caused by snakes, lightning, and arrows, but the Wind Chant features snakes as extensively; it protects against their power and the harm of storms.

A few mythical examples illustrate the ease with which the Navaho make comparisons by selecting similars and minimizing contrasts:

A wandering clan, People-of-the-large-yucca-place, affiliated with the *dzil náxodilni'* because their red arrow holders, similar to shawl straps, looked much alike.¹⁰

The People-of-base-of-the-mountain, finding that they had headdresses, bows, arrows, and arrow cases similar to those of the *tañe'szahni'*, concluded that they were 'close' relatives. These two clans have since been so intimately affiliated that their members may not intermarry.¹¹

When the People-of-water's-edge met the People-of-the-mud-place, they noticed that their names had much the same meaning and that their headdresses and accouterments were alike. They therefore became great friends, but not so 'close' that their members could not intermarry.¹²

Traditionally the Navaho were willing to make clan affinities on the basis of comparable traits; today they readily accept friendship and co-operation by pointing out analogies.

CHAPTER 2
WORLD VIEW

The Universe

AS EXPLAINED in Chapter 1, the Navaho reason from mythological precedent. Myth must be viewed as teleological; cosmogony is purposeful though sometimes the custom or object explained is not even known until its mythical creation. Unless this paradox is accepted, the materials cannot seem other than ridiculous. The religions to which we are accustomed are recognized as beliefs rather than as proved theorems, but even our scientists keep their science separate from their religion. If we are tolerant of a religion not our own we understand it better, and we should try to realize that the Navaho does not make everything clear because he does not feel any need for consistency. The chanter, accustomed to concentrate upon the chant he knows or owns, has little perspective on the ritual as a whole. When inconsistencies are pointed out, analogy and the system of associations afford easy explanation.

Among the primary mythical concepts are ideas about time and space. If something happened once, it may happen again. If there is life and activity in this world, there must have been similar worlds elsewhere, below and above. Man and his experience must be identified with events in earlier—that is, mythological—times and in the lower worlds. Hence time and place are symbols of recapitulation. There is belief in progress from the lower worlds to this, so far the best, because it is man's world. Progress is not evolutionary in the

developmental sense. There is no belief in the physical relationship of man to the primordial creatures. Rather, progress is measured by intellectual criteria. Once the beings gained knowledge, there was no need to worry about their bodies; they were supernaturally transformed. Knowledge was acquired and increased through difficult experience and the struggle to learn nature's laws, with help from the supernaturals. Consequently, one who knows how to keep things in order has the key to life's problems. Thus progress should not be measured by moral standards any more than by biological evolution.

Since for eons man has been advancing toward oneness with the universe, he identifies himself with all its parts. This world may be considered a functioning central world; others, left behind but remembered in myth, are underneath; there are others above. The number of worlds is hypothetical, there being little agreement about it; myth furnishes details of four underworlds, of the sky immediately above, and of one still higher, Land-beyond-the-sky.

The worlds are thought of as superimposed hemispheres, each supported by pillars made of precious stones—four of whiteshell at the east, four of turquoise at the south, four of abalone at the west, four of redstone at the north.¹ Called *Those-who-stand-under-the-sky*, they are regarded as deities. The space between the hemispheres is filled with stars. Each higher hemisphere is larger than the one below, since the characteristics of the lower were imitated and added to, and the whole was magically enlarged. Each time the vaguely defined creatures had to move out of an earlier world one took along a token quantity of soil from every sacred place in it; in the world they were entering the soil was placed in the same relative place it had occupied below; then a supernatural being blew on and stretched it. The lower worlds

were small and moved rapidly, making the inhabitants dizzy. Although motion was a phase of life, it became bearable only in this world, which was so large in proportion to the inhabitants that its rotation was not unpleasant.²

In each of the lower worlds a color predominated and affected the inhabitants. In the first, the red world, were twelve kinds of black insects, including bats; in the second, the blue world, there were blue birds—swallows and jays; in the third, the yellow world, grasshoppers; in the fourth, there were beings from all the preceding worlds and the ancient pueblo people.³ This world has all colors regularly placed in the world quadrants—white (or black) at the east, blue at the south, yellow at the west, and black (or white) at the north.

In the lower worlds color took the place of light. Not until the people reached this world and concerned themselves with creating sun and moon did they formally differentiate color and light (Chapter 15).

The sky pillars are connecting links between the worlds as well as supports of each world. One other, the reed of emergence, more frequently mentioned in myth, is a major place symbol in ritual.⁴ The reed grew rapidly enough to save the people; it was commodious enough to hold many of them and, in some unexplained way, they were able to climb it. The sky of the world left behind (the under part of the world being approached) was so hard and smooth where the reed met it that the refugees could find no opening in it. One of the winds showed them a vulnerable spot and there was always some 'person' with the power and physical strength to peck a hole through. The Place-of-emergence therefore became a local symbol of escape. Called 'Center-of-the-earth,' its location in this world is so much disputed that it should not be considered as fixed. There has been no exodus from this

world to the sky nor is any predicted, hence there is no way, at least for an ordinary person, to get to the sky. Rainboy, guided by the gods, went on four conveyances; The Twins traveled past dangers and over mountains as if they were points on the earth, but ultimately reached Sun's home in the sky; they returned to earth by climbing down the Hole-of-emergence, formed of cliffs made of precious stones. Presumably a theoretical passage, reed, or column leads from this world to the world above it.

In characterizing their forebears the Navaho ascribe to them sentience and a cognizance of human problems. From the earliest conceivable times there was a roving, growing population whose overwhelming need was food. The wanderers had no social institutions and had to learn to recognize them among the people into whose territory they intruded. As they were addicted to sorcery, they were antisocial; they offended strangers by wife-stealing and other sexual offenses. However, upon arriving in a new world the primordial ancestors of the Navaho made vows to co-operate with the natives; as they learned more and more they kept their promises longer and longer. At each pause in the upward migration they accepted more social curbs—some were learned from the old residents, some were commands of their own leaders. The leitmotiv of the earlier worlds—confusion, uncertainty, error—led to evil, witchcraft, and death. Each subsequent step in the emergence changed the emphasis until now, in this world, stability, knowledge, and co-operation are ideals, the chrysalis of ignorance having been shed in the lower worlds.

The metamorphosis was brought about only because among the original beings there were some gods who advised, coerced, and guided them. The provenience of these deities—the First Pair, Coyote, the prototype of Talking God, and

Black God—is nowhere accounted for; they appear and use their powers for escape and transformation whenever the myth requires a prestidigitator.

As one might expect, the origin and transformation of the present Navaho world are more fully described than any of the nether regions; it will be discussed below (pages 19–25). Two higher realms of the universe are depicted in broad lines, and conceivably there are other worlds above those. The sky is a world just like this one; in it Sun, Moon, and stars are visible to us as they move through the space between the world hemispheres. Above the stratum into which we look, the heavenly bodies have their homes, living much like the people here on earth. The better-known Thunders also live in the sky realm.

The Land-beyond-the-sky is inhabited by extra-powerful storm elements—Winter, Pink and Spotted Thunders, Big Winds, and Whirlwinds. They run a school for novices learning the ritual of the Male Shooting, Hail, Water, and Feather chants; the pupils are conducted thither and back by other gods.

Though previously they had been content with color, First Man and First Woman, when they arrived in this world, wanted light as well, probably because the world was large and many places existed far from the mountains that had previously furnished illumination. After due consideration the First Pair made the sun of a large turquoise disk surrounded by red rain, lightning, and various kinds of snakes. It was heated with fire kindled by Black God's fire drill. From a piece of rock crystal the First Pair made the moon, bordering it with whiteshell, forked lightning, and sacred waters; it is slightly warmed by rock crystal's light.⁵

Among the supernatural company there were two men, one old, one younger, who had risen unexpectedly from a

spring. For a long time the two had merely accompanied the people, not performing any unusual deeds, but endearing themselves to the travelers. They had planted the reed through which the beings of the fourth world escaped to the fifth. When First Man and First Woman had finished making the sun and decided to place it in East Wind's country, they appointed the young man, who until then had no name, as the sun-bearer. Moving to the east with the orb, he became Sun. They put the old man in charge of moon and gave him the name Moon-bearer or Moon.⁶

One version of the creation myth shows concern to account for Sun's position among the spheres. After the disk had been lighted by dint of great effort, it became too hot and burned the people because the sky and earth were too close together. First Man and First Woman raised the orb a short distance, but it was still dangerously hot. They then made two poles of turquoise and two of whiteshell, which they gave to Those-who-stand-under-the-sky (Sky Pillars). The latter pried the sky far enough from the earth to prevent burning, but the heat was insufferable. Finally, they decided to stretch the world and, by blowing hard, expanded it until the temperature was comfortable for the inhabitants.

Sun's permanent home, a major symbol of the Male Shooting Chant Sun's House branch, is at the eastern quarter of the sky. In it is a rattle that warns of his return. When it sounds the fourth time, Sun arrives home, takes off the sun, and hangs it on a peg on the wall—on earth the sun sets. Formerly he moved from east to west and back in a day, pausing at the center of the sky (noon) to eat his lunch. Since Changing Woman has lived in the west, he stops there and rests at evening. On dark, stormy days he stays at home and sends out his lightnings, which may do mischief.⁷ Sun thus carries out his daily schedule.

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His seasonal journey begins at the winter solstice; he climbs the southernmost sky pillar and, as the season advances, reaches the northernmost; he retraces the route, spending an equal number of days at each pole.⁸ On the rare occasions when he becomes angry he hides his light partly or completely; the earth experiences a solar eclipse which presages misfortune. The Navaho believed the influenza epidemic of 1918 was caused by the solar eclipse of June 8.

This World

The fullest version of the cosmogony considers this one the fifth world. Cicada, the first person to come up into it from the fourth world, won it from the Grebes. The non-human creatures emerged to find themselves on a lake surrounded by high cliffs, from which spread a plateau. They had great difficulty in discovering a way out of the lake. At length Blue Body, a god who was with them, threw four stones he had brought with him to the north, south, east, and west. These stones split the cliffs and when the water flowed off in four directions, a part of the lake bottom was found to be connected with the mainland. As the mud was too deep for traffic, Smooth Wind was invoked; he blew and dried out the mud so that the people could disperse.⁹

Traditionally the Navaho tribe has always been on the move. They love to travel, yet feel a deep attachment to their present habitat. They have an extraordinary interest in geography. The number of place names in myth and ritual is legion. Some correspond to the names of identifiable places, others seem to be mythical or ritualistic symbols referring to localities in the lower worlds (pages 152ff.).

The earth, very different from what it is now, had to be transformed. Essential parts, as well as the earth itself, are called 'our mother.' "These [the sacred] mountains are our

father and our mother. We came from them; we depend upon them. Between the large mountains are small ones which we made ourselves. Each mountain is a person. The water courses are their veins and arteries. The water in them is their life as our blood is to our bodies.”¹⁰ In the Wheelwright collection there is a sandpainting of the earth; mountains are depicted as parts of her body and streams as blood vessels. Each mountain has an ‘inner form’ (bi’ yistí’n), something which gives it life, perhaps makes it sentient (cp. *Pollen ball*, Concordance B).

Many physiographical features were planned by First Man, who made a model of the earth from the soil brought in small pouches from the lower worlds. Seven or more mountains are mentioned in the myths, but attempts to identify them with actual elevations are more or less futile. One mountain of ritualistic importance lies in each of the cardinal directions forming the mythical boundaries of the Navaho territory. There is agreement about the location of the southern mountain, Mt. Taylor (tsodzil), and the western, Mt. Humphreys (doko’oslí’d). The eastern mountain, sisaná-djini’ (sisna’djini’),¹¹ ‘Black-belted-one,’ and the northern, dibéntsah, ‘Mountain sheep,’ are variously identified (*Mountains*, Concordance A). Other mountains between these have ceremonial significance.

tčô’l’í’í (untranslatable) is not satisfactorily identified with any present-day mountain. It is Changing Woman’s place symbol because on it she was found as a baby and there she lived until the monsters had been conquered.¹² It is said to lie somewhat east of dził náxodili’, ‘Mountain-which-customarily-turns’; it is sometimes considered as the center of the world. ‘Upper-mountain-ridge’ (’akidahne’sa’ni’), also near the center, is associated with evil.¹³

Chart I (insert) summarizes the mythical origin of the

mountains and the associated symbols. The mountains are fastened and covered with elements that represent natural phenomena; their colors are associated with the precious stones; they have bird, plant, and sound symbols; they are inhabited by Holy People. The mountains represent parts of the earth's body—heart, skull, breast, and internal organs—and, like the body of an earth person, they have the power of motion, given them by the Winds. Other gifts have been bestowed upon them. For example, *sisnádjini'* was fastened by a bolt of lightning and covered with daylight, and additional gifts of white lightning, dark cloud, male rain, and white corn made it symbolically even more complete.

Changing Woman, when she sent her people eastward, gave a different description of the world, which by this time was habitable. Some details correspond amazingly well with the terrain between the Pacific Ocean and Wheeler Peak in the Taos Mountains, and north as far as the San Juan River.¹⁴

Changing Woman, so named because she renews her youth as the seasons progress, was created and trained to bring forth twin sons, who freed the earth from the monsters. Old, gray-haired, wrinkled, and bent in the winter, she gradually transforms herself to a young and beautiful woman.¹⁵ Restoration to youth is the pattern of the earth, something for which the Navaho lives, for he reasons that what happens to the earth may also happen to him. Regaining strength after disease due to contact with strangers, attack by evil or offended powers, or loss of ritualistic purity is interpreted as rejuvenation like that of Mother Earth.

Although Changing Woman's sons overcame the monsters one by one, it was impossible to obliterate their carcasses. Consequently, the Navaho country is still littered with unburied remnants of their bodies. Big Monster, for example,

is thought to have lived near Mt. Taylor. After killing him, The Twins cut off his head and threw it far to the east, where it now stands as Cabezon (Spanish 'head') Peak. The blood of Big Monster flowed in a great stream down the valley until stopped by the flint club of Monster Slayer. It coagulated and may be seen now as the lava formation in the vicinity of McCarty's Wash. Another time The Twins raised a storm to kill other monsters whose heads may still be seen as volcanic peaks around the base of Mt. Taylor.¹⁶

Similarly, Cliff Monster, who lived at Winged Rock, turned into lava rock when overcome by Monster Slayer. This spectacular rock, which resembles a winged creature poised, is called Shiprock by the whites. The long lava dike at the southwest is said to be the blood of the Cliff Monster.

Besides accounting for the peculiarities of places, the cosmogony teaches that the earth should not be injured. As each monster fell, the earth shook, causing earthquakes. Mountains were weak and ill because the bodies of enemies had been left unburied on the surface of the earth. They should be disposed of in an orderly manner. The death of the monsters and their fall, as well as enemy corpses, impaired the vitality of the earth; its devitalization communicated itself to the people; hence they became ailing. If the earth is placated, as it may be by revenge and compensation, people's indispositions may be cured. Because the monsters were enemy prototypes, offerings and prayers should be made to the earth when victors rejoice over a defeated enemy.¹⁷

Vegetation is considered the 'dress' of the earth and the mountains, a gift bestowed at creation, a function of Changing Woman's annual rejuvenation. The Navaho have a sentimental attitude toward plants, which they treat with incredible respect (Chapter 8). However, in contrast to the

numerous etiologies of corn, accounts of the origin of particular plants are few. In some myths corn is considered primeval, for First Man had some in the first world. Other myths account for it as the gift of a god or a neighboring people. Whatever its origin, its value is constantly emphasized. According to one myth, Talking God gave corn to White-shell Woman and her sister, Turquoise Woman, saying, "There is no better thing than this in the world, for it is the gift of life." Later, when he visited them again and they told him they still had it, he said, "That is good, for corn is your symbol of fertility and life."¹⁸

Each animal has a place in the universal scheme. The rare game animals (*dini*)—deer, antelope, elk, and mountain sheep—are especially valued ritualistically, even though today they are so scarce that many children have never seen one.¹⁹ Throughout mythology and ritual, vegetable and flesh food are felt to belong together. Contrary to many remarks in the literature on Navaho ritual, there is no such thing as a corn or a game ritual, since one involves, if only implicitly, the other. When Changing Woman placed on the forehead of Monster Slayer a black stick which grew and symbolized deer antlers, he felt three kinds of seeds in his hand.²⁰ The story of the contest with Deer Owner is pointed up so as to contrast and eventually associate the advantages of meat and vegetables as a diet, for the hero who overcame him traded knowledge of agriculture for the release of the rare game animals.

The hunting animals carried packs of corn on their backs, for they had charge of the corn-growing rite of the Fire Dance.²¹

Mountain sheep, as valued game animals, play a major role in mythology and ritual. Many characteristics of the

Hunchback God are like those of the mountain sheep. If Hunchback God is not actually the animal, he at least had supernatural control over it, and the hump on his back, like those of the hunting animals, is made of clouds containing seeds of all types of vegetation.²²

The complementation of corn by game is brought out by Talking God, who, in the myth of the Night Chant, instructs the hero: "Never give corn to eat of its own substance. If you give it, corn will thereafter ever eat corn until all the land is destroyed. Then men will starve and have to eat one another, and thus destroy their own race. Give corn flesh to eat. For like reasons corn must be fed to the masks in the ceremonies. Should meat be fed to them, men would, thereafter, eat men."²³ The masks of sacred buckskin represent game animals. According to tradition punishment was inevitable if the injunction was disobeyed.

Once, many years ago, when the ceremony of the corn was taking place and a young virgin was grinding meat to feed the corn, a wicked woman went out from the lodge and fed corn to the corn hanging on the poles of the drying frame. That year the people starved and men ate the flesh of other men.²⁴

Since time is relative and, ritualistically speaking, past, present, and future are interchangeable, the cosmogony would be expected to include some prediction of the world's fate. Stevenson's informant believed that this world had already been destroyed five times, by whirlwind, hail, small-pox, coughing, and the slaughter of the monsters.²⁵ One of Stephen's informants mentioned destruction by fire, whirlwind, and flood, and predicted that after four more creations and their disappearance the Navaho would be annihilated. A second informant said the first lied. The world had been destroyed four times, he admitted, but added that two years before (in 1883) the time had been up for the final destruc-

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tion. From then on, therefore, he said, the world must last.²⁶

The chanter *tłá'h* believed that a people different from the Navaho would succeed them. He thought the whites were the successors and for this reason was not only willing to teach them the fundamentals of Navaho belief but also deeply concerned that they should learn accurately.

CHAPTER 3

THE NATURE OF MAN

Man's Origin

FIRST MAN and First Woman existed in the lowest mythological world. From the beginning their purpose was to arrange conditions suitable for the Navaho to people the earth. The First Pair had some human traits: they could think and talk; they knew something about sex; they had some inkling of the difference between good and evil. Their knowledge was imperfect because incomplete and, therefore, uncontrolled; they thought that the universe was undeveloped rather than chaotic. A notion of conscious creation, ability to glimpse the future, and the will to control it set First Man and First Woman apart as supernatural beings.

Although the First Pair were the primary cause of the disasters in the lower worlds, they formulated a scheme to overcome the results of ignorance. It included the miraculous appearance of Changing Woman as a baby in a cradleboard, her careful training, the sanctioned mating with Sun, the birth of The Twins, and the acquisition of ritual power which enabled them to subdue the monsters. Did First Man place the wonderful baby on the mountaintop for himself to discover? Was it another of the supernatural deeds of Sun, who had already fathered the monsters? Did the baby appear through the efforts of both First Man and Sun? Or were First Man and Sun different manifestations of the same power? If First Man was the promoter, he was nonplused by his own creation and was matching his power against that

of Sun. If Sun originated the plan, he was knowingly storing up sorrow for himself, for he loved his terrible children and did not want to do away with them; or perhaps he thought his new wife and her remarkable children would compensate for his grief. Most likely the baby and her protection of man were brought about by the co-operation of First Man and Sun. Myth leaves many other questions unanswered. Why should the First Pair or Sun want human beings on the earth? Why should they care about human welfare once man had appeared? Man is the mythmaker. His interest is in man, whose development he explains. First Man and Sun can be made to contribute to his motives. Mythmakers are not concerned with logic.

The account of the emergence is further confused by references to insects, grasshoppers, swallows, and creatures which, though described as non-human, are credited with many human attributes. Diverse origins are suggested for the human form, but all by association are probably one and the same.

Several versions ascribe human beings to a supernatural transformation of corn which existed primordially with First Man. Sun was said to be corn's father, Lightning its mother. According to one version, the results of the transformation were persons called First Man and First Woman, who are also referred to as 'our ancestors.'¹ From this account we may conclude that First Man and First Woman not only *had* corn in the early worlds but also *were* corn and came to symbolize transformation into human form.

One origin is attributed to the transformation of turquoise and whiteshell images by deific ceremonial. Since, however, the jewels were laid beside corn ears, the significance is in the association between corn and precious stones rather than in the gems themselves. According to Navaho interpretation, the two would be 'the same' (Chapter 1).

Changing Woman is said to have created human beings by rubbing pieces of her epidermis from various parts of her body. As she held the skin in her hand it changed to six groups of people, who subsequently founded some of the Navaho clans. In one version of the story the skin became shell, which in turn became people.²

In some myths the origin of man is secondary to the origin of clans. One division of the Navaho, which settled on the San Juan River and traces its ancestry back to Whiteshell Woman, is thought to have been transformed from corn; the division that came from the West to join the people of the East originated in Changing Woman's epidermis. The people from Rumbling Mountain were considered holy because "they had no tradition of their recent creation, and were supposed to have escaped the fury of the alien gods by some miraculous protection." The progenitors of one clan, Big Water People, are supposed to have come up out of the water.³

The conclusion to which Navaho tradition forces us is that man is so closely related to deity that it is impossible to draw a sharp line between the human and the supernatural. The substances from which the transformation took place—corn, precious stones, and Changing Woman's epidermis—are not, according to Navaho reasoning, necessarily different, because the association of corn, whiteshell, and epidermis makes them one.

Theory of Reproduction

The remarks of Stephen's informant indicate the emphasis on reproduction:

"We do not have grass enough. Even if we had grass enough, the land is not broad enough. My people work both night and day, the men and women creating children, my

flocks and herds making young. The Americans are always clamoring for more land; so are my people. I long for enough land to stretch my limbs. From here [Kearney's Canyon] you can see the San Francisco Mountains at the west. By riding a short distance to the north you can see Navaho Mountain, a short way to the south are the White Mountains [*sic*], and at the east is Mt. Taylor. Remember what a small patch of ground this really is. Think how much effort will be made this very night to increase the number of children, lambs, colts. We do not have enough land."⁴

The ritualistic teachings stress male and female as a basic form of symbolism; the notion is that only by pairing can any entity be complete.

Mythology suggests that light and water are essential for conception. Sun stands for heat as well as light; water symbolizes semen. When Changing Woman first became mature she had not learned about sexual intercourse, but, in trying to satisfy her desire, let the sun shine into her vagina; at noon when Sun stopped to feed his horse she went to a spring and let water drip into her.⁵

In the account of the birth of the monsters light and water are again indicated:

A girl who was carefully watched, having gone alone in the direction of the sunrise, used a smooth pebble from the river to cleanse herself after defecating. She placed the warm stone⁶ in her genitals and raised her skirt so as to examine herself. At this moment Sun rose and sent a ray into her. She must have been menstruating when this happened, for she became pregnant.⁷

In this case the pebble, being from the river, may have stood for water, or menstrual fluid may be its equivalent.

Stevenson records that Talking God and *xa'tcé'óyan* were created from corn by Changing Woman and her sister. When Changing Woman placed an ear of white corn, and her sister an ear of yellow corn, on the mountain where the fogs meet, 'the corn conceived, the white corn giving birth to

Talking God, the yellow to *xa'ctée'óyan.*⁸ Sun's presence is implied, since he is believed to rest periodically on mountain tops, which figure frequently in creation.

It is said that the warmth and moisture of the Buffalo's body makes plants grow and produce pollen.⁹

From these examples it seems that water represents Sun's semen, a fluid which, if warmed or lighted, may cause generation. Throughout Navaho mythology an attempt to protect girls from being struck by sunlight is stressed. There seems to be some feeling that virginity has ritualistic value, which in some individuals should be preserved (Chapter 8). Since virgins are few, the mythical references to girls 'not struck by sunlight' must point to an effort to keep them pure. Kept hidden inside a house with only a very small opening, they were shielded from Sun's seductive wiles. Pueblo girls similarly protected were desirable to the Navaho.¹⁰

The function of Sun and water in generation and the Navaho belief that two fathers are responsible for twins explain the agreement about the fatherhood of The Twins or War Gods. Matthews summarizes their character: "From their mythic associations I would assume that Monster Slayer is the god of light, with its associated heat, while Child-of-the-water is the god of darkness, with its associated moisture."¹¹ I do not know from what evidence Matthews inferred this. I do not consider that the myths alone justify it, but it must be more than coincidence that both he and I came to the same conclusion independently.¹²

When First Man and First Woman were fumbling with creation, which included customs and institutions as well as material things, First Woman set herself up as a leader in matters of sex. She had already been punished for unsanctioned intercourse and decreed that women should henceforth recognize and approve of sexual relations. She made

male and female genitalia so that one sex should attract the other—the penis of turquoise, the vagina of whiteshell. After treating them ritualistically, she laid them side by side and blew over them medicine (infusion), which was to cause pregnancy. She went further and determined the degree of desire—great for men, much less for women. Intercourse was to leave the penis weak, the vagina strong.¹³

Sexual indulgence was a preoccupation of the inhabitants of the lower worlds; it led to the floods which necessitated the emergence. First Man taunted his wife with being interested in sex alone. His rebuke gave rise to a quarrel in which she said that women could get along without men. To prove the challenge the men moved across the river and destroyed the rafts that had carried them. As years went by, the women became weaker; they needed the men's strength to produce food, and they became maddened with desire. As a result of self-abuse they gave birth to the monsters that later destroyed men. The men too practiced perversion, but from their excesses no evil survived. After many had died and great suffering had ensued, the women yielded and begged the men to take them back. They did so, and all agreed that henceforth man should be the leader in matters of sex since he belonged to the stronger sex.¹⁴

The separation of the sexes with its consequences proved that neither is complete without the other, that sexual needs must be allowed expression but should be controlled. World harmony demands woman's potential, as well as man's kinetic, energy.

Man's Constitution

The Navaho conception of man includes careful definition of his spiritual as well as his anatomical makeup. The body is composed of skin, flesh, bones, and internal organs—all

considered as layers, each tissue carefully fitted to those next it. Nevertheless, between the layers are interstices ('atañah) through which ghosts may travel. They enter the body where there are whorls—for instance, at the finger tips and hair spirals—as frequently as through orifices—mouth, nose, ears.

Navaho knowledge of anatomy is good, of physiology very poor. Most parts of the body, even internal organs, have names. One category which shows ignorance of function is the division of blood vessels—those of the head and limbs ('atšo's) and those of the trunk, including the jugular ('aγá'z). Since ritual is a means of cure, anatomy must be considered, but since cure is primarily concerned with spirit, and there are various expressions of man's spiritual being, they must be understood in order to interpret Navaho belief and the function of religion.

I have previously discussed the possibility of determining essential concepts of being and their relative importance by analyzing prayers in which a people asks for what it most desires.¹⁵ The Navaho calls upon his gods to restore not only his head, his breast, his finger tips, his limbs, and his body but also the tip of his tongue, his voice and sound, his breath, his power of motion, and his mind. To express such ideas, he has at his command a great many words which, unless properly translated, make the prayers seem ridiculous. Many of these words have very specific connotations which cannot be casually rendered by single English words. For instance, a word for 'soul' was indispensable for teaching Christian doctrine. A word meaning 'that which stands within' was adapted to the missionaries' need for explaining the spiritual, the undying part of man. Actually, this word refers to a belief that in the chest of a man there is an image, a symbol of turquoise, which, if it remains upright, will make him strong. It is a part of only those who have undergone

certain ceremonies and therefore is not inherent or immortal, but rather something ritualistically added to defend body and spirit (Chapter 12, *Agate; Pollen ball*, Concordance B).

The Navaho has little idea of personal immortality. Rather, the individual becomes universal; at death the person is left behind with the body. However, somewhat more specific concepts define the relation between body and spirit and demonstrate how the complete man functions. A group of words refers to 'breath': 'ayol means 'wind, breath, blowing'; 'ayi, 'a single puff of breath'; 'ayi' includes a notion of sound and means 'manifestation of life.' Breath is one test of life:

You must never leave the deer's windpipe whole, but split it down the center. As soon as it is split, the deer is dead; otherwise it is alive.¹⁶ /

Related to words connoting breath are those which include or emphasize sound: 'adzi, 'any kind of sound emitted by a living being'; 'iné', 'sound characteristic of a living being'—for instance, the sheep's baa, the cow's moo. More closely related to dogma is 'ájí, 'manifestation by breath and sound of the life and power of a being, that which keeps one powerful, that which one is plus what he has secured through ritual.' This word indicates identification with many powers in the ritualistic act called 'breathing in.' Still another term, 'ají'h, means the 'evil, poisonous, injurious element of breath accompanied by angry sound,' as the roar of an attacking bull; a person may be killed simply by contact with this type of breath.¹⁷

One must be very careful not to inhale the breath of a dying deer (one has killed). This would make one sweat and one would be sick at once.¹⁸

Closely related to breath and sound, in fact, a combination

of the two, is voice, speech, or language. The 'word'—that is, the formulation of sounds into organized speech—is of great ritualistic value, and in order to be complete, man must control language. The better his control and the more extensive his knowledge, the greater his well-being (Introduction, Chapter 16). In prayer, therefore, man requests, "My voice restore for me. . . . May the pollen of Wind's child govern the tip of my speech." With a clear voice, with control at the tip of the speech—that is, the mouth—a person is insured against error.

Man may breathe and speak, his organs may function well, but without the power of motion ('agá'l) he is incomplete, useless. Therefore he prays, "My gait restore for me."

All parts of man's body and spirit are co-ordinated by 'mind, will power, volition, reason, awareness' ('áni', 'áni'). A summarizing phrase occurs frequently in prayer: "My mind restore for me."

Mind keeps body and spirit in adjustment. When the body is complete with organs, breath, sound, voice, and the power of motion, it is said to have 'i'nái, 'life, the quality of being alive.' A universal expression of life, 'i'na', refers to the relation between simply being alive, aliveness, and all phases of nature, culture, and experience; it may be extended to mean 'outlook on life, career, philosophy.'

The 'name' ('áji'), an important manifestation of being, is ritualistically acquired.¹⁹

Normal adjustment of the body parts gives a person 'atse', 'strength, firmness, physical dependability.' Add to these attributes power derived from supernatural experience and he is 'strong, enduring, powerful, capable of controlling good and warding off evil' ('adzi'l).

There are two words for 'personality' in Navaho: xaya', 'ability, behavior,' excludes physical characteristics; xayá

is the sum of physical and mental traits plus talents and demeanor.

One purpose of ritual is to extend the personality so as to bring it into harmonious relation with the powers of the universe. The opposite of this endeavor, actually another aspect of it, is to keep a man from contact with evil. Sorcery, the most exaggerated form of evil, depends upon direct contact with a person or some part of his body. Therefore he should take care of waste matter in such a way that no one will have access to it. An evilly disposed person may treat perspiration, dead skin, phlegm, tears, urine, excrement, menstrual blood, combings, or nail parings ('atcxin) in such a way as to bring about the death of the person to whom they once belonged (Chapter 6).

Personal possessions ('antcxq'q) may also be subject to sorcery, depending on how far a man extends his identity. Individuals differ as to how far they carry identification of person and possessions, but where the line is drawn determines how much of a man's property is destroyed at his death.²⁰ Clothes have absorbed perspiration, dirt, and skin scales; a man may become one with his favorite horse and even with his silver ornaments or saddle; a person absorbs consciously and unconsciously the power of every element of the chant symbolized by the bead token. He becomes a part of it and therefore it must be a part of him. A possession that is the extension of his personality when he is alive may include also the extension of his evil, tét'ndi', after he dies. Hence, instead of being harmed, it may harm. For these reasons girls who have worked in the laundry at school may be 'sung over' when they return home. They have breathed steam containing the perspiration of a foreigner; this may become dangerous if the stranger dies. Potential harm from this source may be averted by the War Ceremony.²¹

Myth illustrates what was considered necessary to life and soundness:

When Talking God transformed corn ears, which he placed between buckskins, into people, Wind entered between the covers and gave the newly created man and woman the breath of life. He entered at the heads and came out at the ends of the fingers and toes, and to this day we may see his trail at the tip of every human finger. Rock Crystal Boy furnished them with minds and Cornbeetle Girl gave them voices.²²

Rainboy, hero of the Hail Chant, was completely destroyed, blasted into bits, scattered in every direction by the wrath of Winter Thunder. The description of the reassembling of his body by the gods illustrates some of the problems of body construction:

The Thunder People gathered Rainboy's bones and flesh and placed them between sacred buckskins; when White Wind was laid under the top cover, Rainboy began to move, but he could not get up. Pink Thunder put Little Wind under the cover. It entered Rainboy's ear; he could hear, he had life at the tips of his fingers and everywhere Wind had gone, but still could not get up. Talking God then put Rain's Son under the cover. He supplied moisture—tears, saliva, and nasal mucus. Rainboy tried in vain to get up. Talking God put collected pollen under the cover and it turned into toenails, fingernails, body hair, and perspiration, yet Rainboy could not stand upright. Insects of all kinds were called to help. Some found small portions of Rainboy's blood and brought it back, but not until they found the curve of his upper lip could his restoration be complete.²³

In the myth of the Flint Chant, Holy Boy was destroyed by Winter Thunder and similarly reconstituted. Spider People restored his nerves and blood vessels, Winds caused his nerves to function, and Sun made him wink.²⁴

Whenever, in a myth, the essentials of life are suggested, they are selected from the many available concepts. Never are all mentioned; seldom is the choice the same in two

myths or even twice in the same myth, and each new legend is likely to include at least one not previously recorded. Taken all together they give a psychosomatic picture of man's constitution. When any part gets out of balance, treatment emphasizes the mental rather than the physical (cp. Chapter 7).

Life Cycle

Man's life cycle is called a 'walk' through time. He travels a 'trail' repeatedly symbolized in sandpainting and ritual.²⁵ A major purpose of the ritual is to carry him safely and pleasantly along this road from birth to dissolution. The following life periods are recognized:

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Period</i>
'áni'd na'γái		just born, newly arrived
'aγwé" ('awé")		babyhood
'acki'	'até'd	weaning to adolescence
diné'	tc'iké'	adolescence
xasti'n	'asdzá'nf	early married life
xastoi, xastxoi	'asdzá''	advanced maturity
xa'asti		very old age, beginning of disintegration

The spirits of children and women are believed to be naturally weaker than those of men;²⁶ therefore children from their very birth are brought into contact with ritual. Infants have not learned responsibility for their own well-being or for that of others. Education, which may be ceremonial repetition, aims to give them a sense of obligation. Children learn physical control very young; it is not unusual to see a year-old handling a butcher knife or a pair of scissors. As soon as they can walk, children learn to differentiate men's and women's activities by imitating and helping their parents. From the moment of its birth a child is treated as an adult, but it is not expected to do more than its age warrants.

The child is allowed to try any activity it may want to

take part in and must submit to every ritual requirement. Although an infant cannot sprinkle pollen or blow ashes, its mother or someone who 'stands for it' does so, once for herself, once for the baby. If the mother subjects herself to a chant or ceremony, the baby must be included. Because she nurses and cares for the baby, it may be expected to be harmed or benefited in the same way; therefore it must be made immune to the evil, susceptible to the good, of the chant. The child's mother may be the sponsor only if she has had the chant in question or a closely related one sung for her, or if she is a co-patient with the baby. She may put the child in the hands of a woman who qualifies or who with it goes through the rites that will assure it of protection because of the power being sought.

In religion, the child must conform. Though a baby cries, screams, and wriggles, chanter and sponsor follow through, gently but firmly insisting on carrying out every ritualistic detail. Later they may laugh at the spectacle a baby has made of itself. Ceremonial demands are relentlessly though casually met with a rigor that has not been emphasized in discussions of Navaho training. Religion thus aids the adult in discipline; belief in supernatural punishment is inculcated in the cradle.

If persistently corrected, the child's mistakes are not serious, and until it learns better, the responsibility for proper ritualistic behavior rests on the adult relatives.

During the period from babyhood to adolescence there is little difference in the ritualistic treatment of male and female children. At adolescence, however, there is a definite change. The girl, because there is physical evidence of her maturity, becomes a tribal symbol of fecundity at her adolescence ceremony, and from then on a symbol of the power of reproduction.

No particular moment marks the transition from boyhood to manhood. When the Navaho were even more mobile than they are now, the boy had to be trained for activities which took him away from home—hunting, war, and trading. Young boys then submitted to rigorous physical training for their self-protection (Chapter 6). Nowadays there is little formal training; consequently the boy's life goal is but vaguely defined. Knowledge must be ripened by experience, which takes time to acquire. Youth is tried and repeatedly teased, ridicule being a major form of discipline.

Gradually, by a subtle process difficult to define, the young man grows into a position of responsibility in the various social groups—first his own family, clan, clan group, and, after marriage, his wife's groups. If he can be relied upon, he may be referred to as *xasti'n*; later, as he accumulates knowledge, he is *xastoi*, 'one who has authority.' After marriage the woman may be *'asdzá'ní* or *asdzá'*, the latter a more respectful term. Respect is a matter of individual opinion, the word with which an older person is referred to depending primarily on the speaker's opinion of his knowledge and accomplishment. Otherwise age is not necessarily fruitful. There are many old men who have not fulfilled their obligations or at best have done so halfheartedly; some have not earned the title *xastoi*, which implies knowledge and wisdom. Numerous complaints are made about them, though care is taken lest the grumbler become a victim of sorcery.

When a person is referred to as *xa'asti*, 'extremely old,' he has lost his competence and perhaps some of his faculties. Even then, though he is physically weak, his spiritual power (*bíjí*) may be strong and communicable and his power for evil (*bíjí'h*) feared. Such an old person should, therefore, be treated with the patience shown a child. If suspected of witchcraft, he may receive an overabundance of attention.

Treatment aims to prevent antagonism. At the same time the persons who lavish care upon him try to get rid of him, urging him to visit another family who, as soon as they decently can, pass him on to still another.

Opinion about the ideal life span differs. Some say it is 102 years, reckoned from the number of counters in the moccasin game. Others say it is seventy years, doubtless a white man's idea, and still others consider it the age at which some very old man is said to have died. Those who have not gone to school do not know their ages; at best, age can be ascertained only approximately by reference to some outstanding event. The very old tell how big they were when they went to or returned from Fort Sumner (1863-68), or perhaps they were born during the journey back. Younger persons reckon their age from the influenza epidemic of 1918; still others from local happenings which may sometimes be dated by the trader or some other white man.

Death and the Dead

The phobia of the dead is well-known, but the attitude toward death has hardly been analyzed. Normally the Navaho staves off death as long as possible, relying upon religious formula to keep him safe. He admits that death is inevitable and is not nearly as afraid of it as he is of the dead. Long distances between habitations, sudden severe storms, rising streams, as well as the exigencies of handling stock, have kept him constantly aware of emergencies.

Bravery, even foolhardiness, is the norm; cowardice is deplored. A well-trained Navaho depends upon his physical prowess reinforced by songs, prayers, and formulas. When circumstances get too much for his resources, he is inclined to be fatalistic rather than terror-stricken. He becomes of necessity a good loser.

Indifference about the afterlife doubtless reflects the ethical system, which holds that man suffers here on earth, if at all, but need not expect punishment after death; the individual spirit may be lost in the cosmos. Man can better his life here on earth by ceremonial control; he cannot change his ultimate destiny.

There seem to be cases of 'willing to die.' The Navaho tell of persons who, apparently in excellent health, say, "I'm not going to live long," give up customary activities, and within a few days die. These accounts have been corroborated by white men who knew the individuals personally. So far such cases have never been investigated by our medical men; warnings of disease and the Navaho definition of symptoms differ so much from ours that diagnoses are very difficult (Chapter 6). Dr. A. A. Brill told me that he had made autopsies on whites who were said to have 'willed to die' and found no ascertainable reason for their demise. The reports of such deaths among the Navaho are sensational rather than numerous and, if they occur at all, are doubtless exceptional.²⁷

In lack of interest in death and the afterlife, Navaho mythology differs from that of neighboring and related tribes. There are only a few references to these subjects in the large body of recorded myth. Since sorcery, fear of the dead, and ignorance are characteristic of the underworlds, the first experience of death is appropriately assigned to an early world.

When the first person, a hermaphrodite (referred to by Matthews as 'she'), died, no one knew what had become of her breath. Some men searched far and wide for it; eventually they came to the Place-of-emergence, looked down through the hole, and saw the deceased combing her hair. They returned, reported to their companions, "She is not dead, but in that world there is no provision for increase. Those who die continue to live without change." Four days later

the men died. Since that time people have feared to look upon the dead, have avoided places where the spirits of the dead may be, and are nervous about ghosts (tê'ndi').

Another story accounts for death after the pre-human beings had reached this world. Soon after their emergence, they tried to find out whether they would live forever or die. Someone threw a hide-scraper into the water and said, "If it sinks we perish; if it floats we live." It floated and all were glad, but Coyote came along and said, "Let me divine your fate." Pronouncing the the same words, he threw a stone into the water. It sank. The people became angry with him, but he rationalized (with customary Navaho acceptance of the inevitable): "If we all live and continue to increase as we have done in the past, the earth will be too small to hold us, and there will be no room for the cornfields. It is better that each of us should live but a limited time on this earth, then leave and make room for the children." The people realized the wisdom of his words and resigned themselves.²⁸

These explanations seem to indicate that the Navaho look upon death as failure to grow, and upon the land of the dead as static, although they do not emphasize stagnation.

I have not been able to confirm the explanation that property is destroyed because the deceased needs it in the afterlife. Such an idea is not consistent with my informants' belief that one loses personal identity at death and becomes an indefinable part of the universal whole. Yet Stephen writes, "They [Navaho] destroy or bury property so the dead may 'cut a swell' in the underground world."²⁹

One of Hoijer's informants volunteered, in an account of mortuary customs:

"If he [the deceased] had horses, they club the horses to death at the door of the hogan. His best saddle, saddle blanket, bridle—on all of these they hammer [to destroy them]. Only in this way will they be of use to [the deceased], they say. . . . If these belongings were not destroyed, then some Navaho wandering about would pick them up. Being hammered in that way, no one will bother them. They are called the ghost's belongings. . . .

"In this way a Navaho burial is well done. When it is done so [the deceased] is pleased with it. Right among us his spirit wanders about. For that reason, his belongings and the horse he will ride are buried with him. If this is not done, he comes back for his belongings, they say." ³⁰

My informants say, "We give to the dead to show respect, to indicate that they were loved by those who survive."

Destiny

The Navaho of my acquaintance often speculate about the fate of the dead. I have discussed the matter with many individuals, laymen as well as chanters. From none have I got even an intimation of a belief in an afterlife or afterworld. Most laymen thought there was nothing. The chanters stressed the idea of harmony and of *tê'ndi'*; all repudiated the idea of a *personal* immortality. Though the direct opposite of Wyman's findings, I think their opinion conforms with mythological teachings and interests already cited. Those of Wyman's informants who thought the afterworld resembled this one gave a description very much like that of many American Indians,³¹ at least those of the Plains and Plateau regions. My information leads me to contrast the Navaho to these other tribes. For example, the Apache have made much of the afterworld in myth and given a good picture of it; this seems remarkable in view of the few references in Navaho myth.

After I had written the brief summary "Human Nature as Conceived by the Navajo Indians,"³² I received a long criticism from Adolph Bitanny (AB). His remarks corroborate what I have said here, but he adds one point I have not emphasized and one I had not considered at all. I quote from his letter:

"In Navaho a man has three forms of hereafter amounting to concepts similar to immortality. First there is what I call

prolongation of man, which can be stated as a biological continuation—that is, parents to offsprings. This is pretty much conceived in plant and animal kingdom. The second concept is the physical hereafter; that is, when a body or a living entity dies—that is, ceases living—it disintegrates and harmonizes with the elements of the earth. This concept is elemental in that it's a return from animistic [living] entity to the element that makes up the universe. This concept has oftentimes played havoc with many a Navaho mind because some will say that a spirit does derive from the body upon death to become partially imbibed with other living entities. You hear many of the Navaho say that the after-death-spirit dwells here or there or is manifested in various animals like coyotes, bears, snakes, etc. The third concept or tenet represents a form of hereafter which I call intangible. This is manifested in terms of memory in the minds of the community in which the former body moved or lived. The memory of habits, traits, personality, temperaments, deed (bad or good) lives in the minds of the community in a form of stories about him. This method of thinking appears to be very clearly expressed in all ceremonies of purification."

The 'rightness' of biological continuation is well brought out by Navaho love and treatment of children and also by disdain for the childless, who are held to have failed in completing their life role. In his 'second concept' AB includes *sa'a na'ya'i bike xójó'n* and *té'ndi*; he touches upon an afterlife when he says, ". . . spirit dwells here and there," becoming explicit with examples of what we might call transmigration, confined, however, to the perpetuation of evil through sorcery, since one phase of witchcraft deals with the transformation of men into harmful animals.

Comparison with other Indian religions, including those of neighbors of the Navaho, brings out an astonishing lack of correlation between two customs, avoidance of the dead and avoidance of speaking of the dead. The Zuni, for example, though they do not like the dead and consider death an inconvenient interruption of normal affairs, do not have the unrea-

soning terror of the dead the Navaho have, yet the Zuni do not like to mention the deceased's name or to talk about him; they try to put him out of their thoughts so as to get life's activities back into the normal course. In contrast, the Navaho delight in talking about the life, good deeds, and accomplishments of the deceased. They are pleased when a child is said to resemble the recently dead or when an outsider reminds them of an event concerning him. The family I know best and other Navaho of my acquaintance demonstrated by their behavior AB's reference to memory as a form of spirit perpetuation.

Consideration of the nature of the universe, the world, and man, and the nature of time and space, creation, growth, motion, order, control, and the life cycle includes all these and other Navaho concepts expressed in terms quite impossible to translate into English. The synthesis of all the beliefs detailed above and of those concerning the attitudes and experiences of man is expressed by *sa'a na'gai*, usually followed by *bike xójón*. Various explanations are given for these phrases, which constitute the benediction (climax) of many prayers or songs. *xójóní* means 'perfection so far as it is attainable by man,' the end toward which not only man but also supernaturals and time and motion, institutions, and behavior strive. Perhaps it is the utmost achievement in order.

The remoteness of the concept of *sa'a na'gai* from any concept in Christianity doubtless accounts for difficulties of getting a word to approximate 'soul' and Navaho refusal to accept the Christian idea of afterlife. If man, like every other conceivable thing, becomes *sa'a na'gai*, he must lose not only his body but even his individuality—the very antithesis of Christian teaching. Christianity strives for future personal survival and resurrection by trial on earth;

Navaho religion, accepting the body and all personal shortcomings, emphasizes the opportunities of the present and tries to amalgamate them into a unity of experience and being with the past and future.

Various kinds of information support this conclusion. For years sa'a na'γái was translated 'in-old-age-walking,' and it is sometimes felt that sa'a na'γái bike xójó'n is a single inseparable concept, the whole thing to be construed 'in-old-age-walking-the-trail-of-beauty.' Linguistically this translation is incorrect, bike xójó'n having been recorded and not phonetically differentiated from bike xójó'n (bike, 'according-to-it,' ritualistically, 'by decree of').

I discussed the concept exhaustively with tǎ'h, who said that chanters are seriously concerned with the meaning and that there are two main schools of thought. The one that interprets it 'according-to-old-age-may-it-be-perfect' relies upon a false etymology of sá, 'old age,' made not only by whites but also by some Navaho. The other school argues that sa'a (or sa'ǎ) is desirable; old age, though inevitable, is to be put off. It is, of course, better to become old gracefully than to die young, but belief in Changing Woman's rejuvenation may delay old age. As the seasons advance she becomes old, it is true, but she has the power to reverse the process, becoming young again by degrees, as two children, deifically 'borrowed' from the original cornfield, testified:

"When we went in, our grandmother lay curled up, nearly killed with old age. She got up and walked with a cane of whiteshell to a room at the east. She came out again somewhat stronger. Then, supported by a cane of turquoise, she went into the south room. She came back walking unaided. She went next into a room at the west. She came out a young woman. She went into the north room and returned, a young girl so beautiful that we bowed our heads in wonder."³³

This bit of the myth accurately describes the Navaho

belief in the final ideal. tǎ'h therefore accepted the conclusions of the second school of thought in considering sǎ'ǎ as 'harmonious or desirable destiny' or even 'restoration-to-youth.' The singer of the Rain Ceremony said, "sǎ'ǎ na'ǎái is from the bottom of the earth. Sunrise and sunset have it. It is the power of renewal for everything every six months through Sun." For these and for linguistic reasons, I have accepted this dictum, translating the phrases 'according-to-the-ideal may-restoration-be-achieved.' I say 'phrases' advisedly because, according to Goddard, a song is assigned to each.

When Mirage Talking God blessed the house at Changing Woman's puberty rite, he sang two songs. At the end she inquired, "Why do you sing thus? Two old men are lacking. With what am I going to reach my destiny? According to what decree will things be perfect?" Talking God therefore added the songs about sǎ'ǎ na'ǎái and bike xójó'n.³⁴

Like a passage in the Shooting Chant, this reference to two old men leads one to suppose that these ideals were personified and symbolized in song. In an assembly of the Holy Ones the chants were ordained and the rules laid down. Duties and powers, among them the songs, were assigned various creatures. "The monsters will be among your songs which, because of them, will be strengthened, respected, and feared," the gods told Holy Young Man from Rumbling Mountain when he was put in charge of the Shooting Chant. "Among all other chants we make, your songs will be included to strengthen them. And your songs, Sky Man and Earth Woman, will bring them all without exception, and yours, Restoration-to-youth and According-to-perfection, will always be at the end."

Father Berard gives still another explanation. The song phrase sǎ'ǎ na'ǎái bitǎh refers to the symbolism of ritualistic tallows of the War Ceremony. He says it is equivalent to

naxosdzá'n biká' tlah na'stcí'n, 'collected tallows on the surface of the earth,' that is, tallows from the game animals. "sa'a na'γái is supposed to be the inner form of the earth, which at times stretches itself, then takes another position. This change in position accounts for changed conditions on the earth's surface. . . . On the surface of the earth we find beauty or happiness (bike xójó'n) in plants, water, trees, and mountains. Therefore sa'a na'γái and bike xójó'n, 'the inner form of the earth and its outer surface,' are usually combined in song and prayer." ³⁵

Since sa'a na'γái, according to tǎ'h and others of my informants, includes everything, we may expect to find it expressed by various symbols. Perhaps that is the only way in which an abstraction of this kind can be explained. The explanation of Father Berard's informant is an attempt at personification; that of Goddard's seems to be of persons. As concepts the two phrases are a projection into the future, since characters such as First Man and First Woman and others belong to the past.

Even more difficult is the concept behind tǎ'ndi' (tǎ'di'), which expresses the residue that man has been unable to bring into the universal harmony, for, despite the efforts of the gods, man, and nature, some evils refuse to be woven into the pattern of well-being. Perhaps the best rendering would be 'potentiality for evil.' Wyman has discussed tǎ'ndi', mistakenly translated as 'devil' or, somewhat better, 'ghost.' ³⁶ Nothing in the Navaho idea corresponds to any notion of 'devil'; the interpretation may be dismissed. 'Ghost' means something more tangible than tǎ'ndi'. It has been accepted because it so often refers to the dead; it may in fact mean 'the contamination of the dead.'

The dead body, the house where the person dies, things in contact with the body are tǎ'ndi'—that is, full of dreaded

power, potentiality for evil. When evils are listed for the purpose of exorcism, *tê'ndi'* often take first place. Informants say they are more prevalent and come closer to man at night than in the daytime. Ghosts are inexorable; they cannot be persuaded to become helpful to man. *tê'ndi'* exist and the best man can do is to drive them off or avoid them. By providing himself, as it were, with a thick coating of positive power—prayer, song, the strength of the gods—and by arming himself with things feared by *tê'ndi'*—flint points, ashes, soot, ghost 'medicine'—he may at least keep evil at bay.

On the road of life to his final destiny, which will make man one with the universe, he is concerned with maintaining harmony with all things, with subsistence and the orderly replenishment of his own kind. Since nothing in the universe is endowed with omnipotence, dangers, evils, and mistakes still exist; by himself man cannot annihilate error. Consequently, all beings in the sky, on the earth, in the waters, under the earth, and in the subterranean waters either aid him or must be overcome by superior power. Man may hope to obtain such power by proper manipulation, that is, by magical techniques. He is aided by earth elements—plants, animals, rocks, waters, mountains.

The supernaturals are greater than man. They brought him into being and designated, through long suffering and teaching of one object lesson after another, the control man should exert over himself and his natural surroundings. Through them he learned what was good and what was harmful, and how evils and dangers could be converted to good. None of these powers is purely good; some are almost wholly evil. Invocation and propitiation of the gods and the forces of nature are useless unless one is in rapport with his fellow-men. Proper behavior was defined by the gods along with life-giving and life-preserving principles.

CHAPTER 4

PANTHEON: CHARACTERISTICS OF SUPERNATURALS

AT VARIOUS points in man's walk through life all the courage and endurance he summons may fail; he then invokes the superior power of the supernaturals. Dogma does not try to account for the origin of the deities. They simply were, without birth or creation, or they were transformed from something that already existed.

There are three Navaho names for deity—*yé'i*, *xa'ctcé'*, and *diyini*—but, as is usually the case with Navaho categories, they are not exclusive. *yé'i* is used both for those who help man and those who harm man. Talking God, for instance, whose name is *xa'ctcé'łtíhí*, and *yé'i'tsoh*, Big Monster, are both classed as *yé'i*.

Some, but not nearly all, the Holy People have names with *xa'ctcé'*, a part of a noun compound that seems to mean 'god' or 'favorable power.' When asked the difference between Holy People and *yé'i*, JS said *yé'i* were seen in masked impersonations, but his explanation does not account for First Man, First Woman, Coyote, Big Fly, Thunder, and others who are not masked so far as my material goes, though they are sometimes included as *yé'i*. Further investigation indicates that the class *yé'i* includes all beings whose power supersedes that of man, whereas *xa'ctcé'* includes only beings whose characteristics belong more emphatically to the class I call 'persuadable'; that is, they are easy to invoke and have no primordial meanness or evil intention.

Contrasted to *xa'ctcé'* (but also included in *yé'i*) are

na'yé'—specifically, 'monsters,' generally, 'evils, dangers, whatever is hostile to man.' These are well described in myth, but because tradition emphasizes their subjection rather than their contribution to man's well-being, they do not appear in the assemblies of the gods. The symbols that represent them in the rituals exorcise rather than invoke them.

The Holy People—*diyini*, 'the-particular-ones-who-are-holy'; *diyín dine'é*, 'holy group or groups'—are by no means always well disposed toward man, but they may be on man's side on a particular occasion. Sun, Changing Woman, Talking God, Monster Slayer, Thunders, and Winds are among the many deities referred to as Holy People. When Sun generated the monsters, he was not favoring man, yet he begot The Twins to save man. Talking God similarly seemed for endless days against rather than for the Stricken Twins, yet eventually he caused their triumph. Monster Slayer was originally human but, through trial, error, and divine dispensation, became holy. His failures are attributed to ignorance, not to evil intention. Destructive rather than constructive powers are more commonly ascribed to Thunders, Wind, and Snakes, yet with great effort they may be persuaded to aid man. 'Holy' seems therefore to describe a mood or attitude of the gods rather than a particular class.

It may include also those whose power is relatively insignificant yet upon occasion indispensable, those I have called 'helpers, aides, or mentors.' If Chipmunk, one of the least of earth's creatures, has the particular power to aid in overcoming a cosmic monster, she is as important at the moment she is needed as Sun's child with all his god-given weapons. For with all the power of his revered mother and his dashing father, he would fail if, thinking Burrowing Monster was

dead, he had no way of proving it and got caught when the monster revived. A little everyday person who, even when the monster lived, took a run out to the end of the horn, could easily make the test. Examples of the importance of the apparently insignificant are numerous in story and chant, for in the Navaho conception of order or destiny, the least as well as the greatest is accounted for. Occasionally, too, the 'great ones' perform some invaluable but ordinarily insignificant function, instead of exhibiting the extraordinary powers of which they are capable.

I have tried in vain to arrange the supernatural beings in chronological sequence and in the order of their importance. If we consider only the texts that acquaint us with the Shooting Chant and the War Ceremony, we might say that Sun was the deity above all others; furthermore, we would know almost nothing about the gods called *xa'ctcé'*. Matthews, who worked intensively on the Night Chant and assembled more information about *xa'ctcé'* than is found in all the other available chant myths put together, was led to conclude: "Much is said about the sun god in the Origin Legend and in other legends of the tribe. In these tales he appears as a god of the greatest powers; yet his cultus today is not so important as that of other gods. He is not appealed to so frequently as some others are."

This statement could not be corroborated by the Shooting Chant, in which prayers, songs, sandpainting, and symbols of Sun are so numerous as to indicate a sun cult. Matthews' further remark, "Sun is never personified in any of the rites of the Night Chant and never represented in the dry-paintings,"¹ is also astonishing to the student of the Shooting Chant—or would be, did he not realize that each chant is so organized that one power or group of powers may be the focus of emphasis in one, quite secondary in another. Further-

more, powers of such great significance in one chant as to set the key may in another be subject to taboo. Snakes of various kinds are so ubiquitous in the Shooting and Wind chants as to be a major theme. From the Hail Chant—in many respects closely related to the other two—Snake is excluded.

If Matthews had started with the Hail Chant instead of recording the Night Chant first, he would of necessity have concluded that Thunders were important deities, that snakes were shunned almost completely; moreover, there would have been only minor indications that the gods he defines as 'major' existed at all. Their role in the Hail Chant, while not exactly minor, is, to say the least, casual.

Though their traits are implicit and references to them scattered, many of the gods are well characterized. The total impression of each god can be ascertained only from the associations that form the basis of the ritual. Some deities are described by myth or ritual and symbolized by masks or sandpaintings. Often, however, the power a being controls is brought out by a description of its home, a seemingly casual reference to its demands for a prayerstick, or an action—for instance, the alacrity with which it accepts an offering or its hesitancy in assenting to a plea for aid. I have collected much of the scattered information under the name of the deity in Concordance A, and from it made the following classification of gods, which is intended to be suggestive rather than definitive:

- Persuadable deities (P)
- Undependable deities (U)
- Helpers of deity and man (H)
- Intermediaries between man and deity (I)
- Unpersuadable deities (UP)
- Dangers considered as deities (D)
- Beings between good and evil (B)

One condition frequently referred to in the myths, and by implication in the chants, is the possibility that any god may be duplicated. The Stricken Twins, seeking help, wander from one god to another having the same name but living in different places. There are many references to Talking God and xa'ctcé''óyan, both of whom sometimes travel in groups. Usually one Talking God is not distinguished from another; in one version of Changing Woman's development the deity in charge of her puberty ceremony was called Mirage Talking God.

I have discussed the question of 'multiple selves' in *Navajo Medicine Man*.² Since time and space may be telescoped or expanded, a god here today may easily have been here yesterday and, if here yesterday, he may have been here also a hundred or a thousand years ago. If it is a spirit able to appear miraculously when needed, there is no reason why there should not be a group of four spirits, four times as helpful, or why four identical spirits cannot be in different places at the same time. Once the imagination has conjured up the original figure, multiplication is simple enough. A deity who can move on a sunbeam, rainbow, or streak of lightning may as easily be in four places at one time.

In Gray Eyes' story of the Shooting Chant, the new permanent home Changing Woman helped to prepare for Monster Slayer is described with the added explanation: "There [beyond Mt. Taylor] his father was preparing a home for him. His mother, although she was staying here [at t'ó'l'í'í], was helping Sun get it ready and knew all about it"—which suggests that Changing Woman may be another manifestation of Sun's 'Sky Wife' (cp. Chapter 5).

If a rock crystal is desperately needed, Rock Crystal Man appears and offers advice or a token of power which may be greatly increased if a group of his own kind accompanies

him; hence, there may be four or sixteen Rock Crystal People. The appearance of the same god in different guises is somewhat more difficult to understand. The protagonists of the different chant myths, the wonderful boys who enlist with greater or less difficulty the sympathy and protection of the gods, seem to be representative of Monster Slayer, if not actually he in person. When arrayed in armor, he is Monster Slayer; without it, he is Holy Man; in another situation he is Reared-in-the-earth. Place makes a difference, and when four gods instead of the usual pair are needed, four may turn up. Child-of-the-water, who is also Holy Boy, may be Changing Grandchild. There is less evidence, except their extraordinary behavior and experiences, that other leading men of the drama represent the great warrior or his peaceful counterpart. Some Navaho chanters see remote connections between similar symbols from which they generalize; others are too literal-minded to comprehend any connection between the symbols. For the latter, each detail by itself is as stated; there is no need to assume a relationship to anything else. Father Berard has at last tacitly accepted the theory of multiple selves and Maud Oakes' informant corroborates it.³

In enumerating the gods and explaining the difficulty of distinguishing exactly between *yé'i*, *xa'ctéé*, and other groups, I mentioned the question of rank, pointing out that superiority or inferiority depends upon the situation. Many chant myths follow a certain pattern: a youth, for one reason or another, cuts himself adrift from his family, enters upon a series of adventures, experiences terrifying enough to break the hardest, which make him for some time an associate of deity. Eventually he leaves the earth to join the gods, whereupon he himself becomes divine. Many legends end with the disappearance of the hero; none tells which god he became or what his permanent human-deific position is. It is generally

understood that Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water are the War Gods, having been transformed from earthly beings. They are γέ'í, at least in the sense that they are impersonated by masked dancers, but are perhaps in a class by themselves.

The names of the gods and their position in the ceremonial lodge are often carefully noted. Differences in the roll call of deities at a gathering and in the position occupied by one at different times show the absence of a hierarchy and the capacity of one deity to be in different places at the same time:

When the Stricken Twins reached the assembly of gods at Broad Rock in Canyon de Chelly, many γέ'í were present. xa'ctcé''óyan led the meeting and asked each of the following gods in turn if he had shown the Stricken Twins the way to their home: Monster Slayer, Child-of-the-water, Shooting God, Fringed Mouth, Hunchback God, Male God, Female God, Red God, Black God, Talking God, then Superior God, Whistling God, xa'ctcé''dó'dí, and Water Sprinkler.⁴

Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water are intermediaries; Fringed Mouth, Hunchback God, Black God, Talking God, and Water Sprinkler are masked gods in the Night Chant; Male God, Female God, Red God, Superior God, Whistling God, and xa'ctcé''dó'dí are so lightly sketched as to be unclassifiable.

After Rainboy was destroyed by Winter Thunder, Big Fly took the news to Dark Thunder, Chief of the Thunders. The Black, Blue, Yellow, and White Thunders, Whirlwinds and Winds of the same colors, Spotted Thunder, Pink Thunder, and be'ýotcidí met to discuss what could be done. Talking God and xa'ctcé''óyan had a part in this council.⁵

To another assembly came 'all the Holy People' (diyin dine'é): First Man, First Woman, Salt Woman, be'ýotcidí, First Warrior, Black God, Changing Woman, Sun, and all the gods (γέ'í). Talking God and xa'ctcé''óyan were ready when Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water were heard

coming. All bowed their heads and put their hands on their knees as Talking God and his companion blessed the house.⁶

The importance of the War Gods is emphasized by their entrance, but the membership of the divine group and the reason for their order is not apparent.

After the Dark Thunder People had fought with the Winter Thunder group until there was great destruction on both sides, the Holy People met to see what could be done. To this meeting at the home of Dark Thunder came Changing Woman, Monster Slayer, Child-of-the-water, Bat, Big Fly, and Black God.

At this time two meetings were held simultaneously, one at the home of Dark Thunder and one at the home of Winter Thunder; the same deities were present at both. Although Changing Woman begged the 'great gods' to carry the offer of peace to Winter Thunder, everyone was afraid until finally, after much coaxing, Bat, who occupied the humblest seat near the door, consented to go.

At the home of Winter Thunder, whither they had gone, Black God forced Winter Thunder to listen to a proposal. When they sat down to talk it over there were Winter Thunder, Duck, Mudhen, Big White Duck, Beaver, Big Snake, and so many allies that they had to stand outside the house.

Eventually an agreement was concluded by the Dark Thunder and the Winter Thunder groups. As they were about to leave for the fight, Talking God told them to get in line. This time there were Monster Slayer, Child-of-the-water, Changing Woman, Talking God, Big Fly, Pollen Boy, Cornbeetle Girl, the two Racing Gods and their grandmother, and the four Whirlwinds. All the Holy People, except be'yotcidí, came: Cloud People, Water People, Fog People, Moss People. The same deities assembled at Dark Thunder's and at Winter Thunder's house. Talking God laid down a wide rainbow for Dark Thunder's party and took his place at its head. The other people stood on it behind him and xa'ctcé'óyan stood at the rear; the whole assembly was made invisible by a dark cloud. The organization of Winter Thunder's party on a white rainbow was exactly the same: Talking God was in front, xa'ctcé'óyan at the rear, and all were hidden by a white fog.⁷

At another assembly for Rainboy's welfare the following participated (the places of some in the ceremonial hogan are designated): Changing Woman, Blue-whirlwind-maiden, Salt Woman, Turtledove Maiden, Talking God, Winter Thunder, Dark Thunder, Blue-male-god, Corn-female-god, xa'tcéé'-óyan, and many others. Changing-bear-maiden, Pinyon Jay, Female God, Gopher, and Thunder Girl brought in food offerings. The food was refused and the donors were expelled.⁸

On the last day, when the body painting was done, Big Snake and his group were told to get out. When they retired, First Man, First Woman, Salt Woman, Coyote, be'yotcidí, Black God, Water Sprinkler, Talking God, xa'tcéé'-óyan, Left-handed-whirlwind (the one that blows anti-sunwise), Wind People, and Frog with her many grandchildren came in. In the description of this assembly, each being sat at either the north or the south side of the house; his position indicated whether he was favorable (south) or opposed (north) to the patient. Coyote sat near the door so he could affiliate with either side, according to his whim.⁹

The omnipresence of the spirits may be a comfort to the Navaho who is under the direct protection of the gods, as evidenced by myth or the sandpictures that represent it:

As six gods escorted co from their home to his, they often saw the heads of the gods sticking out from roots of trees and stones, from springs and swamps.¹⁰

The supernatural endowments of deities, who are by no means perfect, are emphasized in essentially human terms. The most powerful beings are sometimes thwarted by a circumstance with which a man could easily cope.

Changing Woman, respected above all the gods, stubbornly refused to move to the new home made for her in the west. When forced, she remarked plaintively that she was afraid she might be lonely. Sun wept when asked to give the power necessary to kill the monsters. Talking God is helpless when his fellow gods fail to recognize him as the father of the Stricken Twins, their realization of his fatherhood being the

only thing lacking (Chapter 8). Unfailing understanding of man's weaknesses, even when fancy takes its wildest flights, may be one reason the Navaho have no supreme god.

Belief in the close relation between man and the Holy People is demonstrated by the explanation of the origin of some of the clans. The progenitors of certain clans were called Holy People. Either the group had broken off from the main body of the tribe and had later rejoined it, or 'it had no history of recent origin.'¹¹

Matthews attributes the reddish or yellowish hair of the masks to the fact that in mythological times friendly and alien gods (yé'i') both had yellow hair. My materials give other explanations for the red marks on masks and heads of sandpainting figures: they represent the treasured red bonnet Sun obtained through the exploits of his gambler son. The fair skin and light hair of be'ȳotcidí are emphasized in the myths—a probable explanation of tlá'h's belief that he is the white man's forerunner.

The next excerpts from myth illustrate the exactness with which some of the talents of the gods are described. The powers are carefully incorporated in prayersticks offered to invoke their aid in ritual.

The gods took charge of Self Teacher, who tried to get away from his home in an unseaworthy log, and made for him a model river conveyance. They tied the tree with rainbow ropes so it would not fall with too much force. Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water cut it with their powerful stone knives and it fell to the north. Zigzag Lightning went through the fallen tree from butt to tip and Straight Lightning darted from tip to butt, hollowing it out even before the branches had been removed. The first hole was crooked; the second god made it straight, but it was still too small. The Winds—Black, Blue, Yellow, and White—entered it in succession, each enlarging it a bit until a man could sit in it. Talking God provided a bowl of food, a vessel of water, and

a white cloud for bedding. The gods contributed everything necessary for Self Teacher's comfort, but the particular god who fulfilled each need is not mentioned.

Meanwhile six gods—four Hunchback Gods from Sheep-trail-extends-out, one xa'ctcé'óyan from tséyihí, and one from tsétah—got Self Teacher's pet turkey ready for the journey. They attached ropes of zigzag lightning, rainray, straight lightning, and rainbow to the log, but their concerted effort was not enough to budge it when they tried to carry the log with the man inside it to the river. Then the six were called; two of the Hunchback Gods at each end crossed their poles under the log, while the two xa'ctcé'óyan took their places at the center. They were then able to carry the log, though with some difficulty. As they proceeded, their strength failed and they were about to let it go when the Winds came to help them, Black Wind and Blue Wind in front, Yellow Wind and White Wind behind.

When Water Monster pulled the log containing Self Teacher down to the bottom of the river, Water Sprinkler with his magic jars was able to open the water so that the trail of Self Teacher could be found. However, he could not enter the house of Water Monster until the gods above had sent him a short rainbow. Even then, when he got into the innermost room Water Monster chased him out. He returned with Black God, who frightened Water Monster with his fire, finally making him yield. Water Sprinkler then extinguished the fire. As the troupe of gods left Water Monster's home, Frog told Self Teacher how to invoke Water Monster, Water Horse, Beaver, Otter, Big Fish, and himself, Frog, with prayersticks if these water people should ever give disease to man. At a falls in the San Juan River the log stuck again; the Water Fringed Mouths loosened it by raising it with a rope of zigzag lightning. When the whirling log finally came to the lake that was its destination, the gods standing at each side of the lake removed the end plugs of clouds with their poles—xa'ctcé'óyan at the east, Talking God at the south, and one of the Hunchbacks at the west and north—thus freeing the hero.¹²

The gods were not always able to control one another or to predict the exact results of their endeavors. Rainboy of the Hail Chant, blown to bits after having been seduced by

Winter Thunder's wife, had to be restored by Winter Thunder. It was exceedingly difficult to persuade him and, though he had promised to be helpful, the gods knew that Winter Thunder would try to nullify their good offices if they allowed him to say, "May he weaken." They therefore persisted in repeating the counter-formula "May he be revived" so rapidly and loudly that Winter Thunder could not possibly get his evil words in.¹³

After the entire Hail Chant had been carried out in Rain-boy's behalf and he had acquired all its power, he was expected to accept it. For a long time he, a humble earth youth, hesitated, keeping all the gods anxiously waiting for his one word of approval.¹⁴

A striking characteristic of the pantheon is its kinship organization. None of the kinship references is carried out as elaborately and consistently as that of any Navaho family or clan, but there is a strong tendency to relate one being to another. Sun is an idealized philanderer; almost any young earth maiden is his potential mate. The lot of such a girl was hard until she was rewarded by the supernatural achievement of her children; then her whole family shared their honor.¹⁵

Sun had one wife who seems to have been legitimate, permanent, typical; she kept house in the east for him. She was Dawn's daughter; her father is not mentioned. She bore Sun many children—all brothers and sisters of The Twins. Two, Dawn Boys, were models for the shaping of The Twins at Sun's house (cp. *Pressing*, Concordance B).¹⁶ Changing Woman became Sun's second wife and eventually established a home in the west where he could rest.

Talking God is said to be the maternal grandfather of the gods (yé'i bitcei'), a relationship that gives the Night Chant one of its names. Frequently an inferior addresses a deity as

'grandfather,' a term with great persuasive force that indicates the proper respect of a younger person toward an elder.

If the Navaho pantheon were a closely knit family or clan organization, it would be profitable to pursue the discussion of the kinship of the Holy Ones much further, for we might find evidence of a hierarchy. However, chanters corroborate the casual and inconsistent kinship allusions in the literature by their reluctance to carry the god relationship more than two or three generations and by their confusion when conflicts are pointed out. Neither of the two reasonable explanations for the common use of kinship terms for the gods presupposes hierarchy. One is the Navaho tendency to utilize the persuasive power of kinship terms to the full. The people simply carry into their mythology a cultural habit of which it would be difficult to rid themselves. The second explanation is that the deific kin-terms are a holdover from a mythological style prevailing in a large region, the northern Plateau, from or through which the Navaho may be presumed to have come and whence many of the plots seem to have derived.

CHAPTER 5

PANTHEON: TYPES OF SUPERNATURALS

Persuadable Deities

SOME OF the gods who play a major role in the chants analyzed may be called Persuadable Deities because their motives are good. Among them are Sun, Changing Woman, most of the *xa'ctcé'*, Racing Gods, and all their duplicates (Chapter 4). Some of these have many kinds of power; Gopher, Yellow Rat, Chipmunk, and other helpers have perhaps only one or at best few powers. First Man, First Woman, Salt Woman, *be'γotcidí*, and others might be included here as well as among the Undependable Deities, since they exerted a great deal of influence in creation and in guiding the universe so that man could extricate himself from uncontrolled forces, and are sometimes readily invoked—that is, their wishes are known; prayersticks offered to them with the proper prayers counteract their less favorable traits.

Undependable Deities

The Undependable Gods are persuadable only with difficulty because meanness or the desire to do mischief is a large part of their makeup. Consequently, First Man and First Woman may be put into this category also, although, as has just been said, they are sometimes amenable to man's requests for help. One can never be sure how they will respond, but proper handling may compel them to work for man's benefit, at least temporarily. Man may ultimately control their powers,

but he may be obliged to resort to their somewhat doubtful methods.

First Man and First Woman have control of witchcraft. As they took their places in the cosmos after the world was made, they warned the Earth People that they might do harm by sending disease. When, therefore, the causes of man's grief are ascribed to their evil propensities, great effort must be put forth to gain their good will.

Helpers of Deity and Man

Innumerable beings assist deity, man, and even the evils. One type, which bridges the supernatural distance between man and god and plays a major role in instruction, I call 'mentor.' Mentors are few and, like the gods, each may be a different aspect of a single idea. Those most commonly mentioned in my material are Big Fly and Wind. They are said to 'sit on the ear' of a person who needs instruction and to whisper answers to questions or forecast the future. Stephen records that First Man created a feather or a wing which he attached to his ear. Sapir's informant explains it as a little extension at the end of a down feather. Moved by Wind, this feather represents Sun's power. Big Fly, when a daytime mentor, may be symbolized as Wind's Child, or Sunbeam. Bat sometimes substitutes for Darkness; both are the night protectors corresponding with Big Fly and Sunbeam.¹

Mentors are described as ever present, although invisible at assemblies. When, after four nights of discussion, no constructive plan has been achieved, a voice from near the door or from some concealed place in the ceiling gives a clue to the proper offering and the god to whom it should be presented. The suggestion is sometimes enigmatical, but furnishes enough information to be understood if the people concen-

PANTHEON: TYPES OF SUPERNATURALS

trate. Eventually the voice appears, embodied as Big Fly, Wind, Bat, or Darkness, and explains itself as a guardian of the home of some powerful supernatural, all of whose secrets it knows.

The mentors differ from the gods in that they do not themselves require an offering or payment, but volunteer their aid. On the other hand, characters that serve as mentors do not always act in the same capacity; they may resemble Holy People, contribute rites or ritual, and accept payment. Talking God has been noted as a major deity, but he often serves as a mentor, and others serve in multiple roles.

Another type of helper is the messenger who reports news, announces a ceremony and invites people to sing, or goes on a tour of investigation. As the people moved from one world to another, messengers were dispatched to report on the size and condition of the earth. Black Hawk, Hummingbird, and One-who-walked-on-the-bottom-of-the-water were sent out by First Man; all reported water in every direction. Badger, moving upward into a new world, found mud; later Panther and Wolf inspected the world. Coyote's reports are clues to events, but are rarely accepted unless corroborated. Wind, Roadrunner, and Turkey, for instance, are reliable, and it is said that Turtledove always reports things carefully (cp. Chapter 4; *Racing Gods*, *Sunbeam*, *Shooting Star*, *Concordance A*).

After the hero of a chant has been treated, he should observe a period of restriction, usually four days, during which he absorbs the powers given him. In myth he often remains alone without food or shelter. When he gets hungry and longs for company, a helper—Beaver, Owl, Gopher—tells him that the gods neglected to impart a bit of vital knowledge, usually some detail as how to make incense, which they themselves fear.

A small class of helpers may be called fatalists. When something is badly needed and can be obtained only at great risk, someone makes the inevitable remark, "I may as well go. I have to die sometime." Usually the volunteer succeeds in accomplishing the mission.

To complete the category of helpers one should include all the animals—predatory animals representative of hunters, rare game animals that allow themselves to be caught for food, Beaver and Otter, Gila Monster, Birds, Rodents, Insects. Particularly notable among the insects is Spider, originator of spinning and weaving, who gave The Twins feathers to represent the thread of life and save them from peril. Like First Woman, she is sometimes dangerous, laying a trap for people and getting them into trouble. The roles of other insects are discussed elsewhere, but Pollen Boy and Corn-beetle Girl are to be noted as helpers, since they typify fertilization.

Besides the almost infinite number of helpers symbolized by animals of every kind, other groups personify abstract ideas (Chapter 3). Sky, Dawn, Evening Light, Mirage, Heat, Sun, Summer, Stars, as well as precious stones—whiteshell, turquoise, rock crystal, and jet—and even manufactured articles, such as flint arrowpoints, are called 'people' and behave like persons.

Intermediaries Between Man and Deity

The line between the Holy People and Earth People is not sharply drawn, and in many respects the protagonist of the myth and ritual belongs to both, since he connects the human and divine. With few exceptions, he starts out as an Earth Person showing no special talent. Often disobedience involves him in supernatural affairs. As punishment for disregarding some admonition, he is led upon adventures. He meets a

supernatural who directs him, gets into difficulties, and endures much suffering. Among his tribulations are long, dangerous journeys which take him to angry deities who say he must be punished but mean he must be taught. Each encounter yields some element of a ceremony which he brings back to his people. He cleanses his family so they will be able to deal with holy things and teaches someone, usually his brother, to sing the ritual. He stays long enough to supervise the brother's first performance, often over a sister, then disappears into the air, sometimes taking a relative with him. He promises to bless and watch over his family and bids them remember him whenever they see some natural phenomenon such as rainbow, rain, sunglow, or growth.

The difficulty of differentiating between Earth and Holy People is sometimes evidenced in the tales. Frequently it is said, "Earth People do not come here." When the Stricken Twins went to the Hopi, they were called 'Earth People.' An indication of inferiority, it implied that the Hopi may have considered themselves holy. However, after the twins had shown their power, the Hopi confessed that they were merely Earth People just like the twins.² Actually the Hopi were bluffing, and learned to their sorrow that the twins were supernatural.

The Twins, or War Gods, are the type heroes of the stories. Their exploits in overcoming the first and worst enemies of the earth are recounted in the myths of the Emergence, the Male Shooting Chant Holy, and the War Ceremony. In the account of the Shooting Chant the transition between Earth and Holy People is made when The Twins appear in two guises—their own, as Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water, and as Holy Man and Holy Boy (Chapter 4).

After the major evils and dangers had been overcome, minor difficulties, inconveniences, and misunderstandings

remained. These were transformed into good in various ceremonies which have The Twins or one of their manifestations as hero-teachers. The Stricken Twins of one version of the Night Chant seem to be such a manifestation. Talking God as their father behaves like Sun; their mother may be the earthly counterpart of Changing Woman; and they are War Gods who failed again and again, children who endure the sorrows of Earth People and who, with little help, must prevail over the suspicion and snobbery of the gods. The adventures of the Stricken Twins contrast sharply with those of The Twins on their journeys to Sun when success accompanied them in a kind of supernatural glow.

In the Hail Chant, Rainboy starts out as the unlucky gambler. In the Shooting Chant his counterpart is Holy Boy. So similar were the two that even the Holy People sometimes took one for the other. Because Monster Slayer had charge of corn, agriculture was possible, but life was very one-sided without rare game, which was under the control of the incestuous old sorcerer Deer Owner, from whom war power alone could wrest it. In the legend of the Eagle Chant, Monster Slayer overcame him and acquired the eagle-trapping ritual. The same motive—raising vegetables and conquering the gamekeeper—occurs in the Feather Chant, where game is more highly stressed, and in the Night Chant, which emphasizes the power of the gods.

In the Eagle Chant, Monster Slayer is the perfect lover; in the Feather Chant, the hero is despised as a gambler and is so ill-treated by his family that he leaves home. The stories develop four aspects of the hero—the individual or twin representation, the gambler, the visionary or whirling log, and the eagle decoy. The hero of the Feather Chant combines the gambler and the visionary types.

The Twelve Brothers of the Endurance Chant are almost

certainly duplicates of The Twins in their idealized domestic form. RM, who told the story, said explicitly that the Youngest Brother, the little one with power, was Monster Slayer.

The hero of the Big Star Chant was the son-in-law of the One-who-customarily-sees-the-fish, who, RM says, is the same as Monster Slayer.³ I have found no reference to this young man's father-in-law, but presumably he belongs in the sorcerer class (cp. *Deer Owner*, Concordance A). Through the eagle decoy the hero gained entrance to Skyland, where he learned the secrets of the stars. The beggar or dirty boy of the Bead Chant, by making an eagle decoy, got the powers of the sky-flying creatures, including snakes.

The tales of the Visionary are quite similar in two versions, one belonging to a form of the Night Chant and one to the Feather Chant. Parts of these stories are almost identical; so close is their relation that the Feather Chant seems in some respects to be a branch of the Night Chant. The tales are differentiated, however, by the contrast in the aid given, evident in the motivation. In the Visionary or Whirling Log plot the gods volunteered their aid and everything went well for the hero, who was selected by the gods. In the Feather Chant version everything was hard for him; he had to guess and fumble before the gods would aid him.

One theme in the introduction to the myth of the Visionary I have found nowhere else. The boy was subjected to supernatural training because he had dreams and heard voices which later turned out to be prophecies. He understood the talk of birds who are enemies of man. His gift sets the story in motion. Later the tale becomes more a list of ceremonial detail than a drama with a well-integrated plot.⁴

In contrast to the Visionary hero is Reared-in-the-mountain of the Mountain Chant myth, who did not realize, until after many adventures, that he was chosen by the Holy

People. An ordinary Navaho youth who disobeyed his father's injunctions, he was captured by the Utes, symbolic of all Navaho enemies. Even this occurrence put him in the way of meeting supernatural beings and becoming an intermediary between them and the Earth People.

It is almost impossible to decide whether the protagonists of the tales are human or divine. The latter probably fits them better, for they miraculously disappeared from the earth, presumably to join the gods. When in the realm of the supernatural beings, they yearn for their human families; yet when they return to earth they so long for the company of the gods that they cannot stay. Their nostalgia for the earth and its people leaves them apparently suspended between earth and heaven.⁵

Unpersuadable Deities

The intermediaries between man and gods may err or disobey deific commands, but they are never contemptible, their lapses being due to ignorance. The monsters, Unpersuadable Deities, are essentially evil, the results of abnormal sexual indulgence in a lower world or of blood shed at their birth and not ritualistically disposed of because they were not acknowledged by their mothers. They appear as colors under rocks and at the base of cliffs and are usually called 'Those-who-talk-at-the-base-of-cliffs.'⁶ They are also called γέ'í, but if the term 'holy' is applied to them it refers to their maleficent power. They harm man instead of aiding him. Predacious monsters, they were conquered by the War Gods. Lest they produce weakness in the earth, which must communicate itself to man, they must be remembered in ceremony by exorcistic rites.

The monsters have different names and descriptions in

different versions of the myths. Big Monster, called also Big-gray-monster and Big-lonely-monster, is the prototype. As he symbolizes all and was the hardest to deal with, his conquest set the pattern for the rest. Since the Navaho names do not always differentiate the Unpersuadable Deities from *xa'ctcé'*, those more easily persuaded, the following distinctions made by translation should be noted:

Big Monster	<i>γé'i'tsoh</i>	Gray Monster	<i>γé'i' lbahí</i>
Big God	<i>xa'ctc'é'tsoh</i>	Gray God	<i>xa'ctc'é' lbahí</i>

Dangers Conceived as Deities

Monsters and dangers have the same function—to strengthen The Twins' war power. In the legends of the Shooting Chant, Enemy Way, and War Prophylactic ceremonies, the dangers are encountered by The Twins on their first journey to their father; in some of the others they are lacking or come after certain monsters have been vanquished. Dangers are not as thoroughly personalized as monsters; they are rather described as natural phenomena which must be brought under control. That they are just as animistic is attested by the pollen-paintings of Oakes' Plates II and III, where the spirit of the danger is represented. The pictures of the Slipping (Sliding) Sands, Cutting Reeds, and Crushing Rocks illustrate a type of danger that destroyed Earth People just as the monsters did.⁷

The dangers are really mythological motives common to many North American tribes, but since the Navaho have utilized them in their ritualistic complex, they have become a type of symbol. The unravelers of the Shooting Chant, for instance, represent not only the thread of life given by Spider Woman to Monster Slayer for his protection but also the subjection of the Sliding Sands; Black God's fire drill stands

for not only the power of fire but also the episode of The Twins' encounter with the Cutting Reeds.

An interesting combination in painting that indicates the close relation between monster and danger is the picture of Hot Spring in Oakes' Plate IX.⁸ Actually this represents The Twins overcoming Big Monster, but instead of the monster himself the painting shows the place he dominated, in terms of a danger that had to be removed.

Beings Between Good and Evil

Monster Slayer and his brother overcame the great monsters and dangers, then traveled throughout the world looking for other evils to subdue. At one time their mother, by means of a fierce storm, killed many minor evils, sometimes called 'gray gods,' and indicated that none was left. However, Wind told Monster Slayer about such creatures as Old Age, Cold, Poverty, Hunger, Sleep, Louse, Craving-for-meat, Desire, and Want. Without consulting his mother, he sought them in their dwellings, where he found them a disgusting lot. They had sore eyes, sticky eyebrows, and mucus running from their noses, but each gave a good reason why it should not be destroyed, and he was powerless before their words and gentle ways. For instance, Monster Slayer had no difficulty with Eye Killers when he cast salt into the fire made with his fire drill, but when Sleep passed a finger gently down over Monster Slayer's nose he simply fell asleep; he could not understand such a weapon.

His mother explained when he got home: "These you should not kill because they meet somewhere in between good and bad. Poverty and Hunger are somewhere between that which gives pleasure and that which gives pain. That is why they should not be destroyed. That is why we have these things today." ⁹

Order of Monsters, Dangers, and Beings-in-between

In various versions of the war heroes' adventures the order of events differs. The sequence has significance just as have those of color, direction, and ritualistic acts (Part Three), a particular sequence belonging to each ceremony. The chanter enumerates the monsters and dangers automatically and casually according to the way they come in the ceremony he knows. He may know, but does not say, that the order differs for each setting; more commonly he does not know the order for ceremonies other than his own. I have indicated the order in Chart II (page 74).

Chart II, incorporating the results of an analysis of eight narratives, shows that the order of monsters can hardly be fortuitous, as Father Berard states.¹⁰ For convenience the evils are numbered.

Note that the order 1, 2, 4 occurs in five versions, that 1, 2, 4, 6 occurs in three, and in one (BS) in reverse sequence, and that there are other less apparent regularities. One reason for the order of the evils is the plot, which sometimes depends upon it. Monster Slayer filled the colon of Burrowing Monster with its blood. In one version the blood-filled colon was merely a trophy and the episode of Burrowing Monster need not have a significant influence on the plot. In other versions, where the colon became a lure for Cliff Monster, the Burrowing Monster episode must come first.

I think that the order of episodes comprising the creation myth differs with the type of chant into which it leads. The monster story as an integral part of the Shooting Chant is obvious. Unfortunately, I do not know Gray Eyes' other lore. Slim Curley was the narrator of the Enemy Way legend, and myths of the Night and Flint chants as well. Jeff King, who dictated the tale of the War Prophylactic Ceremony, stresses

DOGMA

CHART II

ORDER OF MONSTERS, DANGERS, AND BEINGS-IN-BETWEEN

1 Big Monster	18 Hunger
2 Burrowing Monster (Horned Monster)	19 Big Fish
3 Kicking Monster	20 Sleep
4 Cliff (Winged) Monster	21 Louse
5 Tracking Bear	22 Craving-for-meat
6 Eye Killers	23 Big Centipede
7 Tracking Antelope	24 Crushing Rocks
■ Traveling Rock	25 Cutting Reeds
9 Gray Evils	26 Spreading Stream
10 Bony Bear	27 Trapping Cactus
11 Water Monster	28 Rock Swallows
12 Frog People	29 Changing-bear-maiden
13 Gray Gods (perhaps same as 9)	30 Two Old-blind-men
14 Syphilis People	31 Spider Woman
15 Old Age	32 Slipping (Sliding) Sands
16 Cold	33 Tearing Cactus
17 Poverty	34 Seething Sands
	35 Water Bugs

ORDER OF OCCURRENCE

SC	EW	WP	Leg	BeC	NCM	NT	BS
31	26	15	24				
26	33	25	25				
24	32	24	33				
32	25		34				
25	24						
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
3	4	4	4	7	4	4	8
4	6	6	6	4	3	3	6
5	5	5	5	3	5	7	4
■	10	8	8	6	6	6	2
7	11		minor evils	8	23	18	1
8	12		15	5	24	20	19
9	13		16		25	22	20
	14		17		26	15	17
	■		18		27	17	18
					28	5	21
					29	30	22
					15		
					20		
					21		
					17		
					18		

For abbreviations, see note on opposite page.

its relation to the Beauty Chant; Matthews' informant of Version A was also a singer of the Beauty Chant. The sequence of monsters these men give is comparable with that of Curtis's account of the Beauty Chant. The chanter, t'á'h, to whom we owe the order of the Navaho Creation Myth, specialized in the Night and Hail chants, but knew others.

The initials BS designate the order given by RM, chanter of the Big Star Chant, and do not mean that the monster-subduing theme is necessarily a part of that chant; his sequence was an explanation of origins, not the formal narration of a myth.

RM knows only chants belonging to the evil side—Big Star, Endurance Chant, Female Mountain Chant Evil—a type in which reversal of the normal order is common. His knowledge seems, therefore, to account for the order he gave, diverging most widely from all the others, particularly for the unit 6-4-2-1, which, in turn, is the exact reverse of the order of the Enemy Way, War Prophylactic, and Legend accounts.

Gods as Sun Manifestations

The mutability of the gods, the very difficulty of keeping them in classes, leads me to conclude that a Sun cult is outstanding; that many, if not all, things go back to Sun, although I do not mean by this to indicate a belief in monotheism. If I were to carry my generalization so far it would not be to Sun, but to that ultimately inexplicable term, universal harmony or destiny, monism rather than any kind

The following abbreviations refer to the texts: SC, Male Shooting Chant Holy (Reichard ms. by Gray Eyes); EW, Enemy Way (by Slim Curley, Haile 1938b); WP, War Prophylactic Ceremony (Jeff King);¹¹ Leg, Origin Myth (Matthews 1897, Version A); BeC, Beauty Chant (Curtis); NCM, Navaho Creation Myth (t'á'h);¹² NT, Navaho Texts (Charley Mitchell);¹³ BS, Informal enumeration of monsters by RM.

of theism. Sun is an agent of that monism, a central deity who correlates the nether and celestial worlds with this one, who exists to assist man to his final destiny. Changing Woman may possibly be the female manifestation of Sun. First Man and First Woman seem to be respective manifestations of Sun and Changing Woman in the worlds below this. They, like Sun, had a vision of the earth and man; indistinct it was, to be sure, but they worked toward it with such insight as they possessed. During the period when the sexes were separated, normal practices were impossible—the men had little influence on the future; the women may have conceived as a result of self-abuse because the quill feather, elk antler, stone, and cactus were manifestations of Sun, to whom generation is ultimately ascribed (Chapter 3).

In several versions of the creation myth, First Man was the creator; he and his wife were co-leaders of the pre-human beings after the reconciliation of the sexes. In tłá'h's story of the Emergence, be'ȳotcidí accomplished nearly the same things as First Man in the other stories. be'ȳotcidí was light-skinned and red-haired, characteristics that may identify him with Sun. After Changing Woman and the people escorting her had arrived at the western ocean, they saw be'ȳotcidí walking toward them on the water; his hair was shiny and little rays of light sparkled from him. A young man helped the people out of the fourth world by making a great reed grow; later he was made the sun-bearer. When the people separated after the earth was created, Monster Slayer was made chief on the earth, and be'ȳotcidí in the sky, yet in other tales Sun is chief in the sky.

According to Matthews, be'ȳotcidí and Sun together created the animals. In the song commemorating the task, the patient or sponsor is identified with be'ȳotcidí and, as a child, with Sun.

Just as First Man is Sun's uncontrolled, undeveloped, but prescient prototype, so First Woman seems to be a rudimentary archetype of Changing Woman, with none of the idealism now attached to her. According to one version of the Emergence, the flood of the second world was caused by the illicit intercourse of First Woman and Sun. Sun had a wife in the sky who was fat and jealous. First Woman too was fat and jealous. Changing Woman had been in the sky preparing a home for Monster Slayer at the same time that she was on earth. In the underworlds the First Pair stood for life; in this world Sun and Changing Woman represent life. There is much to identify Changing Woman with the earth; First Woman in sandpainting is brown, 'the color of the earth.'¹⁴ JS told me that Sun's sky wife was called be'ȳotcidí 'asdzá'n, 'be'ȳotcidí Woman.' In another place she is called Dawn Woman.

The relation between Changing Woman and Sun is developed by the characterization of their children, The Twins, who are endowed with the powers of both parents. A similar but more obscure connection through their children exists between Sun and be'ȳotcidí: one of Sun's offspring was a gambler who became so powerful that he won the wealth, even the persons, of all the people. Sun connived to defeat the gambler by pitting him against another son, Gambler's double. Gambler, defeated, returned to be'ȳotcidí, who was thought by some to be Moon Bearer, by others the god of the Americans or Mexicans. Both be'ȳotcidí and Sun possess great wealth, much of it in the form of domesticated animals.

Appearing as White Body and Yellow Body in the third world, Talking God and xa'ctcé''óγan seem to be manifestations of Sun especially concerned with man's domestic affairs; these gods have many characteristics in common with Sun. Talking God's behavior toward the mother and the

Stricken Twins parallels Sun's mating with Changing Woman and the subsequent recognition of and concern for The Twins. The difference is in the function of the stories, that of the Stricken Twins to account for domestic tranquillity, wealth, and good health, that of The Twins to explain the conquest of earth's primordial enemies. The head feathers of Talking God are correlated with Dawn, one aspect of Sun in his relation to Sky; those of *xa'ctcé'óγan*, with yellow evening light, another aspect of Sun and Sky. According to Stevenson, white corn was the son of Turquoise Woman and Sun, later transformed into Talking God. Talking God, like *be'γotcidí*, has charge of game.

First Man and *be'γotcidí* are the difficultly persuadable manifestations of Sun, who is not uniformly on man's side. Talking God and *xa'ctcé'óγan*, kindly disposed toward man, are the contemporary manifestations of Sun in charge of subsistence—agriculture and flesh-producing animals.

Big Fly is a part of the Sun-Sky complex. In the first world First Man created a feather to be moved by Wind and to hint at Sun's power. Big Fly also stands for the skin at the tip of the tongue, that is, speech. Big Fly as Sun's day messenger may sometimes be identified with Talking God. Performing the same functions for the night are Bat and Darkness. All—Big Fly, Bat, and Darkness—have in common the ability to penetrate where ordinary beings cannot go and the power of feather or wing motion.

Sun manifestations in another series are Moon, Black Wind, and Yellow Wind. Winds personify motion, for Breeze, Zephyr, and Whirlwind act as mentors and are identified with feather, Big Fly, Bat, and Darkness. Winds, linked with Sun, Moon, and mentors, are well disposed to man, or at least easily persuadable. On the other hand, in the Hail and Wind chants their evil aspects come out; in

company with Thunder and Hail they represent storm, bluster, anger, and uncontrolled impulse.

Coyote, exponent of irresponsibility and lack of direction, seems to be an uncontrolled aspect of either Sun himself or his child. Coyote, as a child of Sky, represents lust on earth, matching Sun's promiscuity as a celestial being; Coyote, however, observes no rules. Sun, though reluctant and protesting, assumes responsibility for his children; Coyote sates his desire and leaves confusion or worse behind him. Any good that Coyote accomplishes is fortuitous; Sun's good deeds, though forced, result in control. Coyote does all the daring things Sun would like to do—in fact, once did; Sun secretly gloats over them, but of necessity appears to disapprove.

Black God, feared even by Coyote but sometimes paired with him, is still another manifestation of Sun as Darkness or Sky. Outstanding in the drawing of Night is the Milky Way; the same symbol is painted on Black God's breast and arms. The offering acceptable to Black God in the War Ceremony was a tobacco pouch closely resembling Sun's. A prayerstick offering was presented to Black God, but after he had accepted it, he taught the people not to duplicate it but to make the rattlestick substitute—an exact duplication of the circumstances in which Sun gave his arrow to Earth People. If Night or Sky is a phase of Sun, if Black God's picture is a representation of Night Sky and Black God behaves like Sun, then Black God is a manifestation of Sun representing control of fire, flame, and heat.

CHAPTER 6

THEORY OF DISEASE

THE CAUSES of disease fall into two categories, definite and indefinite. Failure to observe some of the numerous restrictions that regulate the correct Navaho life is a relatively definite cause. If a person knew and heeded them all, he could exist only as a hidebound ascetic, hardly free to do much required by his daily life, or most of his time would be occupied in removing the harmful effects of broken taboos. Restrictions do not, however, weigh as heavily upon the ordinary person as might be assumed. Normally life goes on quietly and satisfactorily enough. A man may observe some of the most obvious restraints or he may not keep any. As long as nothing happens, he is not conscious of breaking them. As soon as misfortune becomes marked—lightning strikes his sheep, his crop is ruined by hail, his wife has a miscarriage and does not regain her strength, his child coughs—he considers what he might have done to offend the powers. As he thinks over his past, he has no difficulty in finding numerous lapses. Further thought makes the accumulation of neglect so impressive that he is impelled to seek the proper cure, a ceremony.

A sick Navaho may be the victim of bad dreams—of death, the dead, snakebite, tooth pulling, fire, lightning. There are some good dreams—of horses, sheep, cattle, wealth—which automatically bring good fortune. To dream of being killed was always bad and had to be counteracted in some way or other.¹

Excess in any activity may bring on sickness. Too much

weaving or silversmithing, sexual indulgence, undue concentration, hoarding property may bring affliction.

Ignorance, either of the ceremonial law or of transgressing it, is a major source of ills. Experts who know the rules are diviners who may adduce definite grounds for a man's troubles. They recommend the chant to be tried; it often succeeds in straightening out a person's affairs. If, however, the reason for the affliction is not apparent, one may have to undergo a series of rituals until one that relieves is found.

Quite remote, but nevertheless dangerous, are the effects of the incompletely buried monsters, which, if not remembered by man, cause carrion eaters to feast upon the flesh of the dead, the sounds of enemies to enter the earth, debilitating it so that man gets fever, cold, and worms. The monsters symbolize enemies presumed to have techniques for the Navaho's undoing, which, being strange, are indefinite and therefore fearful. In the same class is the malevolence (ba'át'é) of the undependable deities, who must be won over to favor the sufferer.

Contact with the dead (tét'ndi') or anything remotely connected with them is another indefinite reason for disturbance. A house in which a person died may be burned; if not, a hole is torn through the north wall and the roof beams are allowed to fall in, indicating that the place should be avoided. A Navaho would risk freezing rather than seek shelter in such a house or lay a fire with wood from it. He may, however, inadvertently make his camp near an ancient ruin that gives no indication of being a place of the dead but has as bad an influence upon him as a newly made grave. No one can be sure a place is safe unless he knows its history.

When BWW was affected by 'weakness all over,' her illness was ascribed to the fact that unwittingly she had camped on an ancient trail that led to a deer impound. Deer

were confused when driven into it to their death; it is reasonable to assume that BWW would become confused in such a place. Moreover, special ritualistic treatment was required to guard hunters. BWW, unprotected by hunting power, was a natural victim of circumstances of which she was completely ignorant. A locality may be unsafe even for the uninformed because it is believed to be the dwelling place of the gods.

Disease may be contracted because an individual is too weak to withstand the power of a chant, either in learning it or in having it sung for him. Even today Navaho cite as proof the case of Matthews who, while studying the Night Chant, suffered a paralytic stroke (cp. Chapter 7).

Worse than any source of evil so far mentioned is sorcery, since it is due to the intentional ill will of some man, powerful because he knows how to manipulate a vast amount of power, indefinite because its import is dubious and because only superior power turned against the sorcerer can counteract it; uncertain too because one can never be sure who the practitioner is.

With witchcraft power dogma links father-daughter incest—it is doubtful that cases are ever proved—robbing graves, and even rapid acquisition of wealth, especially if accompanied by unwillingness to share generously.

Doubt may, therefore, be advanced as the ultimate cause of man's troubles, uncertainty being interpreted in different ways depending upon the duration of an ailment. If it is cured by directing ritual to definite causes, the dogma is verified. If illness persists, dogma is not questioned, but rather man must continue to try out different combinations until he includes the proper causes.

RP formulated the theory of disease when he said, "Causes and mistakes you know about are not bad because you know

what to do about them, but those you don't know—*they* are the ones that are dangerous." Gray Eyes' suggestion of the procedure was corroborated by my other informants: "If you try one sing and you don't get well, you have to try another, perhaps many. Sometimes after a man has had many big [elaborate] ceremonies, he does not get better. Then he tries a little [short, simple] sing and he gets well. That is because at first they didn't know the proper reason for his sickness."

The following cases illustrate various interpretations:

A girl was to have the Big Star Chant sung for her, but on the night it was to start she was taken to the hospital, where her disease was diagnosed as endemic, non-contagious meningitis. After five weeks, she was dismissed as cured. Upon her arrival home the family announced that the Big Star Chant would be sung. A diagnostician had declared that her illness was due to sorcery; she was the victim of witch-objects shot into her by an unnamed wizard or by ghosts. Although from the time she left the hospital she had seemed perfectly well, not until after the Big Star Chant and, several months later, the War Ceremony had been performed for her, did the Navaho consider her out of danger. Her disease was so severe and strange that it was ascribed to indefinite causes—effect of the dead, possible withcraft, or even witch-objects shot by the dead—and to make certain of including other indeterminable causes, possible evil due to strangers, including white people who treated her at the hospital, the War Ceremony was performed for her.

MA's repeated illnesses show how her daughter solved the conflict between the Navaho and the white man's ideas of curing. MA was a grandmother, head of the family group I know best. When I first met her she was a little over sixty years old, wiry and energetic, though she continually coughed and occasionally complained of headache. Her husband, RP, had sung the Shooting Chant for her long before, and she had frequently been a patient or co-patient of other chants. Her symptoms grew more oppressive and, since RP was going to conduct a War Ceremony in the neighborhood, he decided

that she should be one of the patients (bándá'i'). She was born the year the Navaho returned from Ft. Sumner (1868) and, since her mother had suffered all the misery of the five-hundred-mile trek to Ft. Sumner and back and the five-year incarceration there, all kinds of enemy forces had had a chance to affect her.

During the last night of the War Ceremony one of the auditors, Little Singer, who had gone to sleep in a temporary roadway, was struck by an automobile and severely injured. This accident vitiated the whole effort; the ceremony was stopped and a council held to determine the reason for the untoward happening. Two groups carried on the discussion—one of conservative elders, one of middle-aged and younger men who were more progressive because they had attended school and worked for the Indian Service. During the afternoon they had put on a dance from the Night Chant as a feature of a program to dedicate a new government building half a mile from the place where the War Ceremony was held; the same visitors attended both affairs.

The orthodox elders contended that Little Singer's accident was due to performing in the summer (August) the Night Chant dance, which should be danced only when the ground is frozen; that the Navaho dance should not have been given at a white man's affair; and they went on to enumerate various ills that had befallen the Navaho because they were too much affected by white man's ideas. The progressives argued that the old men themselves danced at the Gallup Ceremonial every year in August; that they had known the dance was contemplated and had not forbidden it. They pointed out also that the Navaho owe sheep, silverwork, and automobiles to the white men and, if the Navaho were to be consistent, they would have to give them all up. The discussions lasted until early morning, when the council broke up without coming to a conclusion.

At dawn MA, who had previously only complained, was seized with violent chills, nausea, and head throbbing—'a knife was cutting into her side.' She was taken home and word came that Little Singer had died in the hospital—his being the fourth death there in a week. RP was prevailed upon to consult a doctor for his wife. He consented, but reluctantly, because he would have to go to the hospital, a place of the dead. It was the Fourth of July and no doctor

was available. RP, much relieved, summoned a Flint chanter, who sang emergency rites over MA for four nights. Twice before when he had sung for her she had recovered. She improved now.

Her health, though better, was far from normal when, a few weeks later, word came that a Shooting Chant was to be sung near her home. As it was likely that she had failed to observe some of the restrictions when it had previously been sung for her by her husband, she became once more the one-sung-over. At first she seemed to gain strength but, after she got wet in a sudden hard storm, the pneumonia symptoms reappeared. By this time she was so weary she consented to go to the hospital; there she died.

After her death I had many talks with MC, her daughter. The doctor had said that although her mother had tuberculosis, it was not the cause of her death; she had succumbed to pneumonia. MC seemed to accept the doctor's explanation, but several years later explained to me the 'real' cause of the succession of misfortunes that had befallen the family—the death of a grandchild several months before MA's demise, an accusation that RP was a wizard, his own death three years later, followed by that of CF, his oldest daughter, within a few months. The 'real' cause was the following incident.

One night RP had returned home exhausted, discouraged, and frightened. While on the mountain gathering some plants for ceremonial use, he had lost a flint belonging to his medicine bundle. He searched for it diligently until dark, but failed to find it. He felt that this misfortune was too great for him to cope with. His spirit rallied, as we have seen, but he considered subsequent happenings inevitable in view of his carelessness in losing the flint arrowpoint.

The case of CM, CF's widower, further elucidates MC's reasoning and had happier results. A restriction calls for a survivor's continence for a reasonable period, preferably a year, after the death of a spouse. CM was sung over and freed from the contamination of his wife's death, but after a month took another wife. Eight months later, his cough grew worse; he lost his ambition and good spirits. It was necessary to consult a diagnostician, for obviously his condition was due to his disregard of a requirement. The Male Shooting Chant Evil was sung for him.

By this time MC was the oldest female in the family.

Although, as we have seen, she admitted the white doctor's explanation of her mother's death, she believed implicitly in the inevitability of her father's prediction of disaster. Her ability to reconcile two types of reasoning is further demonstrated by her attitude toward CM's second wife who, she thinks, has tuberculosis.

One rite of the Male Shooting Chant Evil includes drinking an infusion; the chanter drinks first from a bowl, next the patient drinks, then it is passed to the member of the audience sitting at the south side of the doorway. He drinks, and it is passed sunwise around the hut until the last person at the north side has drunk. Since men sit at the south, women at the north side of the ceremonial circle, women receive the bowl after the men. MC considered it particularly important that she and the younger women should drink some of the infusion, but she warned them not to drink if Mrs. CM drank first. On the first day Mrs. CM sat beside her husband so that she was the first woman to receive the infusion; whereupon MC's group of women merely pretended to drink when their turn came.

Their chagrin at missing the benefit of the rite was later evident from their resentful grumbling. The next day they entered the hogan early and sat so close to the patient that it would have been difficult for another person to squeeze in. Mrs. CM came in much later and took her place near the door. Later MC and her group smugly boasted of the success of their strategy.

MC has been to school and has worked for white people, doing things their way. Her home on the reservation is more like a Navaho's than a white man's, but she and her husband have more modern conveniences than the uneducated Navaho. When a member of her family is ill, she tries to get him to go to the doctor. Failing that, she recommends a sing; indeed she feels best satisfied if the person consults a physician *and* is sung over. She differs from most Navaho in seeking assistance before an illness has run too far.

I do not know why MC felt so strongly about drinking the infusion or why she picked out Mrs. CM as a germ-bearer.

Many of the audience had coughs, her own husband included, yet she had never been finicky before. The reason doubtless was psychological. Up to the time CM remarried, he had been a beloved member of the family group, in which there was little friction. Both MC and her niece, AD, resented a new wife because she had been substituted somewhat underhandedly after the death of her predecessor and without consultation with the family. Moreover, she was unpopular.

By their treatment of Mrs. CM, MC and AD disregarded the principle of harmony. They should have welcomed her at the sing and helped her all they could. They did not even invite her into the house, although there were few guests, nor did they offer to share their utensils. She camped a short distance from their dwelling and had to ask for everything she needed. They did not even notify her when the chanter was ready for the audience. In many years' sojourn with the family it was the only time I ever saw a guest so snubbed. On the other hand, no blame was attached to CM. He had erred; he was being sung over; he was doing the right thing.

The case of the girl with meningitis illustrates the viewpoint of the bewitched. Like the War Ceremony, the chant prescribed for her cure stresses exorcism. The case of a sorcerer came to my attention, but I did not know the individuals concerned.

A man with considerable learning came under suspicion because of his great prosperity. He had once pawned a bracelet someone recognized as having been buried with a rich girl's corpse. From that time proof of witchcraft was clear, for only a sorcerer can safely rob a grave. After some years he became ill; for a long time he did nothing. At length, without consulting a diagnostician, he had several chants sung for him, but kept getting worse. Reluctantly he went to a diviner who, without mentioning names, insinuated that the illness was the result of robbing the dead, meaning that sorcery had boomeranged. The man

DOGMA

confessed, had a chant sung for him to remove the power of witchcraft, and recovered. He was the witcher and the bewitched, the victim of his own power, which he was not strong enough to control.

Prophylaxis

White doctors and hospital personnel deplore the fact that the Navaho do not come for consultation until their condition is hopeless. Often, even if they mean to stick to their own methods, they wait a long time, hoping the illness will pass. The delay is contrary to Navaho belief, which seeks prevention. The numerous Blessing rites, carried out to avert untoward results, usually last one night and are frequently held for House Blessing, Girl's Adolescence, wedding, and purification, particularly of persons and objects that have been contaminated by the dead (Concordance C).

Blessing rites may be performed to protect chanters before they sing for the first time or to renew their power; more frequently, a chanter is initiated by becoming the patient of the chant he plans to sing. A full ceremony may also be carried out with the chanter as the one-sung-over to dedicate some portion of his ceremonial equipment. The Male Shooting Chant Holy Fire Dance branch, described in Concordance C, was sung because a singer was making mistakes, felt uncertain about his power, and wanted to renew it. JS was sung over in the Male Shooting Chant Holy Sandpainting branch to consecrate the talking prayersticks and 'wide boards' of his bundle.

Disease

Since the ascribed causes of disease have little connection with physiology, it is futile to try to separate symptom, disease, and cure. Furthermore, all three are approached emotionally; the mind's control over the body is stressed

(Chapter 3). Since, therefore, illness is fundamentally the same as disturbance—cosmic as well as human—it is not surprising to find references to confusion, bewilderment, frustration, futility (bóxóne'sdzâi').

Frustration is symbolized by the circle of bewilderment. The Navaho fears encirclement, since evils that might be with him in the circle cannot get out and good cannot get in to him. He feels weak, lacks energy and ambition, and knows not where to turn. For this reason the incomplete circle is ritualistically favored; it allows the egress of evil and the entrance of good.

Orthodox weavers run one thread of a contrasting color through the border of a rug to let out the spirit of the rug as well as of the weaver. The encircling guardian of many sand-paintings is left open, usually at the east; in ceremony one quadrant of the hogan or ceremonial may be closed to all except the singer. In the War Ceremony it is the southeast; in a Flint rite I saw, the southwest.² One idea behind these customs is to concentrate such evils as may have accumulated in a limited space from which they may be driven and the mind freed.

Whenever there is a generalization such as the above, its opposite also must be reckoned with. Closed circles made of meal or pollen or perhaps merely described on the ground, hoops, and rings are frequently encountered in ritual. They represent a space so narrowed down that it is under control, an area from which evil has been driven and within which power has been concentrated. The series of hoops, commonly used in the exorcistic rites, exemplify this idea. The hoops are constructed by a ritual that puts power into them; the patient sits inside them until he absorbs the power (see *Circle, Hoops, Concordance B; Hoop transformation rite, Concordance C*).

Mythological incidents may be understood in the light of the concepts included in the closed and open circles.

When the Swallows and Spiders could no longer endure Coyote's contumely, they wove webs around him in every direction. Closed in with evils—his own and the bad wishes of the Spiders—he died.³

A Black God had been induced to attend the blackening of the War Ceremony patient; in fact, he had come to originate it. After plants were burned to form soot, Crow and Buzzard, couriers of evil, offered to kill the ghost of the enemy. Said Buzzard, "You see I used my feathers in trying to harm the person, but I did not succeed." Crow said something to the same effect and their feathers were burned and combined with the soot of the plants. Then Crow said, "The patient should not go there alone. I will accompany him. I myself will make the first attack on the enemy's ghost. I will crawl completely into the blackening material."⁴

At the same gathering, feathers, one of roadrunner (who was without fault of any kind) and one of turkey, were placed back to back. The inner surface of the feathers is concave; their juxtaposition in this way forms a hollow tube through which ghosts can find their way out.⁵

Mental disease has a somewhat quantitative connotation. If a person is simple or feeble-minded, he is said to 'have no sense' (do'áxályâ'dah) or to 'be twisted' (di'gis). If there is so little control that he becomes rash, he is said to be 'moth-crazy' ('a'ztčá), so out of his mind that he might jump into the fire. In Chapter 1, I noted this as a possible punishment for breaking taboos.

The Night Chant has many references to insanity and its cure. Since the gods invoked are tutelaries of the sacred mountains (Chart I, Chapter 2), it seems as if insanity may be ascribed to a cosmic, therefore inevitable, cause as well as to failure to heed restrictions.

Frustration illustrates the mental viewpoint, weakness (tséstí'ntsoh) the physical. The healthy, right-minded Navaho

possesses strength, endurance, fortitude; he abhors weakness. In former times boys trained incessantly, exposing themselves to cold, heat, hunger, and thirst, and undergoing rigorous tests for endurance. If they did not, they were told that their systems would be full of ugly things which should be eliminated; they would be quick-tempered, weak-minded, unable to stand life's hardships, and would end up a disgrace to their families.⁶ Characteristically, calmness and strong-mindedness are valued along with a sturdy system. Physical training parallels ritualistic pattern in the belief that weakness is due to 'ugly things' that can and should be worked off by exertion.

Weakness may be caused by grief and by breathing the harmful parts (bitcxin) of strangers (Chapter 3).

Monster Slayer, after slaying Burrowing Monster, became weak, so weak that he fell over from smelling the waste (bitcxin) and steam from the monster's heart. When he tried to subdue Traveling Rock and thought he was dead, Monster Slayer stepped on one of its chips. His strength suddenly failed him; his breathing became labored and he trembled.⁷

Weakness is a result or symptom of other diseases more specifically [but not satisfactorily] described by Matthews. "Patients having these [the following] diseases are weak, stagger, and lose appetite; then they go to a sweat-house and take an emetic. If they have 'yellow [disease],' they vomit something yellow (bile?). If they have 'cooked blood' disease, they vomit something like cooked blood. . . . 'Slime' disease comes from drinking foul water full of green slime or little fish. 'Worms' comes from eating worms, which you sometimes do without knowing it, but 'tapeworm' comes from eating parched corn." Matthews remarks that the joints of the tapeworm (*Tænia solium*) resemble grains of corn. In this, as in other cases, diagnosis by analogy is clear.⁸

Fainting may be due to extreme weakness. One verb stem (-tsa'í) refers to coma, fainting, unconsciousness, and dying, all physical manifestations of fear. Unconsciousness may be differentiated from death by the stem -tlií, which basically means 'stun.' A person may become unconscious for various reasons; he is stunned by evil, often witch power. Helplessness may be induced by the Shock rite. An impersonator of an animal or god frightens a patient, who falls down unconscious, then revives him. Henceforth, the latter is not only immune to all danger from the deity impersonated—Bear, for example—but may even count upon him for protection.

Nervousness (naxoyílná, xodi'sná', xaxodisi') is hardly to be differentiated, except in degree, from bewilderment, anxiety, or fear. Trembling is a form of nervousness, which might perhaps be a symptom, yet is ritualized as a power of the diviner and, like trance or shock, may be induced ("Diagnosis," page 99).

The First Pair, when they took up their places in the sky, threatened to send coughs, colds, and fever to Earth People. Whites introduced tuberculosis. Navaho are especially susceptible to pulmonary diseases; almost everyone coughs continually. Their manner of living is conducive to bronchial and lung troubles—frequent exposure to marked changes of temperature, sudden downpours, heavy snowstorms combine with low living standards and ignorance of sanitation to bring on and foster pulmonary diseases. Spitting is so habitual as to be a vice. During a ceremony there is not an inch of floor space in the hogan free from sputum. Everyone sits on the floor and becomes the potential carrier of the germs on it. The women particularly disseminate bacteria with their ripping cotton skirts, twelve or fifteen yards in fullness, and the Pendleton blankets laid on the floor and subsequently used as bedding.

The treatment of the Flint Chant differs with the kind of discharge from the mouth. If it is merely phlegm, one kind of rite is indicated; if there is blood as well, the rites are modified. Phlegm is attributed to Thunder, blood to Bear or Snake.⁹

Traditionally fever (*tśí's ni'dó'h*, *tśí'h ni'dó'h*) is an effect of anxiety:

The old sorcerer of the War Ceremony myth, when his attempt to seize a captive was thwarted by his son-in-law, so grieved over the affair that his lips became parched and dark.¹⁰

After yielding to Talking God the first time, the girl who later became the mother of the Stricken Twins came home and her lips were parched as a result of her anxious thoughts.¹¹

Paleness and dry skin are caused by an enemy ghost.¹²

As among whites, rheumatism includes a multitude of causes and effects. Arthritis, inflammatory rheumatism, lameness, limping, paralysis—all come under the same heading, although pain is usually connected with rheumatism.

The afflictions of the Stricken Twins of the Night Chant tale set the theme; one was suddenly lamed, the other blinded for no ostensible reason—their symptoms are not described. Since the sheep's Achilles tendon is mentioned as a cure, it seems that an injury of the leg tendons was assumed. In the story of the Visionary, explaining a branch of the Night Chant, the songs of Fringed Mouth are said to cure headache, sore eyes, and contraction of the leg tendons. After learning the ceremony, the Visionary's youngest brother cured a boy who had headache and was deaf in one ear, a girl whose mouth was crooked (lateral facial paralysis), and one whose hamstrings were hardened.¹³

When the Stricken Twins were taken by their father to the home of the Mountain Sheep gods, they saw, among other

things, on each of the four walls a large crystal which emitted light, and with each stone there was a special charm or remedy to cure disease: the stone of the east was a remedy for blindness, that of the south a remedy for lameness, that of the west a remedy for deafness, and that of the north a remedy for the 'crooked face.'¹⁴

Another form of lameness (rheumatism) is called the 'warps' (naltcí). Matthews describes it as a "gradually increasing symmetrical, antero-posterior curvature of the spine, which, when it reaches completion, after years of progress, brings the knees in close proximity to the chest and renders walking impossible. . . . The disease is not accompanied by abscesses or sinuses, and the general health of the afflicted person is not seriously impaired. . . . The writer has seen at least half a dozen sufferers in the pueblo of Zuni, all adults and mostly males." Vertebrae excavated in the Southwest are evidence of this disease.¹⁵

In the Bead Chant story, lameness is associated with skin disease, both having originated from feathers showered down upon pueblo warriors by eaglets from their eyrie on a ledge high above.¹⁶

Mistakes made in the Night Chant, by the patient or one learning it, are believed to cause blindness, warping, crippling, and 'twisted mouth,' which, according to Matthews, means lateral facial paralysis (bizé' xodi'ge'z).¹⁷ Crawler, the extraordinary star of the film *The Mountain Chant*, directed by Roman Hubbell in 1926, derived his name from paralysis of the lower limbs. He gave up learning the Night Chant when paralysis indicated his incapacity to withstand its power. His disability did not prevent him from learning and successfully practicing other major chants, among them the Mountain Chant.

Deafness should be included with paralysis, blindness, and the other afflictions mentioned, since the Night Chant is sup-

posed to cure it as well. Although Matthews was deaf for a long time before he became paralyzed—probably even before he started to learn the Night Chant—the Navaho considered that both were due to the same cause, learning the Night Chant.

The sanitary arrangements being what they are, it is not surprising that the Navaho are victims of skin disease; impetigo is the curse of young children. The attitude toward serious sores is the same as that with which we are familiar. At the Hogan School, when the interpreters were trying to work out an article about germs, RP told the following story:

Long ago fawns became scarce. There seemed to be plenty of deer, but fawns were not being born. The old men got together and tried to originate a masked ceremony to increase the supply. When the performers took off their masks, they had sores wherever fawn spots had been painted on their bodies. From that time on it was decreed that only those in the best of health should be allowed to wear masks.

The old men, experimenting with affairs too strong for their powers, made mistakes and were punished. With this little homily RP felt that he had disposed of everything essential to the germ idea—imitative magic is a panacea; if one of its applications fails, try another or give it up and yield to the inevitable.

Cancer (na'ldzid) and diabetes are said to be rare among the Navaho, doubtless because cases are not reported. Several instances of cancer came to my attention.

T's wife became ill with what the white doctor diagnosed as cancer of the breast. After both breasts had been removed, she improved. The Flint (Knife) Chant was sung to free her from the obvious evil of the surgeon's scalpel. I saw her nearly two years after the operation; she was again very ill. Her lungs were badly congested; she had a high fever; she coughed terribly and spat blood; she was so weak that she could not stand up, but nevertheless shampooed her hair in

yucca suds brought in a basket to the place where she lay. She had been brought to the rite that was to reveal the next treatment to alleviate her persistent illness. Her family had already spent large sums on ceremonies performed for her.

T's wife was an expert who had woven some of the largest and most intricate sandpainting designs. Most Navaho attributed her illness to copying the sacred patterns, a risky matter at best, since it is forbidden to put sandpaintings into a permanent medium. RP ascribed her trouble to mistakes made by a singer of the Shooting Chant when he had sung over T's wife twelve years before. RP believed that singing the same chant now without error would 'straighten everything out.' T's family had, however, not consulted him and it was not good form for a chanter to give an opinion unless his advice was requested.

The diagnostician used the trembling method (see below) for his divination and prescribed the Female Shooting Chant, to be followed by the War Ceremony. After the Female Shooting Chant, T's wife recovered from the pneumonia to the point where she could walk about her home. After the War Ceremony she was said to be 'all right.' However, the cancer recurred and less than a year after her first attack, she contracted pneumonia again. By this time she had become too discouraged to undergo another ceremony and called in her white friend, the trader. He felt she was dying and suggested that a Catholic priest might comfort her. She allowed him to call a priest, who administered the last rites. She who had been an orthodox Navaho died a Catholic; she who was being eaten away by cancer died of pneumonia.

The following account was given me by a white woman who knew well all the individuals concerned. I can only testify to the good faith of all, and to the fact that my friend at no time considered the case from a folkloristic (superstitious) or mystical point of view. She simply cited it as a case the Navaho did not question and repeated the doctor's report.

Because of illness, a Shooting Chanter had for years been unable to practice. Various sings were performed over him, but he became steadily worse. Finally a trader's wife per-

suaded him to go to a doctor some sixty miles away. The doctor told his white friend that he had examined the chanter carefully, was convinced he was dying of cancer of the rectum, and that nothing could be done to save him. The Navaho was so ill he could not get home in a single trip and stopped off for some days with acquaintances along the way. At the last stop the Navaho with whom he stayed would not accept the doctor's verdict. He summoned a group of singers, who sang continuously for many days and nights until the patient showed signs of recovery. The singing was the Life form of the Mountain Chant (cp. Chapter 19).

The chanter stayed several months with his friend, then went home. Not only was he able once more to go about his ordinary affairs but he even took up his chanting profession, and when I heard the story had been carrying it on with vigor for some five years.

Up to the time the Shooting Chant was held for MC (1932) she had migraine headaches. They recurred often and with such severity that RP decided to do something about them, having concluded that they were due to the evil influence of lightning which, seventeen years before, had struck a building in which MC had been, though she was not obviously injured at the time. The Male Shooting Chant Sun's House Branch Red Inside phase was performed in all its elaboration, one rite only being omitted. Because AD, MC's niece, then twelve years old, suffered from headache, she was a co-patient. The first day of the chant, both patients had severe headache; MC could hardly go through it.

The same year RP sang the Male Shooting Chant Prayer-sticks branch over me to make it safe to work with the chant myth and to protect me in traveling. MC was my counselor and confidante through it all. I asked her if she got headaches as frequently and as severely as she had before her sing; she said no, she was all right now. I complained about the rigor of the emetic, sweating, and the tedium of the chant, for I knew she had not enjoyed it either. She said, "That's the way AD was. She was mad all the time. But now she's sorry because she gets headache lots now." This was to say that AD had not really given herself up in spirit to the blessings of the chant, though formally she had done so—she had breathed in the sun.

I had a severe headache the second day of my own chant, but did not mention it. RP, when he rubbed the infusion on my hands and arms, remarked, "Your body is much cooler today. Yesterday you were hot, but the medicine is taking away your fever." Probably I had had none at any time, but on the day I was supposed to have improved, I certainly felt much worse than usual.

Since trachoma (' granulated eyelids ') is a prevalent contagious disease, ' eye trouble ' is a common complaint. In my experience its treatment is more or less incidental. A chant is not often given to treat it alone, but rather someone who has eye trouble becomes a co-patient with another being treated primarily for something else. A ball of collected tallows, an indispensable item of the chanter's medicine bundle, is rubbed over the eyes of all the patients; what is left is returned to the bundle for future use.

Blindness, partial or complete, is hardly differentiated from other eye troubles, although soreness of the eyes not accompanied by dimmed vision may be.

Sore eyes, headache, and pain in the bones are attributed to breaking ceremonial restrictions on sexual intercourse, or to intercourse too soon after childbirth.

Ear trouble, from earache to deafness, is related to headache; the two may be treated simultaneously.

Respiratory complaints are differentiated from cardiac ailments, but the latter are not distinguished from digestive disturbances. The Navaho name for acute indigestion is ' aʔas or ' aʔas naxaʔa ', ' the aorta crawls about, moves, palpitates. ' ' aʔas really means ' major artery '—aorta or spinal—but most people, especially the younger ones who know Navaho less well, take it to mean ' acute indigestion. '

One of my interpreters once had a cloth tied under her breasts so tightly she could hardly breathe, but she asked me to tighten it. She explained that she had a bad pain in her

stomach which might move up to her heart and kill her. I drew the cloth as tight as possible and we went on with our affairs. The cloth must have fulfilled its function, for the next day the pain was gone.

Pain of the reproductive organs, especially menstrual and labor pains, are sometimes differentiated from those of the digestive system. More generally though, as in appendicitis, 'abdominal pains' cover all. Since 'vomiting' may be a symptom of an abdominal disease, it seems that the Navaho, like many whites, often do not distinguish stomach from intestinal affections, although they differentiate the organs, giving each a name.

Diseases of the genitourinary system are common, but little about them is understood. Even the best interpreters scarcely know the difference between the venereal diseases; 'sores and boils' describes most of such complaints.

Diagnosis

The Navaho method of prescribing for sickness has been called diagnosis, though divination would be a far better word, since those who recommend treatment are seers or prognosticators. They may divine to locate lost persons and articles, stolen property, or water in a dry region, and to find one guilty of practicing sorcery. There are three ways of determining an illness—gazing at sun, moon, or star, listening, and trembling. Listening is nearly, if not quite, extinct; 'motion-in-the-hand' indicates trembling induced by proper ritualistic circumstances. The diviner is seized with shaking, beginning usually with gentle tremors of arms or legs and gradually spreading until the whole body shakes violently. While in a trembling state, the seer loses himself.¹⁸ Guided by his power, he sees a symbol of the ceremony purporting to cure the person for whom he is divining. Gazing may be

accompanied by trembling; usually the diviner sees the chant symbol as an after-image of the heavenly body on which he is concentrating. I do not believe the Navaho differentiated very much among the three means of divination, all being interrelated; the emphasis on one or the other doubtless depended upon the diviner's power.

Whereas the singer owes his power to the possession of knowledge, the seer owes his to a supernatural gift with which he is born. A dog will not bite a person with the divine gift, but as dogs unless provoked do not often bite anyone, a seer must show some positive indication of his talent.¹⁹ After his attention is supernaturally called to his gift, a man learns songs and ritualistic acts before he practices. Sometimes the talent is revealed at a performance of the Hand Trembling Chant. Power to divine is considered warranted only when the possessor is under ritualistic control; there are checks against unlimited demonstration of trembling, which may be interpreted as illness.

Wyman records the behavior of a woman who began to shake during a performance of a Hand Trembling Chant being sung for her. She was seized with an attack of trembling, beginning at the knees and hands and culminating in wide motions of the right arm. She made many parallel marks in the sand, pointed toward the south, and patted her body from feet to head. The trembling continued through several acts of the chant; when it subsided, the patient, who was not a seer, said that the trembling had revealed the cause of her illness. Eleven years before, she had been in a hogan when a young man, standing outside, had been struck by lightning and hurled into it. Wyman goes on to say, "Involuntary attacks of hand trembling by patients (and others) while attending Hand Trembling Way chants are not uncommon, and diagnosticians often have their first experience in this way."²⁰

Wyman, Hill, Morgan, and Kluckhohn have published excellent accounts of the origin and functions of divination.²¹ Wyman's descriptions and my own correspond more closely than Wyman's and Morgan's, though they both worked in approximately the same locality and I in one far distant. Wyman and Kluckhohn differentiate between seers, chanters, and curers. However, in the region where I worked there was considerable overlap, some chanters being seers as well, others, like RP, taking upon themselves the responsibility of prescribing the treatment.

Morgan and Wyman differ about the necessity of discussing the patient's illness. Morgan says: "The man with [the power of] motion-in-the-hand enters the hogan of the patient. Friends and relatives are present and the sickness is discussed. (These discussions are important in order to estimate their effect upon the prognosis.)"²² Wyman records: "All my informants insisted that the diagnostician need not know anything about the case before beginning, and that he always goes to work without preliminary gathering of information. They seemed surprised when I suggested such a thing, saying that 'he does not need to,' since the information is supposed to come through supernatural means. On each occasion where I saw a man-with-motion-in-the-hand work, including one performance for myself, he started the ritual without preliminary discussion."²³ Despite this statement, Wyman brings himself into partial agreement with Morgan by the following: "In each instance, however, he had been around enough to gather casually about as much information as he could gather by further discussion."²⁴

These statements explain the apparent success of divination. If a man's relatives discuss his case, it may be more by way of summarizing and organizing known facts than of consciously providing new clues. In a Navaho community

almost nothing happens to an individual that is not carried by grapevine far from its original source. The diviner is a receiving station for gossip and focuses his attention on the least unusual happening; he has excellent powers of deduction and a good memory as well. He uses the well-known devices of fortunetellers and oracles the world over. He makes a generalization that might apply to anyone. When a facial expression or an exclamation indicates that he is on the right scent, he follows with greater detail, constantly sensitive to acquiescence or denial afforded by the least sign.²⁵ His chances of being right are better in a society like that of the Navaho, where life is less varied and belief in the religion more prevalent, than in ours, where skepticism is pronounced.

I have several times emphasized my impression that the sincerity of the chanters I knew was impeccable.²⁶ My experience with seers has been less fortunate. Their rites seemed to me trumped up and artificial; the diviner seemed to have an ax to grind. Usually the chanter recommended was a friend or relative of the diagnostician. Tozzer, however, states that although he had no doubt much humbug might be involved, he felt that the diviner he saw at work was sincere.²⁷

As the patient, accepting the seer's decision, has a test of its rightness, the diviner's power can hardly be abused. Because of the effort and expense entailed by a long chant, the incumbent wants to be reasonably sure it will not be in vain. He may, therefore, have an essential trial rite performed. In the War Ceremony this may be the blackening; the Sun painting is often chosen as a test for the Shooting Chant; a sandpainting of the Bead Chant was tried for L. Detached rites may be performed also for those too ill to submit to the full chant, or for a person unfortunate enough to need a chant at a forbidden season—the Night Chant in summer, for example. Improvement of the patient's health

after a test rite indicates the correct diagnosis, regression a false one.

The Navaho form of divination is a subject of tremendous interest which has been treated only descriptively; a great deal of work still needs to be done. Statistics on the number of times divination is tried, and on the efficacy or failure of prognostication, and particularly Navaho opinions on why they succeed or miscarry, would do much to illuminate the entire problem of the occult.

CHAPTER 7
THEORY OF CURING

Intrusion of Evil

THE FIRST step in curing is taken by finding out, by a review of past behavior or consultation with a seer, the particular evils responsible for illness. Bad things sent by malevolent spirits, or even the spirits themselves, may enter the body. A few examples of the evil beings, the way they operate and the means of their disintegration, demonstrate the ritualistic curing process and its explanations.

Turkey Buzzard was 'in full charge of wickedness' (bahági'ité). When the earth was still dominated by monsters, he sent Crow to search for human flesh, which was becoming scarce. The Twins shot at Crow; their arrows just grazed his feathers and sent him, much frightened, back to his chief. When Turkey Buzzard sent feathered arrows at the boys, they failed to reach the target because of the 'grinding sound of The Twins' flint armor,' and returned to their owner. Four times the arrows flew out and back, reporting to Turkey Buzzard, "In vain we tried to do what you ordered. Four times we encircled the armor at every point and failed to find an opening anywhere."

Turkey Buzzard then lost hope: "I used to be able to make a living, but now there is no way of life possible for me." At this point his disintegration began. He could not sleep at night; to relieve his incessant itching, he scratched himself until his ugly skin began to fall off. He scratched his head until he was completely bald (red), and coughed without ceasing. His condition was reported to First Man, who hardheartedly replied, "If he opposes the purpose for which the children were born, let him die in agony. Tell him that!"

When this decree was delivered, Turkey Buzzard replied, "Let it be as he says, but leave me at least my life. Had I

any way of knowing this purpose? Now I know it, I am in favor of it, so let me live. Wherever Monsters are killed and decay, we, Crow and I, will be present as scavengers. And now my evil attitude will become one of responsibility. If I am restored I shall be dependable." Then the very flints that had contributed to his dissolution became the means of his restoration.¹

The Twins, with weapons, song, and the power of their Sun father, attacked Big-monster-who-travels-alone. First they weakened his confidence by escaping the clubs he hurled at them. When Sun acted, the flint armor dropped away from the east side of the monster. At subsequent attacks the monster's armor and valuables disappeared from the south, west, and north sides. By this time he staggered helplessly and, as weapons were directed toward his heart, the life blood began to gush forth. He fell, causing the earth to tremble violently, and only after some time did he quiet down completely.²

In Coyote many aspects of evil power are embodied—he is active, with unlimited ability to interfere with people's affairs; his potentiality for turning up unexpectedly is enormous. He has a life principle that may be laid aside, so that any injury done to his body affects his life only temporarily and he may even recover from apparent death. He possesses an incredible fund of evil knowledge which man must match and, as he may appear in any form, he is the werewolf of Navaho witchcraft.

Coyote was allied with the First Pair as Crow was with Turkey Buzzard, in the capacity of spy. As First Man and First Woman went to their permanent home in the Northeast, where evil and danger originate, First Woman threatened, "When I think, something bad will happen. People will become ill. Coyote will know [and presumably carry out] all my thoughts."³

Some evils, fortunately few, the residue of unbelievable cruelty, refused to submit to any kind of control.

A chief, trying to prevent adultery, cut off noses, gouged out eyes, and unsexed men and women. Later he concluded that amends must be made for these deeds and set about it by originating a chant. Then, as uninvited guests, came people with venereal disease or without noses or eyes. They pronounced curses no ritual was ever found to counteract: "Harm shall come to you because of your eyes." "Noseless people will always exist. You will be deaf; your teeth will fall out." "We shall not accept any prayers or songs! Absolutely nothing will move us." "We shall be the rottenness that follows the noseless and one-eyed ones. We shall continue to kill from our home in the north." ⁴

These brief incidents explain in microcosm the attack on evil with the purpose of forcing it to yield to good. Fear, the primary cause of illness, is established, confidence undermined. Fear may be combated by a power who will stand up to it, refuse to abandon courage. By turning inward, using one's own powers, one may find the strength to overcome evil. Turkey Buzzard feathered his arrow with his own wing feather, which subsequently became a ritualistic symbol of release. And when Crow contributed his part to the War Ceremony, saying, "My whole person, even my feathers, may be burned to blacken a person troubled by enemy ghosts," Buzzard agreed: "I, too, will give my feathers for this purpose. Vainly I tried to harm the person. The patient should not go out to meet the enemy's ghost alone. I will accompany him, being the first to attack the enemy's ghost. I shall crawl completely into the soot." ⁵ He meant that the soot used for the blackening would represent the area of protection contributed by the scavengers Buzzard and Crow. A defense may be impervious to evil, either because of its nature—for example, armor—or because of its attributes—for instance, the sound and light of flint. The circle of protection made by the sound of The Twins' flint armor repelled the greatest harm in Turkey Buzzard's repertoire. Big Monster suc-

cumbed as soon as there was even the slightest penetration of his armor.

Once error has been identified, it is important to admit it. By confessing their evil-mindedness, Crow and Turkey Buzzard put themselves in line for restoration. Confession may be a form of bravery; for example, heroes or chanters recount everything that happened to them, their mistakes and failures as well as their correct procedure and successes.

Indefinite evils such as ghosts are difficult to deal with because the chance of hitting upon the proper ones is small.

Black God explained his reason for helping in the War Ceremony: "It is certain, my grandchildren, that the monsters who formerly were powerful are gone. However, had I refused to perform this rite for you, their ghosts would have devoured you again, even worse than they did ordinarily. Their ghosts are now preparing to increase their former size. That is the reason people are not feeling well. How could conditions be good anywhere? The slaughter of the enemies at Taos was the climax of the bad state of the world. As it was not in the original plan, many enemy ghosts swarmed from there.

"Now the ghost of Big-monster-who-wanders-alone, that which used to be his life and ran out from within him, is planning once more to become their chief. Plans are even being made to transform the grass, soil, mountains, and water into ghosts. If such plans were successful, people who are to be born in the future would have no sense, but would be easily persuaded by these ghosts to break taboos. If then people went wild because they had not observed the ceremonial restrictions, the ghosts would rejoice. Furthermore, if people died, their ghosts would be allied with the original evils. If in the more distant future ghosts should tempt you to break taboos, perform the ceremony to ward them off. For these reasons I am entrusting to you that which I contribute to the ritual, so that it may be a means of defense, a hope to you for the future."⁶

Two men were on the warpath; one asked the other to blacken him for the War Ceremony. "For which enemies?"

the second man asked. "Since we have been at war twice now, it can be for bad things [gray ones] of any kind that affect you. Two places must be considered, Taos and Blue House, where evils [gray ones] of every description exist." ⁷

There was, however, an attempt to limit the number of enemy ghosts.

Black God, on his way to the first War Ceremony, rested while the flying animals and the quadrupeds carried on a contest of boulder hurling. When they had finished, some rocks were left. These they laid in two piles on which they placed herbs ceremonially, remarking, "What a great number of enemy ghosts there are for Black God to oppose with his rite. There are two large piles of rocks and even some rocks left over. There are as many ghosts as there are stones." ⁸

Purification

After the causes of illness have been determined and guilt admitted, ugly things must be expelled; hence numerous rites are directed toward purification. Rites may have certain acts that exorcise, as well as some that attract good. Cleanliness, coming before godliness, is almost synonymous with sanctity. People of one group are offensive to those of another because they smell bad: The gods bade the precursors of the Navaho who lived in the fourth world to cleanse themselves so that they, the gods, could communicate with them. Before being conducted into far and holy places by the gods, Earth People, who eventually became intermediaries between man and deity, had to bathe and sweat. After association with the Holy People, a hero, rejoining his earth family, is much offended by their odor and will not stay with them until they have been ceremonially cleansed. Warriors and hunters, returning from their quest, must rid themselves of the odor of danger.⁹ Odor is, therefore, evidence of the profane just as purity is a symbol of sanctity.

Evils entering the body may be in the stomach, or they

may be in the form of arrows or witch weapons imbedded in the flesh. Both types may be exorcised at once by the sweat-
 emetic rites. Changing-bear-maiden treated herself by walk-
 ing around a hot fire and taking the emetic to get rid of the
 many arrows shot into her body by the Swallow and Spider
 People. Son-in-law of One-who-customarily-sees-the-fish took
 the same treatment to force out witch objects injected by
 Ants, Bear, and Snake People.¹⁰

When I failed to vomit according to ritualistic require-
 ments, RP admonished, "You must throw up, because if
 you don't, bad things will stay in you and make you sick."

When contemplating exposure to danger—hunting, war,
 contact with the supernatural as layman, learner, or chanter
 —a Navaho purifies himself by sweating. Many family
 settlements have a house where a sweatbath may be taken
 any time a group of people of the same sex sees fit; a sweat-
 bath renews vigor, makes one feel fresh and confident, rids
 the mind of doubt as well as the body of accumulated dirt.
 The sweat-emetic rites are very complex, their function being
 similar to that of the ordinary sweatbath but with a more
 elaborate ritual. The pit sudorific is another form of sweat
 healing. It combines the elimination of evil by perspiring
 with the attraction of good from the green boughs and leaves
 laid over the heated earth on which the patient lies.

Hill, describing the training of young boys, includes purga-
 tives as a means of expelling evil. Wyman and Harris have a
 brief note on a species of *Pentstemon* that was considered a
 cathartic.¹¹

Fasting is a ceremonial necessity, hardly mentioned in
 mythology. Its purpose seems to be to make the patient
 susceptible to and retentive of the powers being invoked for
 him. Customarily, before being treated on a drypainting, the
 patient fasts; the interval between meals may vary greatly.

During most ceremonies he eats late at night, between nine and twelve, and not again until after the sandpainting rite is completed the next day. If the painting is small, the rite may be over early in the morning and fasting is scarcely detectable since some Navaho families do not eat much before ten in the morning; but if the painting is large, requiring much work, the patient may not eat until nearly sundown—a fast of fourteen to twenty hours. Matthews records abstention from food by patients and chanter of the Night Chant for twenty-four hours. The same rule is observed by those blackened in the War Ceremony, although at intervals small quantities of sacred mush may be taken.¹²

Ceremonial fasting is doubtless related to the old discipline to develop fortitude when boys and men, particularly warriors, competed in performing deeds requiring long abstinence from food or drink.

Bathing and shampooing the hair, incorporated in the rite termed 'the bath,' symbolizes a change from profane to sacred, from the strange and doubtful to the controlled. Body and hair are washed in suds of the *Yucca baccata*; the body, hairstring, jewelry, and clothing of the patient are subsequently rubbed with corn meal—white for males, yellow for females (*Bath*, Concordance C).

Not only the patient and his immediate vicinity but even an extended space to be occupied by deity should be cleaned. Consequently, all participants in the ceremony imitate him, though in varying degree. Some of the visitors at the ceremony sweat and take emetic with him; practically all attendants shampoo their hair. The ceremonial house is also purified. In my experience a new structure was not built every time a major chant was undertaken; an old hogan, carefully cleaned each time, was used again and again. Most belongings were removed from the house, but a few carefully chosen

possessions were left to absorb the power of the chant. The earthen floor was neatly swept, the surface layer having been removed.

When Talking God began to help Self Teacher, he directed: "After four days you may expect me again. Have yourself and your house clean and in order for my coming. Have the floor and all around the house swept. Have the ashes taken out. Wash your body and hair with yucca suds the night before I arrive, and bid your niece also wash herself with yucca." ¹³

Continence is a restrictive form of purification. A patient is supposed by regulation to refrain from sexual intercourse for four nights before a ceremony. In the Shooting Chant I participated in, no stress was laid on prior continence, but the rule was observed by both chanter and patient for four nights after the ceremony. Restrictions may be more or less stringent for other chants and perhaps in recent years the rule is less strictly applied than formerly (*Restrictions*, Concordance C).

Sexual intercourse was forbidden between the day a war party was decided upon and the day of departure, the interval being spent in preparation and purification, with much sweating and singing. Women were allowed to join a war party, but could not be leaders; the rule of continence was strictly enforced while they were away from home. Continence was required of the patient for the duration of the War Ceremony and four nights following. It was not required of the leaders, but moderation was encouraged. ¹⁴

Other rites to bring about purification are the brushing rites—one type is a benedictory sequel to the sweat-emetic rite; another, the rite performed to brush evils out of the ceremonial space in the evil-chasing ceremonies. The sand-painting of these chants plays a dual role. After the rite is

finished, some of the sand is deposited at considerable distance from the ceremonial hogan; each day it is taken successively further so that the evil will not be likely to return. The idea is that the sand absorbs the evil. A part of it, on the other hand, is placed under the patient's bed so that he may absorb the good of the supernaturals represented by the sand.

Attraction of Good

The ritualistic process may be likened to a spiritual osmosis in which the evil in man and the good of deity penetrate the ceremonial membrane in both directions, the former being neutralized by the latter, but only if the exact conditions for the interpenetration are fulfilled. One condition is cleanliness, the ejection of evil so that the place it occupied may be attractive to good powers. The chanter's ultimate goal is to identify the patient with the supernaturals being invoked. He must become one with them by absorption, imitation, transformation, substitution, recapitulation, repetition, commemoration, and concentration.

The purpose of sandpaintings is to allow the patient to absorb the powers depicted, first by sitting on them, next by application of parts of deity to corresponding parts of the patient—foot to foot, knees to knees, hands to hands, head to head. In some chants parts of the drypainting may be slept on to give more time for absorption; sleep seems to aid the process. The chanter applies the bundle items to the body parts of the gods, then touches parts of the patient's body with his own—foot to foot, hand to hand, shoulder to shoulder in the ceremonial order—and finally with the bundle equipment; this is an elaborate rite of identification (*Application of bundle*, Concordance C). The powers, represented by the sandpainting, are conveyed indirectly by the chanter through the bundle equipment and his own body to the

patient's, all because the chanter has obtained power to do this by his knowledge.

An incident of the Hail Chant illustrates absorption through contact during sleep and the digestive process.

Rainboy, before starting to instruct his brother in the Hail Chant, brought clean, fine sand from the cornpatch and spread it neatly around the fire. He drew a line in the sand for each song, later erasing a line as his brother learned the corresponding song until all were gone. When all had been erased, Rainboy gathered the sand into a pile and put it under his brother's pillow. He kept tally also by shelling a kernel of corn from the ear and tossing it into a basket. When all the songs—447 altogether—had been learned, the corn was made into 'unseasoned gruel,' which the novice ate.¹⁵

Warriors customarily cut the bloodstained shirt of a victim into strips which they subsequently wore as bandoleers, in this way absorbing the power of the enemy brought under control.¹⁶ Bandoleers frequently occur as a symbol, an associated form being the figure painting in which lightning is painted on the torso where the bandoleer would hang.

A person who has been subjected to a ceremony potentially possesses a great many powers to keep him safe. He facilitates the process of absorbing the powers represented by the paint, bandoleers, and head feathers in which he has been ceremonially dressed by observing four nights of restrictions during which he avoids activity and association with his fellows. Meanwhile, he is dangerous to others who have not been so treated. They must not come near him or touch dishes from which he eats; what is invaluable to him may harm those too weak to endure the newly acquired power.

A large part of every rite may be the exact imitation of a mythical scene or incident. For instance, in the Shooting Chant the 'pollen ball,' containing, among other things, a turquoise, is administered to the patient and set straight

within him by ritualistic acts. In this rite the chanter imitates Sun, who placed a turquoise 'man' in his son's chest and performed the same acts so that it would remain upright and stand firm. This man was to make the youth 'invincible to any danger, however great' (*Pollen ball, Concordance B*).

The Sun's House screen of the Shooting Chant is a replica of Sun's 'real' house; prayersticks resemble those the gods prescribed in the mythical past. When The Twins visited their father in the sky, they were rubbed and shaped like their brothers, the Dawn children. Kneading, a common rite, seeks to imitate supernatural beauty and strength (*Pressing, Concordance B*).¹⁷

Identification is brought about by correspondence. When new bundle items are made, the old models belonging to the officiating chanter are always in evidence; the new one is repeatedly held near the old one so that every detail may match. The bundle contaminated by the death of its owner is purified at a ceremony in which each item is laid to correspond with that of the singer whose bundle has not been so tainted (*Rite for removing contamination of the dead, Concordance C*).

Transformation allows for miraculous results in myth and ritual. A common mythological theme is the transformation of the hero who eats food of strange people. Supernatural guardians give warnings to prevent irrevocable transformation. The mentor says, "If you eat that, you will never see your mother, father, sisters, or brothers again." Reared-in-the-mountain, hero of the Mountain Chant, was warned by Wind not to eat the food of Bushrat lest he become a rat.¹⁸

Transformation from eating strange food is unalterable only if the hero eats it without supernatural protection. Rainboy had to spend four nights near where the Fire Dance

was held for him. He had no food, but was fed on the first night by Hummingbird, on the second by White Goose, on the third by White Owl. On the fourth night Rat Woman brought him food similar to that which Reared-in-the-mountain had refused. Three times Rainboy refused the food, but when Rat Woman finally made gruel of parched corn right before him, Whirlwind told him to eat it. Rat food would have transformed Rainboy into a rat, but food ceremonially controlled by Rat Woman was safe for a person who had been ritualistically treated.¹⁹

The touch of a coyote skin was sufficient to turn a hero into a starved, mangy, powerless coyote, and only ritual carefully carried out could restore even a divine being to his usual self. This theme is emphasized by a rite in the Male Shooting Chant Evil, Big Star, and Endurance chants and mentioned in the myth of the Bead Chant.²⁰ Some transformations are quite complicated, passing through more than one stage. Various body parts of Changing-bear-maiden became products useful to man—porcupine, pinyon nuts and cones, various chants—but they represent the remnants of a transformed evil.

Blowing is a common way of producing transformation.

Winter Thunder blew upon the materials which had been the Fire Dance corral for Rainboy's ceremony and turned them into rock.²¹

The Hunchback gods gave the Visionary of the Night Chant a mountain-sheep skin to put on; it did not fit. They blew upon it and it fell into place; he became a mountain sheep.²²

Monster Slayer let Gopher take part of the hide of Burrowing Monster as a reward for his aid. When Gopher tried to put it on, he found it too large. As he tried to fit it to his body, Monster Slayer blew upon it and thereafter it was impossible to remove it.²³

A great many ceremonial items are substitutes for the originals they represent. Sand is a substitute for clouds and other perishable materials on which the mythical protagonists saw the first sandpaintings drawn. Whenever an object is lacking for a ceremony, it may be represented in sand—a chanter who does not own a Sun's House screen may substitute a sandpainting for it; a Shooting Chanter once told me that the snake paintings of his chant were a substitute for real snakes which the Navaho previously used as the Hopi do in their Snake Dance. Sun withheld his 'real' arrows of precious stones from Earth People, giving them only the bundle talking prayersticks as a substitute.²⁴

Often a token quantity represents an unlimited amount. For example, the materials that compose prayersticks—reeds, tobacco, feathers, cotton string, jewels—are infinitesimal in amount though of immense importance. The tiny 'bead' token of some chants is the symbol of the entire ceremony, a symbol so thoroughly identified with the owner that if the bead breaks, misfortune will befall him.

The chant is a recapitulation of scenes in the myth drama whose function is commemoration. Events of the lower world are remembered and certain episodes are acted out or represented in symbols to preserve the timelessness of power.

The sick Navaho identifies himself with the rejuvenation of Changing Woman when he recapitulates in the Shooting Chant the place, the circumstances, and the ritualistic details she experienced when she was restored to youth and beauty. He occupies a ritualistically determined position in the hogan blessed for the chant, takes hold of the bull-roarer offered by the chanter as he is led step by step to the spot on the sandpainting predetermined by tradition.

The ancestors of the modern Navaho fought their way past warring alien tribes and, by continual fighting, estab-

lished themselves in a large new terrain. Nowadays, though their battles for independence are rhetorical, their fear of non-Navaho ghosts has not abated. To counteract such alien influences, they recapitulate in the War Ceremony, circumstance for circumstance, act for act, and curse for curse, everything the war party deemed necessary to defeat the enemy. They ride upon his ghost, shoot at him, render themselves invisible—in short, re-enact the winning struggle and thereby attain virtue.

Remembrance of a power to whom man owes a cure puts him into a good state of mind; it is a manifestation of faith, indicating a willingness to seek a change, to put forth an effort for restoration. The intermediary demonstrates this feeling when he tells his human relatives to remember him.

After Rainboy had taught the Hail Chant to his older brother, who had sung it over their sister, he told his relatives to keep on singing. As they did so, he and the sister began to rise into the sky and gradually disappeared. Rainboy had admonished them just before this event, "Don't run away when it rains. If you do, I shall not think well of you."²⁵

Reared-in-the-mountain, as he took similar leave of his younger brother, said, "When you see the showers pass and hear the thunder, know that I am in them. Remember me, too, when the harvest and the beautiful birds come and know that it is the order of your older brother."²⁶

The Visionary of one myth of the Night Chant, co, said to his brother, a novice, "When summer comes, look for me in the storms and male rain and know that in them is your brother."²⁷

Repetition carries the idea of recapitulation still further. If it is good to reproduce a scene and its circumstances, it is far better to do so many times; hence four or more, even twenty-three or forty-six, times seems not too often for repetition in prayer, song, or symbol. Of course some details—color, sex, accouterments—are modified, but the formulaic

repetition is preserved throughout. The events of a day are repeated four times in a five- or nine-day chant. Prayersticks, if properly made, are effective, but if their number is doubled, trebled, or multiplied even further they are better. The essential figures of a sandpainting, only one or two perhaps, may suffice, but it is far better to have a large number. Repetition is compulsive and authoritative.

When it had been decided that he who achieved revenge for the harm done Corn Man should be rewarded by getting two young and beautiful nieces as wives, Coyote carried the news abroad. People did not believe him, since he often reported falsely. He defended himself: "It is true. I have asked any number of times, therefore it is true." Even then the people demanded corroboration, although it is implied that had anyone else repeated the report as many times, it would have been believed.²⁸

Concentration carries commemoration further. The purpose of the attentive demeanor most becoming to a patient, even to the point of passivity, is to make his mind receptive. Although he may not understand what is being done, he can co-operate with the chanter by paying strict attention. The long prayers must be said from beginning to end without skipping or repeating a word and without mistakes of any kind whatsoever. Prayers may take as long as one hundred minutes.²⁹ The gravest responsibility rests upon the chanter, who usually closes his eyes. The patient can help him and, of course, himself by responding accurately so as not to distract the chanter.

The value of concentration is demonstrated also by the vigil, either of a single night or particularly of the last night of a long ceremony. The songs previously sung, and some additional ones, are repeated by way of summarizing and sealing all that has been done. The patient, and, ideally, everyone in the hogan, should remain awake; by paying

attention to the song summary, one benefits from the entire performance even though one is present at this rite alone. Missing any part of the long series interrupts the flow of power, causing weakness.

In an incident of the Night Chant myth, inattention is deplored. The Visionary's brothers ridiculed the voices he claimed to hear. After some time, during which they were unsuccessful in the hunt, his brother-in-law began to think there might be some truth in his revelations and begged him to tell about them. The Visionary answered, "No, I will not speak as long as others sit by in scorn and show no desire to listen." ³⁰

Therapy

Whether any of the measures believed to be curative has actual therapeutic value is doubtful. Those that seem to be have a psychological rather than a physical effect, since they are hardly continued long enough or repeated often enough or at short enough intervals. Though massage is prescribed in some rites, it is often a mere temporary laying on of hands; if real pressure is applied, it is so momentary that it can have little effect on the circulation.

The Navaho hardly appreciate the value of sudden temperature changes; they rely on symbolism rather than on therapy. In the old days boys had to roll naked in the snow. RP, who had been trained in the school most orthodox in these matters, said, "Rolling in ordinary snow was not so bad, but when the snow was dry, *that* was really cold!"

Most Navaho think nothing of going from a warm hogan—the ordinary heated hogan is *very* warm—into a zero or sub-zero outdoor temperature. The patient, wet with perspiration, steps outside into the raw, blustery air with no more clothes than he had for the sweatbath—a skirt for the women, a G string for the men. Some, like MA and T's wife, get

pneumonia and die. The Navaho do not see any connection between the weakness of the sick and the rigorous temperature changes; the cause of death is the evil the body was unable to throw off.

Some effort may be made to alleviate the shock of sudden change in the ceremonial bath. I have seen warm water supplied, a blanket warmed to throw over a wet head or body, but never has the patient been excused from going outside before his hair dried. It should be remembered, however, that the Navaho, hardened by his daily habits, can stand much more than a white man. The favorite chants, attracting large crowds, are held in winter when the attendants move to the place of assembly with the intention of staying at least one, more probably two or three nights. Since there is no shelter, each person brings his own bedding; for many, especially horsemen, there is only a Pendleton blanket between them and the frozen ground.

Wyman considers the temperature changes he experienced in Navaho treatment of his knee possibly beneficial.³¹ The various heat treatments as well as other rites may have some psychological merit as counterirritants in assuaging pain, at least temporarily. Too little is known about the pharmacological properties of the herbs, the difficulty of making proper tests not yet having been surmounted. I took the emetic of the Shooting Chant, composed of fifteen herbs, in large quantities four successive days; I could observe no effects whatsoever. Kluckhohn and Wyman agree that the emetic does not seem to be effective.³²

Differences in the ostensible efficacy of the emetic are a matter of faith. CF, who believed implicitly in the ritual, performed it conscientiously and got the expected results. TC does not enjoy the sweat-emetic rite any more than I do, but as the chanter's assistant, he often has to endure it. He

suggested to me one day, "Just rub the medicine [emetic] on you. You don't have to drink much." I noticed then that he made considerable business of the rubbing part of the rite, drank almost none of the emetic, and did not vomit.

TC's expedient, as well as the selection of plants, shows that cures are ascribed to herbs by analogy. Weakness was overcome by herbs having strong odor. Certain 'medicines' are said to be distasteful to the evil powers. Enemy ghosts fear *Aquilegia formosa* (xazéi·dâ'í, 'chipmunk food') and *Hierchloe odorata* (tloh nhtci'n) because of their pungent smell. 'Chipmunk food' has commemorative value in addition, because it recalls the aid given by Chipmunk to Monster Slayer when he slew Burrowing Monster.

Ghosts are also afraid of the specially prepared soot of the blackening rite, of the red ocher which belongs to Child-of-the-water, of the sparkling rock that represents bright or flashing light.

Dieting is completely unknown—perhaps understandably in a tribe that has never had more than the lowest subsistence standards—and loss of appetite is evidence of waning strength. Upon any and all occasions, infants and the ill are offered any available tidbit, however indigestible or inappropriate. The attitude toward diet is of a piece with that toward disease and curing. You must eat to be strong; you show strength to demonstrate you have it. Therefore you eat to show you are strong. When any connection between food consumption and strength is drawn, flesh food and corn, foods around which so much ritual is woven, are stressed. Wyman's informants said, "How could a person get strength without eating? Give him all he can eat, especially corn meal."³³

The irreverent crowd, ridiculing the Racing God of the Mountain Chant myth, showed their belief in game as strength-giving when they taunted, "He is too weak and lazy to hunt. He lives on seeds and never tastes flesh."³⁴

Properly combined, corn meal and rare game are good; they cannot be altered by chemical or any except supernatural change. They are good things with which to fill space left vacant by ejected bad things.

The following prescriptions show how causes and cures are grouped: Chiricahua Wind, Eagle, and Awl chants were prescribed for headache. The Eagle and Bead chants were supposed to cure head diseases, boils and sores, inflamed throat, swollen legs, itching, lack of appetite, and vomiting, since the diseases were thought to have been shaken from the feathers of mythical birds.

Warm infusions poured into the external meatus served as a remedy for earache. Wyman records: "Eye medicines are usually prepared by cold or warm infusions and used as eye washes or drops, and the whole head is often bathed to relieve headache and swelling about the eyes. Hole fumigation or the application of dry powder may be used. . . . Since eye diseases [along with other head disorders] may be treated by Plume Way [in which Game Way plants are used], eye medicines are among the plants used in these chants."³⁵

Beauty Chant was recommended for snakebite, rheumatism, sore throat, and stomach, kidney, bladder, and abdominal trouble. Anuria and other kidney and bladder troubles are numerous. The Navaho cures are a repetition of the type regularly encountered: Shooting, Beauty, Red Ant, or Eagle chants for venereal diseases, hematuria, pelvic pain, bladder stones, as well as for anuria. It is almost certain that the relation between syphilis and arthritis and other bone-deforming affections is not recognized.

Diseases frequently traced to hand trembling and star gazing are tuberculosis, nervousness, and mental disease; paralysis of the arms to overdoing motion-in-the-hand; and impaired vision to excessive star gazing.

CHAPTER 8

ETHICS

Meaning

THE ETHICAL system is a function of social as well as religious organization. The family into which an individual is born determines his obligations and privileges. The extended family has a much larger membership than the simple unit in our society, since it is a subdivision of a clan—a social group that counts descent and inheritance in the maternal line. A person may, therefore, depend upon help from his mother's brothers rather than from his father, from his maternal grandparents rather than from both sides of the family; he may be called upon to aid his sisters and sisters' children rather than his own. Members of his own—that is, his mother's—clan are his closest relatives. Among them there is economic responsibility, which may be extended to members of two to five related clans, called the clan-group. Since relationship is traced through the female line, relatives of a family, clan, and clan-group address one another by reciprocal terms such as female parent-son, mother's father-daughter's child, mother's brother-sister's son, older brother-younger brother, older sister-younger sister. Kinship, with all the duties it entails, may even include strangers having the same clan name, whether or not any blood relationship can be traced.

For instance, a clan brother met for the first time could, if he chose to push a request so far, make a claim to be considered as seriously as one made by a blood brother. At

whatever inconvenience, the claim would be satisfied or a very good reason for refusing would have to be given. Such obligations, inherent in the social structure, are compulsive; they include every kind of request individuals make of one another, but they are mainly economic.

A Navaho has a sentimental rather than economic duty to his father, members of his father's clan, and clan-group. If one is ill, one's immediate relatives decide upon the ceremony to be sung; they and the clan kinsmen expect to meet the expenses, although if necessary they may request contributions from members of the clan-group. Reciprocally, they must be helped—needs are stated directly to one another and an agreement is reached. On the other hand, one does not ask his father's clan relatives for such aid, nor does one make a definite bargain with them. They may, however volunteer even a large donation to the enterprise.

Since the responsibilities are accepted without question, many ethical problems, which in our society are settled by individual moral judgment, hardly arise. With us questions of parental authority, support of the incompetent, distribution of wealth (including generosity and hospitality) have constantly to be solved anew. The Navaho can depend upon his social code to settle most of them; individual judgment plays a small role.

In Navaho life ethics is empirical rather than theoretical or theological; ethics includes actual as well as ideal behavior, etiquette and law, as well as religious restrictions. Since he seldom sees a white man who treats him as a brother, the Navaho does not comprehend the preacher's statement that all men are brothers, although he shares the ideal. Since the whites he knows scheme and cheat him whenever possible, their verbal reiterations that honesty is the best policy leave him unconvinced. He may not know that their belief in

rugged individualism admits cutthroat competition while it consigns honesty to religion. Ostensibly the white man practices his religion on Sunday; the Navaho observes his daily.

The code tells a Navaho what he should or should not do, what the punishment is—not for the transgression, but for the correction of error. There are so many supernatural decrees that no one can possibly be acquainted with all. Each adult does what he can to find out what is correct and to teach his children. Many a Navaho never runs afoul of any rule, since he does not directly encounter supernatural displeasure. He may be well aware that something he contemplates doing is wrong. If he wants to do it very much, he will carry out the techniques for preventing ill effects; he will hardly decide not to do it. If, in spite of prophylactic rites, he becomes sick, he need not reform, nor does he think the measures taken have been ineffective; he submits to cleansing and more rigorous rites quite similar to those previously tried. Magical performances fail not because they are faulty but because the correct ones have not been combined.

The nearest Navaho approach to the concept of sin is 'being out of order, lacking control,' a definition that involves rationalization, not salving a bad conscience; confession of error, not a feeling of guilt; laying on of hands, not a plea for forgiveness; propitiation, not expiation; identification with deity, not humiliation of the offender; and in the end, a sense of human achievement, not of subservience to divinity.

Since goodness is so closely tied up with order and compulsion, it is also deeply concerned with property. The gods themselves, according to tradition, set a value on all knowledge comparable to a price on merchandise; consequently the Navaho dickers with the divinities as he does with the

trader. Prayers, formulas, songs, song series, rites, and ceremonies all have material values that must be recognized as an element of ethical control. And since the order was established through uncounted years without the volition of any living individual, a Navaho can no more reject it or even part of it than he can a member of his body; all he can do is comply.

Conformance, following rules as unyielding as a mathematical formula, is unemotional; it is as inexorable as a machine, once the gears have been engaged. Property belongs to the ethical ideal, for whether a large quantity or only a token is offered, the deity must respond. The gods have as little choice about answering man's requests when properly formulated as man has in evoking them.

It may be difficult to learn the type of offering acceptable to a deity, to procure the unusual materials that compose the offering, and to discover the proper mode of presentation, but once all these things have been attended to, the deity must help man. The god shows his willingness to aid by addressing the petitioner by kin terms—'my daughter's son, my son's son.'

Comparable with the offering to deity is the advance payment made to the chanter. Having decided upon a ceremony, a person customarily sends an intermediary to the singer chosen, offering him an unstipulated, preferably large, amount—horses, sheep, silver, money, buckskin, buffalo robe, or other goods. The chanter will not necessarily refuse to sing if the payment is small. Like some of our doctors, he considers the patient's circumstances, accepting the best a poor man can offer. The arrangement is not, as might appear at first glance, purely economic, for both chanter and patient believe that the ceremony could not possibly be efficacious if nothing were paid.

Kinship may be a substitute for property in a transaction of this kind. Yet the patient believes he should pay something to validate the ceremony, even if the chanter is a close relative—father, maternal grandfather, or maternal uncle. Here, in the voluntary nature of the payment, in the patient's economic circumstances and in the value set upon kinship, are some of the few places where individual judgment enters into the system, and to this estimate strictly material considerations may be irrelevant.

With the initial payment offered the chanter it is expected that certain indispensable parts of the chant will be furnished—for instance, four sandpaintings. If the sum is inconsiderable, or if the sponsor does not provide abundant help, the paintings may be small and simple. If the payment is larger, they may be large and elaborate. The lesser ones will be effective; the greater ones more so. Various accessories may be included or omitted according to the monetary arrangements. It is better to have more rather than few rites, better to have detailed rather than simple rites performed, but if a man is not in a position to make a great show, the cheaper ceremony, if properly done, will cure him. A conscientious singer will not be careless or negligent just because the ceremony is less elaborate.

The Concept of Honor

Since property ideas and exchange are so important to the Navaho and to us, it is essential to consider the ideas that prevail about honor and honorable dealings. Mythology, because it is naïve, furnishes some of the most illuminating evidence about ethical ideals. The motivation of a story may subtly indicate an attitude with a basis so obvious in practice that it may escape notice. Even the plot itself, by what it includes, and particularly by what it omits, often yields an

unexpected clarification of some point. A Navaho tale may start with the theme of the unmarried mother—often of twins—but the plot develops not as might be expected, to deplore illegitimacy, but to teach how bad it is to keep the father's identity a secret. Lying is condoned to the end that the tribe may gain supernatural power. If lying and cheating are themes, they result in punishment, not because they are bad ethics but because the one attempting the deception was unskillful. Poetic justice demands the acceptance of responsibility and skill in practicing techniques, rarely the exposure of a traitor or cheat.

The description of an enemy is often a clue to the ideas of honor held by the narrator or his group. The following excerpt from a long tale illustrates the Navaho interpretation of Hopi character:

The Stricken Twins, one crippled, one blind, having been instructed by the Navaho gods, who gave them a magic rat, worm, wind, and grasshopper, went to the Hopi at Awatobi to procure the luxuries necessary to pay the deities for the instruction which was to originate the Night Chant.

When the Hopi thought the boys were only pitiable visitors, there was no treatment contemptible enough for them. Each time the twins destroyed the crops—first with the supernatural rat; next, with the worm; again, with the wind; and a fourth time, with the grasshopper—the Hopi hypocritically treated them cordially until the twins removed the scourge. Within four days after the corn had been restored, the enemies renewed their atrocities, each time more severely, until finally they cursed the boys to their faces.

Each time the boys demanded a greater reward for removing the plague. When the Hopi elders offered the compensation for restoring the corn after the attack by wind, they spread three unwounded buckskins down. On one they piled paperbread and other articles of food; on the others, clothing, baskets, precious stones, feathers, pollen, and all the other treasures the boys asked for. "Yet they did not put the best

they had on these buckskins, no more than we Navaho give away the best we have if we can help it."

For the restoration after the last attack by the grasshoppers, the boys held out longer and exacted more than promises because of the previous betrayals. And now, even though the chiefs were desperate, having exhausted all their resources, they promised everything the boys asked for. The boys said firmly, "If we help you this time, we want no more scraps or leavings of food, we want no secondhand clothes, we want no more inferior things; we must have the best of everything. First we must have four more fine large sacred buckskins, and we must have an abundance of other skins—doeskins, fawn-skins, antelope skins, and furs. We must have fine necklaces, eardrops as long as a finger, besides turquoise of lesser size. We must have beads of all kinds. We must have fine necklaces containing shells of all kinds—the best from everybody's house. We must have five baskets made of jewels." These and other things enumerated had been demanded by the gods who sent the boys. The boys added emphatically, "All these things must be of the best. Now give us these and we will try to save what is left of your corn."

The Hopi found the demands exorbitant and were reluctant to comply, but in council the chief reassured them, even in his desperation, "Fear not to give them. When the boys have chased away the grasshoppers and restored the crops, we will kill them and get all our wealth back again."

The boys restored the fields and prayed for rain, then tied up the treasures with a band of lightning, thus making a very small parcel, and the Hopi chiefs watched them lest they get away with the treasures. The boys moved off on their magic rainbow and the Hopi pursued them. By means of their magic the twins made them follow until they were completely exhausted. When the last ones saw that the pursuit was vain, they cried out, "Farewell, my beautiful beads! Farewell, my precious necklace! Farewell, my rare turquoise basket! You are gone forever; I shall never see you again!" And, as they realized that their valuables were gone, they wept and wailed.

When the twins announced their victory and gave an inventory to the gods, xa'ctcé'óyan said at once, "We rejoice to hear that they have secured an abundance, and that everything they have is of the best. We must divide with our

neighbors. Go out to all the other holy places and tell the people to come in." ¹

This is myth, but it reveals what is casually accepted. It lists the things gods and men, both Hopi and Navaho, consider most valuable. It weighs the value of a promise, and indicates that words, even if repeated four times, cannot always be believed. Among many interesting implications of this story, two statements especially reveal Navaho attitudes: "We do not give away the best we have if we can help it" and "We must divide with our neighbors." Just as the Navaho tale discloses the opinion of their Hopi neighbors, whom they never trusted, it shows that they understand the enemy's motives and implies that theirs may be the same. They are hardly teaching a moral or dealing with an ethical ideal; they are quite practically using a technique. The attitude of the Hopi toward goods, the words of farewell, the weeping and crying, are all illuminating. Property loss is played up more in the last scene of the excerpt than is a human casualty in any myth.

The ethical allusions are quite typical of the attitude toward cheating, lying, and stealing. The Navaho does not expect anyone to give up his best if he can help it, because he would not do so himself. This attitude differs from our own in that ideal and practice are the same; it is a realistic, rather than a sentimental, point of departure. The caution is also realistic and the consequent behavior dependable, whereas with us the ideal makes a demand upon the individual that is likely to meet with a hesitant and disappointing evasion. Only when the Hopi chief promises the best, then withholds it or places it on the blanket with the mental reservation that by killing the bargainers he will get it back, do ethics enter. To the Navaho this is deception, chiefly because it amounts to cheating the gods, who know better tricks. If one

expects to benefit from their service, one emulates them. The Hopi thought they were dealing with human beings like themselves, and only a preknowledge of divine ethical practice, which they did not possess, could beat their tricks.

In practice as well as in myth, the Navaho is frank in discussing property and exchange including withholding, fraud, sharp practice, and falsehood. It is ritualistically improper for a chanter to mention a definite sum as his payment for singing, but he may candidly enumerate the details to be included in the performance and those to be withheld.

Twenty-two items belong to the bundle of the Male Shooting Chant Holy. All should be set out on the sandpainting mound before the door at the east when a sandpainting is being laid inside. Said RP, "Some chanters do not put all twenty-two pieces out every time, if the people have not given very much calico. I always use them all, no matter how small the amount."

The statement illustrates the chanter's concern for those who aid him. The calico is the reward given those who help with the night singing; it is not a part of the chanter's fee.

The Navaho has great regard for circumstantial evidence and is not likely to lie when faced with it. Otherwise, when under suspicion, he has the ceremonial privilege of lying three times before answering a question that may involve him; the fourth time he is asked, he should tell the truth. Such change of evidence is surprising, not to say shocking, to the white man who has the patience to listen to questioning by a Navaho judge, and expects the Navaho defendant's first answer to be final.

Children are taught not to steal because they might be caught.² Young men, when questioned, said, "We are told not to steal, not because it is sinful but because if someone saw it, the thief would get a bad reputation in the community."

DOGMA

Old men said they knew of nothing in the religion that forbids stealing, but they would not steal an article unless they needed it. Asked if they would take anything from an unprotected car, they said they would unless they knew the owner. Hill remarks that being caught with stolen goods or in attempts at cheating are humorous situations³—they have no ethical connotation; they merely indicate the discomfiture of the culprit at getting caught.

One may wonder how property is protected; here again kinship obligations enter in. One would not steal from a kinsman; on the other hand, if the kinsman were not present to give permission, an article might be borrowed and he might be informed about its absence later or it might be returned before he discovered it was gone. If it was damaged when returned, he would hardly make a fuss no matter how he felt. And since everyone is related to nearly everyone else, the claim of kinship for borrowing may usually be pressed. The Navaho have a highly perfected system for guarding property, hardly detectable by the outsider. At a large gathering a small area, marked out by a wagon and its camp-fire or even by a pile of goods covered with a blanket or tarpaulin, is watched by one of the owning group, usually an old person. Anyone will tell on a pilferer. If there is no one to keep guard, all possessions are removed from the vehicles to the temporary camp where the night is spent, it being generally admitted that you would not expect to find anything not protected.

I cannot imagine, however, that anyone would steal food or supplies from a sheep-herder who had temporarily left his camp. His meager supplies, chiefly food, which may have to last him two or three weeks, have a certain immunity, for he is far from the source of supply; it would be dangerous for the sheep if he left them to get himself some food. No one

would want to force him in desperation to kill one of the flock, and finally, everybody is a herder or puts himself so completely in the herder's place that depriving him of his scanty store would be the Navaho equivalent of taking candy from a baby.

The old men who said they knew of nothing in the religion that forbids theft might have gone on to say that there is a good deal to sanction dishonesty. All forms of deception are practiced by the gods or the heroes in their charge. Often they gain by trickery or ruse. The contest between the Stricken Twins and the Hopi illustrates the test of power, matching of wits. The deities also cheat one another.

There were footprints of little children before Changing Woman's door, but, when the monster asked her for the children, she said she had made the marks with her hand because she was lonely.⁴

Changing Woman not only denied that she knew who the father of her children was, but answered first that it might be anybody. When the question was repeated, she said it was Barrel Cactus; at the third question, she said it was Sitting Cactus. In other words, she lied three times. The fourth time, The Twins answered their own question, telling her that their father was Sun.⁵

There seems to be little difference between refusal to answer a question three times and making a false answer three times; both are ritualistic, probably the reason Changing Woman did not answer her Twins' question truthfully. In the first case she lied to protect her children.

Other deities constantly cheat and lie. The whole pattern of Sun's character is built upon deceit. He mates with girls without the knowledge of their parents or of his sky wife. He causes them to lead sneaking lives and to tell untruths. One of his favorite ruses is to create a duplicate who, endowed with Sun's powers, wins by cheating.

The mentors—Wind, Bat, Big Fly—are in a sense the personification of deception, for they whisper the answers to examination questions their protégés would otherwise fail. In this respect the mentors enable novices to deceive Sun himself.⁶ When superior powers ask how Earth People knew the details of the offerings they demand, the People say they just knew, that no one told them, whereas in fact the mentors have instructed them.

The entire progress of the Stricken Twins as they visited one god after another was based on falsehoods. Talking God had deceived their mother. Whenever the boys asked a deity or a group of gods to help them, the gods answered that it was impossible because they knew nothing about curing the blind and the lame, yet each had some power for this purpose.

Human beings even prevaricated to the gods, who did not call their bluff. Our sense of proper justice would be to impress the liar with a feeling of guilt; the Navaho is interested in accounting for ritualistic instruction, and gods do not expect their protégés to be any more truthful than they themselves are. Indeed the gods may interpret trickery as courage; they may even aid in making a falsehood become a fact.

When Self Teacher invoked the help of Talking God for traveling in his whirling log, the god asked him if he had the eighteen sacred things to offer the gods. The hero answered that he had, although he owned nothing except the rags in which he was clad. The god thereupon gave him accurate instructions for his journey. Subsequently the youth went home and had his niece steal the required objects from the neighbors.⁷

Scavenger (of the Bead Chant) was betrayed by the pueblo people, who tried to make him get eagle feathers for them; for this betrayal they were duly punished—first by the itching diseases and later by the loss of their valuables, the dancing beads. The chief's wife had substituted imitations of these

wonderful beads. By pretending that he was a stranger to his brother, to whom he had taught the chant and who had not yet paid him for the instruction, Scavenger showed up the deception and got the genuine ones. After taking the beads from their owners, the brother gave them to Scavenger to pay for the chant.⁸

It would be difficult to find a better example of playing both ends against the middle or of the intricacy of Navaho reasoning. Whenever wealth is connected with ritual, the association validates ownership.

Sex Morals

Even though the encouragement of reproduction is the primary purpose of Navaho ritual, sexual matters are closely related to sorcery and evil. Since there is often merely a hairline between good and bad, numerous regulations are to be expected. Just as the basis of honesty differs from ours, so also do attitudes about sex, and just as man's relation to his fellows and to deity concerns property, so too does sex concern both property and social structure. Polygyny is a recognized institution; since it is opposed to the white man's sense of morality, to him it appears to be promiscuity and a thing to be abolished. The Navaho looks upon marriage and fidelity, whether to one or several wives, as stabilizing forces—a man assumes responsibility for wife and children; he settles down. An old man, looked down upon in his community, was condemned not for having several wives but for neglecting his offspring.

Divorce, easy among the Navaho, is public acknowledgment of friction. The father, after leaving his wife's home, the normal place for him to live, may still help provide for his children. He may be pitied for losing the privilege of getting acquainted with them.

Sexual favors are a property rather than a concern of

religion. A good deal is made of chastity in some respects; virgin children are required to perform some rite in almost every ceremony.⁹ Although the War Ceremony includes sexual exhibitionism, otherwise rare, the rattlestick, the leading symbol, must be carried by a female virgin.¹⁰ I was told that since girls lose their virginity very young, it is hard to find a virgin who qualifies. During one performance I saw, two tiny girls took turns holding the rattlestick because it had been impossible to get a virgin old enough to stand up under the strain alone.

A virgin girl and boy are required to grind medicine for the Flint Chant, but, adds the informant casually, "If children lie about their virginity, the medicine gets wet. They are dismissed and new ones are chosen."¹¹ Apparently chastity is a ritualistic ideal though in daily life it is preached more than practiced. Girls should be guarded, but there are so many loopholes, due mainly to the Navaho environment, that the rule is indifferently kept. Mothers urge very young daughters to participate in the Girls' (Squaw) Dance, a socio-religious rite of the War Ceremony. The girl's mother receives the money the man pays her daughter. A young man may pay a girl to dance with him exclusively, and stealing away together at this time has public sanction.

In mythology a maiden's intercourse with deity is tolerated. Certainly First Man and First Woman gloated over the relation between Changing Woman and Sun, for it was part of their plan for society even before marriage had been instituted. Other girls seduced by Sun suffered, but their distress contributed to the ceremonial order. The story of the Stricken Twins brings out several notions about children born out of wedlock.

When Talking God, dressed in his beautiful garments, appeared to the girl of fourteen 'but not yet a woman,' she

was bashful, hung her head, and rubbed her feet together as bashful virgins do when a man speaks to them. After some time he succeeded in getting an answer out of her and he kept courting her gently. "I have come to seek you in marriage, but I will not coax or persuade you against your wishes," he said at length. She replied, "I have never been married. We are not fitted for each other. You are too fine a man for me. You are dressed in beautiful clothes, while I am covered with rags. Then I fear my relatives will scold me if I marry without their consent and I fear to speak to them."

"You need tell no one about it," he suggested, "and I will not tell anyone. Such is the custom of my people. We wed in secret and tell no one."

After the first intercourse, she was filled with remorse and wept. She feared to face her parents lest they learn her secret and kill her. When she got home she was feverish with uneasiness. Her parents said nothing and she met Talking God three times more. When twin boys were born to her, her parents' concern, apparently the real reason for punishment, was to learn who the father was. They kept her from sleeping; they even threatened to kill her if she did not tell. She said she did not know and her brother interceded for her, saying perhaps her lover was one of the gods.

Since the family seemed to believe this, they were kind to the boys until their first disappearance and the strange experience which left one lame and the other blind. The family had no way of caring for two extra members who could not make a living, and the story goes on endlessly, showing the family sometimes overcome with pity for the twins and at others blaming the mother bitterly for their poverty and hard life. The reproach was that her lover was not known, not that she was unmarried.¹²

The problem of the unmarried girl with a child is economic and social rather than ethical. No payment has been made for the girl; the family has an extra person to support without the aid of a son-in-law. In myth, though the reward is long delayed, the ceremonial lore, a tribal asset, offsets the marriage requirements.

Adultery is intercourse with a married woman that is not

subsequently paid for, being considered a violation of a man's rights to his wife's person. Since fidelity is not uniformly expected, the payment is made to silence the husband's complaints or truculence. Its significance is economic rather than moral.

Seduction of a youth by the wife of a powerful being may be the motivation of a myth; calming the husband's spirit of revenge may be the reason for the origin of the myth.

Bat helped Rainboy of the Hail Chant to escape a beating by the townspeople, then turned him loose to live by his own skill. Rainboy was attracted to the home of Winter Thunder, whose wife seduced him. In revenge Winter Thunder destroyed him and the Hail Chant was devised to restore Rainboy. The whole purpose of the story seems to be to demonstrate the innocence of the hero, for he was lassoed by the woman with a supernatural rainbow. It took great effort on the part of many gods to render the extreme jealousy of Winter Thunder harmless.¹³

Beautiful wealthy women with a subtle smile are a decoy for innocent young men, but when the youths yield, they gain power and ritualistic lore through their subsequent suffering (*Decoy woman*, Concordance B).¹⁴

Adultery may be mentioned quite casually, but is not condoned; it usually reflects upon the husband, for it demonstrates his weakness.

The fourth chief of the Translucent Rock People was called the Unlucky One or the One-cheated-by-his-wife because his spouse was unfaithful.¹⁵

Women of Big Knee's settlement were unfaithful to their husbands. Big Knee had twelve wives and complained to their relatives about their behavior with other men. "He used to give much of his abundant harvests to the clans to which his wives belonged, but, in spite of his generosity, they were unfaithful to him." In vain the clansmen moralized with the women and finally told the chief he would have to settle the matter himself; they said they would approve of

anything he did. He then shamefully mutilated one of his wives and she died. He cut off the ears of the next one he caught and she died. He cut the breasts off the third and she died. He amputated the nose of the fourth and she survived. He then decreed that cutting the nose should be the maximum punishment for infidelity—it disfigured but did not kill. Matthews remarks that in his day such severe punishment did not prevail among the Navaho, the maximum being a mild whipping.¹⁶

The tale continues with the revenge of the women, which closely parallels that of the War Ceremony legend; doubtless their spite is a reason adultery is today so lightly regarded.

The Navaho believe that all secrets, even those of sorcery, are divulged during sexual intercourse.

Deer Owner, the incestuous sorcerer who had his daughter for a wife, communicated to her his most cherished lore by means of which he kept rare game from Earth People and killed their gifted youths. When Self Teacher freed her from her father-husband's power, she taught her new lover the secrets that released the game and brought about Deer Owner's downfall.¹⁷

Changing-bear-maiden, unlike the normal Navaho girl, repulsed the advances of many suitors by pronouncing charms and formulas too strong for their power. Coyote overcame her resistance, having as an aim the acquisition of her lore as well as the satisfaction of his lust. As they indulged, they exchanged powers, teaching each other their most precious secrets, which had to be exorcised as evils by The Youngest Brother, who had heard the secrets whispered.¹⁸

The Endurance Chant tale points out the dangers of intercourse when trying to keep a secret, and at the same time condemns overindulgence. The chant so oddly referred to by Kluckhohn and Father Berard as 'Prostitution Way' ('adjile')¹⁹ has a similar moral, or rather seeks to undo the effects of any kind of recklessness. It may be sung to encourage success in love, trading, and gambling, and to dissipate

the evil results of uncontrolled lust. Except for sexual indulgence, none of the things for which it is prescribed has even a remote relation to prostitution, and the name is misleading on other grounds; it assumes that the Navaho institutionalize prostitution and class all recklessness with it. Therefore to call the chant Prostitution Way, besides being inaccurate, is insulting to the person it is sung over, since a married man may need it as well as one who contemplates a dangerous undertaking. 'Excess,' 'Recklessness,' or 'Rashness' Chant would more accurately suggest its meaning.

If prostitution is defined as payment for women's favors, the Girls' Dance and even the betrothal should be so classed. I do not accept this definition or classification. Occasionally a girl refuses to marry, lives alone, and has many male visitors, or a girl may move about from settlement to settlement, creating jealousy among the women, who say of her, "She has no mother." They do not mean that she is bereaved, but that she is responsible to no one; such a girl is, in Navaho eyes, a prostitute.

Several other customs regulate matters that in our moral code are classed with sex. The Navaho recognize and traditionally sanction the status of the transvestite (*nádle'*); the hermaphrodite is a frequent figure in their mythology. Its origin goes back to the third world, when the hermaphrodites learned all about the work of men and women and lived as women. They invented pottery, the gourd dipper, the metate, the hairbrush, the stirring sticks, and the water jar. Matthews places their origin in the fourth world and adds that they went with the men when the sexes separated. As the first hermaphrodite was also the first person to die and was seen at the place of emergence, such abnormal creatures are associated with death.²⁰

Very little is known at first hand about the hermaphrodite

and transvestite, although they seem not to have been as rare in the past as they are today. Hill gives hearsay evidence about five, and recounts his own acquaintance with one. Another was tłá'h, frequently referred to in this work.²¹ Hill does not record that, as a baby on the way back from Ft. Sumner, tłá'h was emasculated in an attack by the Utes, and later became a transvestite. When I knew him just before his death, he was very much like other men in appearance, voice, and manner. He wore male attire. He wove blankets—among the Navaho the women are weavers—but only with sand-painting designs, which were a part of his professional knowledge. I am pretty sure that had there been no rumors or whispers, no white person would have picked him out of a Navaho crowd as abnormal.

Hill describes the role of the sexually abnormal among the Navaho and gives a picture of Kinipai, who said she was a true hermaphrodite and wanted to be considered a female. He concludes that such children were regarded as fortunate, were treated as favorites, and that respect for them increased with time. They are said to bring riches, of which they have charge. tłá'h was exceedingly clever, and ability to achieve at both men's and women's work would certainly double a person's resources. His aptitude for his singing profession would have enriched him in any case.

Certain questions arise in connection with Hill's conclusions. Was the respect accorded such persons due to their abnormality? Was it because bisexualism belonged with the underworld, in both origin and its association with death and other forms of evil? Was transvestitism respected because it was unusual and therefore dangerous? Since abnormality, the lower worlds, death, and wealth belong in the class of things feared, it seems to me that the answer is positive. It should be pointed out, too, that Kinipai was eager to speak of her

own sexual experiences and sorcery, yet was afraid to discuss dreams (Chapter 6). Hill suggests that tłá'h rationalized the position of the hermaphrodite in the Navaho pantheon. Possibly he did, since he rationalized many phases of religion and was much more aware of consistency in our sense than any other Navaho I ever met.²²

Animals and Plants

Prevailing attitudes about animals and plants are discussed as a concern of ethics, since they involve a curious aspect of humaneness and contribute also to the understanding of the contrast between daily behavior and ritualistic procedure.

The Navaho treatment of animals is a paradox. Although for years the tribe has depended upon domesticated animals for subsistence, the religion still emphasizes the rare game animals, which are almost as scarce in the Navaho environment as in ours. The belief that wild animals are helpers of human beings has not been laid aside now that game has been supplanted by the more easily obtainable sheep, goat, or steer. If a few, such as Bear and Snake, are difficult to persuade, the Navaho puts himself out a little more than usual so he will not incur their wrath. Yet for the domesticated animals upon which he depends for food he has little religious respect; to him they are property rather than sentient beings. The old-fashioned Navaho counts his wealth in horses, yet his best specimen is, according to white standards, a nag. He is interested in how many he has, which will win a race, how far his pet will carry him. He is not particularly concerned that most range horses are skin and bones, that his favorite horse is exhausted long before it arrives at its destination, or that the race may ruin the horse. He pushes it to the limit, never for a moment considering that the horse might suffer.

Better treated are sheep and goats, not because they are

respected like the wild animals but because sheep are the most direct source of satisfaction—they furnish the daily meal. They are despised because they have no sense—"they cannot take care of themselves." Sheep are a ceremonial substitute for rare game, but, unlike them, have no supernatural powers; each family has fetishes with prayers sacred to sheep and horses so that there may be rapid and easy increase, but the Navaho do not expect to get power from them, except indirectly through wealth.

The difference in the treatment of the horse and of the dog and cat is great; respect for the horse as property is one extreme, and contempt for a non-contributing, hence despised, form of life is the opposite. Most Navaho dogs are only incidentally or perhaps accidentally useful: some help with the sheep; some guard the house—if the viciousness of a pack of hungry dogs with tails between their legs can be called guardianship; some afford pleasure to adults and children alike. All the dog stories I have heard to the contrary notwithstanding, I have never seen a well-trained, reliable sheep dog. The dog is considered another, hardly a higher, form of coyote. In myth and dogma its place is despicable, for it has the undesirable characteristics of the coyote and little, if any, of its power. One need not fear the dog or cat; both reproduce so freely that the supply need not be fostered, as is the case with sheep.

An adult Navaho does not intercede for a dog tormented by children; he laughs with them at its agony and helplessness. He does not put a superfluous litter or a sick animal out of its misery. He may take it out into the desert where its chances of living are even poorer than at home. When asked why they thus prolong its suffering, a Navaho told me, "It has its life. You wouldn't deprive it of that. But if it can't take care of itself, you can't help that either."

DOGMA

In strange contrast is the attitude toward flowers. The Navaho do not cultivate flowers for their beauty; white people often find them unwilling to work in a flower garden. Yet descriptions of landscape show great appreciation of abundant wild flowers. Every plant is a symbol of vegetation without which neither man nor animals could exist. Flowers, therefore, are treated ceremonially. To pick them without taking them into ritual, to let them wither as cut flowers is quite out of order, even dangerous, there being no aesthetic compensation for the fear such sacrilege may engender.

P A R T T W O
S Y M B O L I S M

CHAPTER 9

THE NATURE OF SYMBOLISM

THE EXAMINATION of concepts has implied that there is a system by means of which they are held together, a co-ordination of series of symbols with special significance, so projected as to fit into a comprehensive pattern. The pattern includes everything in the dogma and ritual; all the diverse elements are combined in a unit, actually a philosophy of life and preservation. By association the elements are drawn into a whole, so subtly that many of the people concerned may be unaware of it. The scheme may be compared with a language. The ordinary speaker, using it merely for communication, is unconscious of its components—sounds, grammatical forms expressing concepts, and, above all, meanings. The linguist who analyzes the language finds general principles and interpretations that apply not only to the language under consideration but also to other tongues, even to language in general. The speaker, who has never thought about these matters, may even deny that generalizations are possible.

Similarly, Navaho ritual is composed of symbols, each of which may differ in kind as much as phonetics, psychological concepts, and individual significations. Yet the whole is comprehended in varying degrees, even if only through feeling and faith. Since the associations are inculcated by a lifetime of continuous habituation, it is not to be expected that many, if any, of the Navaho could formulate them; indeed, most Navaho would be surprised to learn that anyone should want

to. A few chanters, the learned men of the tribe, realize that snakes, lightnings, arrows, flints, hoops, and precious stones are associated—'the same,' they would call them; many do not. The latter are content to depict in sandpainting Snake as a person of zigzag shape, to sing of zigzag lightning, to relate the incident of Arrow People in myth, and to cause flints to rattle in a basket, without mentally making any connection between them. The fact that they do not is no proof that the associations are not integrated.

I do not, therefore, consider my analysis of symbolism one any Navaho would or could make; I do not even maintain that any does. Many, however, have contributed verification to the scheme piece by piece, so to speak, as did Jeff King when he said that, though The Twins were only two, they were four (Chapter 4). I derived the system from detailed study of drypaintings, masks, prayersticks, and other tangible elements of rituals, combined with widely scattered remarks in the explanatory myths. In addition, by extensive comparisons and discussions, I investigated the meaning of many words that enter into religious concepts. Moreover, armed with mythological and linguistic information, I was able through my own participation in the rites to make inquiries about the function of items and procedure that would not otherwise have occurred to me, inquiries that elicited responses often as surprising to me as they may be to the reader.

As we have seen, the universe is conceived as a place for man, and all natural phenomena are interpreted as his allies or enemies. Gods are defined as human personifications, sometimes with only a single or minor power but one helpful to man. Man has had to discover techniques to manipulate the deities so as to divert their powers in his favor; even skills and cultural institutions—knowledge of hunting and agri-

culture, marriage, clan organization, co-operation with tribal and extra-tribal individuals, language—have a focus in the harmony into which all are inextricably combined. The chant or ceremony with its myth is a means of co-ordinating the various details of the dogma.

The symbolic details are not necessarily construed in exactly the same way, even in a given tale, and generally they differ from myth to myth. Nevertheless, when the interpretations change, a comparison of many myths yields associations ultimately valid. For instance, the transformation of corn ears into human beings indicates an obvious association between wind and breath, and cross references establish whorls—through whirlwinds—as elements of the associative group; hence the explanation that breath enters the body at the places where there are whorls. Since down is easily set in motion by wind or breath, down feathers and motion are further extensions of the group.

By identification, a symbol that stands for a power is the power. Hence to understand the symbol with its various meanings is to comprehend the power and the techniques required to invoke it. The symbols have many manifestations; even negation has become one, for it is as important to know what to omit and why as to know what to include. Knowledge, therefore, is power derived through a long and involved process of learning divulged by the myths. Step by step a hero attains divinity as he progresses from one adventure to another. The remark of the singer of the War Ceremony illustrates the transformation from divine personage to power and its control: "Black God would scarcely consider Monster Slayer a patient, but a power, which disease always fears."¹

He who would control the various supernaturals must start with the aid of mentors, who give him foreknowledge; he

must be willing to put forth effort and to profit by it; he must submit to tests which require great courage; and eventually, as a human being, he must identify himself with divinity. Later, becoming an intermediary—transformed from human hero to god, subsequently represented by the chanter—he must take over responsibility for his fellow men.

When Big Monster aimed his flint club at The Twins, Sun, their mentor, told them by exactly how much the club would miss the mark, so that they were able to avoid it each time. The Youngest Brother was warned not to allow Changing-bear-maiden to help him with even one finger out of the hole in which he was hidden, lest by so doing she condemn him to the powers of evil she herself had embraced through Coyote's diabolic offices.²

Just as the cause of illness may be vague, so the hero was exposed to uncertainty in handling numerous situations, but from each sprang some essential good, to be brought back and incorporated in the resulting chant. The wanderings of the Stricken Twins demonstrate the trial and error, the effort and perseverance necessary to the culmination of the Night Chant. The Stricken Twins put themselves into a position worthy of divine aid; they acceded to requirements no matter how difficult; they emerged from their tribulations to endow their fellow men with the greatest of the ceremonies.

A hero undergoes tests which give him power. Each test is a symbol to prove his strength. The frequently recurring smoking test is an excellent example. The entire complex of incidents that describe the journey of The Twins to the home of their father is an elaborate test of judgment and worth which does not end until the evils have been destroyed and their powers brought back to man.

Effort must be expended by all connected with a chant, since they emulate the deities who control it. The patient

must submit to the ritual; whether or not he understands its details, he takes all the ritualistic acts on faith, even though he may occasionally rebel at the requirements (Chapter 6). The sponsor for the ceremony indicates his willingness to conform by producing the property necessary to its conclusion. Ritual often demands the rare or remote herbs, minerals, or animals, known to exist only in restricted and isolated spots. The water that goes into the so-called 'collected waters' must be gathered after a pilgrimage to the top of the sacred mountains or to the oceans on each side of the continent (see *Rain Ceremony*, Concordance C). I took RP a bottle of water from the Hudson River, but there was doubt about its power since it had not been ritualistically obtained. It proved its worth because rain fell on the day it was first used, but it probably never functioned as powerfully as it would have had it been properly collected.

Laymen assist the chanter by going on long, tedious, or dangerous journeys to procure ceremonial properties. I once drove TC and an old man on a day and night journey of a hundred and thirty-five miles just to get a single pine twig that had only one bud—two or three buds are more common—and a few twigs of blue spruce. TC could not see from the ground how many buds the pine twig had. He climbed about twenty feet to the lowest branch of yellow pine, crawled out on various branches until he saw the required kind on another tree, then swung himself across from one branch to another. We all derived benefit from the quest—I because I furnished transportation, TC because, after exposing himself to danger, he got the right twig, the old man because he directed us.

The expenditure of care and time is well documented by myth. Often tasks are more difficult for gods and intermediaries than they are for man himself. When Talking God was conducting the hero of the Night Chant on a tour of the

homes of the gods, other gods abducted him, thus delaying his progress.

The combination of symbols representing many kinds of power establishes the ceremony's success. The symbols may be isolated, even though each has most significance in its relation to others.

The following words express the ideas discussed in this section:

'adzi'l, 'complete power, natural and acquired, strength, endurance.'

'áli'l, 'power acquired through knowledge, control,' hence, 'magic' and 'each or all items included in its acquisition and manifestation.'

yictci'n, 'symbol, imitation, small likeness, representation of'; 'sample, token.'

bíxo'â'i, 'knowledge.'

Place and Position

Since supernatural occurrences must be recapitulated, it is important to set the stage for every rite; therefore place is an outstanding symbol. Names of mountains are constantly repeated in prayer, song, and myth. One of the most difficult of the hero's tests, a formal requirement of his instruction, was to name every holy place on the earth as he looked upon the panorama from a great height.³ Sandpaintings have some representation of the setting where a supernatural event took place. If a painting has a linear arrangement of figures, the symbol is a bar upon which they stand; if the layout is circular, the place symbol—representing mountains, lakes, or other bodies of water, habitation, ladders leading from one kind of world to another—is at the center. Rainbow, Dawn, Blue Sky, Yellow-evening-light, Darkness are other represen-

tations of place and time which may be simultaneous or interchangeable.⁴

The care taken by the gods in choosing a site for a ceremony is emulated today when the Navaho discuss long and earnestly the most favorable place:

The gods had agreed to help the Stricken Twins by a ceremony held at House-where-they-move-about, but when the twins disregarded a restriction, the whole ceremony was called off. Much later the deities consented again to try a cure, discussing for an entire night a proper place for the chant. They argued that since the previous ceremony had been broken off at House-where-they-move-about, it must be a place of ill fortune, and they decided to have it at Broad Rock, where it was successful.⁵

As part of their instruction, heroes may be taken on long tours; they visit the deific homes and often, by merely being introduced to a god, receive great favors. The hero must remember every detail of the idealized home, and subsequently mention it repeatedly in song, prayer, and descriptions of ceremonial properties. The Sun's House screen, symbol of a branch of the Male Shooting Chant Holy, is an example of a place—Sun's home—selected as a chant theme (Chapter 19). A chanter gives his assistants the most careful instructions about placing the prayersticks, and they pay close attention, because place is of primary value in invoking the gods for whom the prayersticks are made (Chapter 18).

Just as purification differentiates the sacred from the profane, or marks the transition from the secular to the divine, place dictates a person's behavior in his own or in foreign territory. Things happen to him abroad which he can later control by remembrance and recapitulation at home, as the War Ceremony demonstrates. Its events are divided between those on (facing) enemy territory and those within the Navaho boundary. To indicate the change, the 'danger line'

was drawn, a mark over which the enemy feared to pass. Consisting of zigzag lightning, flash lightning, sunstreamer, and rainbow, it was supposed to deter the enemy from overtaking the victorious Navaho as they raced homeward with booty and captives. At the front the line's power was put to a more severe test; the Navaho depended upon it to stop the advancing foe. It is the theme of a song, "I make a mark, they cannot cross it." ⁶

When Monster Slayer was preparing his men for the attack on Taos he 'talked out'—that is, excoriated the enemy in prayer—and, in addition, 'drew a line out there in the valley against the enemy, a line the enemy must not pass.' ⁷

The protection of the line was demonstrated also when Monster Slayer made a mark with his club to prevent two pools of Big Monster's blood from meeting as they flowed over the land. Had they joined, the slaying would have been in vain. ⁸

To illustrate the hold of place upon the Navaho, let us recall the Male Shooting Chant Evil, sung for CM to rid him of the results of breaking the continence restriction after his first wife's death (Chapter 6). CM had thoroughly identified himself with RP's home for several reasons: he had been happily married to RP's daughter for many years; he had no mother or close maternal relatives and, therefore, no home in the Navaho sense; his brother, TC, with whom he was very congenial, lived at RP's settlement with his wife, MC, another of RP's daughters; CM had learned much about ceremony from RP, whom he frequently assisted.

It would have been proper to have had the chant at the settlement of his second wife, Mrs. CM, particularly since her adopted father was a great singer, and her brother-in-law, who also lived there, was the officiating chanter. Moreover, RP's children were friendly to the members of Mrs. CM's

family. Had the ceremony been held at Mrs. CM's home, RP's daughter and granddaughter would have had no right to dictate about it; they would have been guests instead of hosts, and the unfortunate situation described in Chapter 6 would not have arisen, or at least would not have been noticeable. Why then did CM choose to have the chant performed at RP's? 'Place' seems to be the reason. RP's house had for years been a center of ceremonials—in Navaho eyes, a fortunate place. RP had endowed it with a spirit precious to the Navaho and sensed even by whites.⁹ CM felt at home there; in fact, after his second marriage he sometimes returned to work with his brother for several weeks at a time. To him it seemed a more propitious setting for his undertaking than his second wife's home, the best substitute he had for his mother's; the feeling was thoroughly reciprocated by RP's children.

Place, representative of a power, must be distinguished from position, a symbol of magical manipulation. There is a spot in the lodge or its environs that patient, chanter, assistant, and each member of the audience should occupy; no other will do. Position was emphasized in the description of deity (Chapter 4), and just as persons have their places, so ceremonial items must be exactly placed, particularly in relation to one another. The chanter relentlessly insists upon such order.

Once tǎ'h had a disagreement with another chanter about the order of prayersticks in a rite performed for tǎ'h's nephew. Neither gave in and for days tǎ'h voiced deep resentment because he considered the order a mistake which must inevitably have an untoward effect upon the patient, an effect tǎ'h could see no way of preventing.

Each member of a family has a stipulated place within the hogan—the unmarried men at the south, the single women at

the north; the bed of the senior married couple joins the male and female sides of the house at the west. In the ceremonial hogan (or shade) the men usually sit at the south, the women at the north; patient and chanter sit at the rear—that is, at the west side behind the fire. If there are variations on this plan, they are due to ritualistic requirements. For example, the patient of the Shooting Chant, male or female, sits alone at the south side of the hogan during the ‘short singing’ of the first three nights.

Frequently, though not invariably, certain deities have characteristic stations with respect to others. Talking God, as a leader, had the front position when he traveled with a group on one of the supernatural conveyances. He stood on a rainbow at the front while xa'etcé'óyan stood at the back, and the accompanying group of Holy People, or the hero they conducted, stood between them. In the Night Chant, Talking God at the front was aided by Water Sprinkler at the rear, while Visionary, whom they were escorting, was between. When the gods took Self Teacher to the underwater world, Water Sprinkler guarded the front and Black God the back; thus protected, Self Teacher was led safely out from the home of Water Monster.¹⁰

Even the body position of deities may be distinctive. People in myth are told, for instance, that Black God, though so old he can scarcely walk, may be recognized by his upright sitting posture. They find him sitting with one leg hanging limply over his knee, a posture signifying aloofness, which must be overcome by the proper approach of those asking a favor (see *Ceremonial indifference*, Concordance B). The same pose is assumed in life by a Navaho whose feelings have been hurt; usually he takes up a position half sitting, half reclining in front of the fire, ‘among the ashes,’ a place ordinarily avoided. His position and attitude indicate that

some member of the family must guess at the offense under which he feels himself suffering and make restitution to bring him to a normal frame of mind and, incidentally, to his proper place in the family circle.¹¹

In the House Blessing song of the Shooting Chant the following sequence is mentioned: east post, west post, south post, north post, outside layer of earth on the roof, the layer of bark that holds the layer of earth, the back of the interior, the center (symbol of the fireplace), and the place of the metate just north of the door.¹² The places indicated in prayer include those just named, but extend the locality somewhat. The singer asks blessings for the patient: from the hogan roof, through the inside of the house sunwise around the fire, and out the door to the immediate vicinity of the dwelling, where the gods protectingly encircle it, and farther to the plants, trees, and rocks. The space indicated is safe for the patient because it is circumscribed, but it is universally extended when the prayer includes Mountain Woman, Water Woman, various birds, and many distant sacred localities.

The sequence illustrates the role played by space in the attraction of good. The patient derives most from the chant because it is performed for him. A few persons may act as co-patients; they benefit proportionately as they participate in the rites. The chanter's assistants get a spiritual reward for their help; the audience, by participating in such activities as medicine drinking, pollen sprinkling, ashes blowing, and singing, and even by their very presence, gain blessings. The Navaho believe that every chant adds to the general well-being of the tribe. For this reason in a prosperous year much wealth is expended on elaborate chants, for singing is still the preferred investment. As the blessings of such chants spread, the more there are the more likely they are to fill the territory occupied by those who believe in them. Conversely, when

times are bad, great efforts are made to hold as many ceremonies as possible, since they alone can change ill fortune into good.

The attitude toward space is manifested also by the feeling that persists about outsiders. One reason the Navaho do not wish to teach their lore to strangers is that they 'will take it outside of the tribe,' a reason too why formerly they did not approve of sending their children to school. My case was nicely rationalized: "She will always come back, so she will not be taking it away."

Space is involved in exorcism as well as in attraction, but in reverse. Whereas the attractive techniques of the Holy chants aim to concentrate as much as possible of the good within a territory, the manipulation of the Evil chants attempts to disperse evil, the farther the better, the idea being that the more space around each evil, the less its power. As evil is driven out, good must be enticed to fill the space; consequently, exorcism alone would not suffice. These principles are closely correlated with the concept that foreign things, being distributed over large areas and subject to techniques not under Navaho control, are most dangerous of all. The tenets explain the fear of the indefinite and the endeavor to narrow undefined causes to those whose control is understood.

Time and Timing

From some viewpoints time is eternal, having no beginning or end. Once an event has taken place, its effects may be repeated at any future time; for instance, occurrences in the underworlds still affect this world and man. MC was sung over for illness contracted years after she had been in a place contaminated by lightning; BWW became confused long after the trail to the deer impound had lost its function

(though it had not been forgotten, Chapter 6); a person may suffer because of parental infringement of a restriction before his birth. A man who looks upon a bone of one of the ancient people subjects himself to attack from alien ghosts; moreover, if he should do so while his wife is pregnant, the child at any time during its life may be attacked by foreign ghosts.¹³

The experiences of the people in the nether worlds are concerned more with chronology than with lapse of time. We are told what happened, not how long it took. Myth may refer to a number of days, yet no statement is made as to how long a day lasted—it may have been years or only the period between sunrise and sunset. However, the explanation of Sun's daily and seasonal journeys (Chapter 2) shows an interest in the etiology of time, as did First Man when he created the world.

After making a miniature of the world, in which he imitated its present physiography, First Man drew a diagram on the ground to indicate the seasons. He divided it into halves—winter and summer—then into thirteen subdivisions, standing for the months, to which he gave names such as month of the slender wind (November), month of snow crust (January), month of the eaglets (February), month of shedding antlers (March), month of delicate leaves (April), month of enlarging seeds (August), month of maturing vegetation (September), and the like. To each he gave a 'soft feather'—that is, an indication of life and good fortune—and a heart. For example, the month of crusted snow had Morningstar for its soft feather and ice for its heart; month of large leaves had Wind for its heart, rain for its soft feather. The months were designated as times of reproduction and growth—when mountain sheep mate, when deer shed their antlers, when antelope drop their fawns, when fruits ripen.¹⁴

A major division of day and night fits the dogma—during

the day good may be expected; night is the time when ghosts, Coyote, and other evil powers hold sway. To receive Sun's blessing, many rites must be performed in daylight hours. Sandpaintings of the Holy chants should be laid and disposed of during sunlight hours. On the other hand, those of the exorcistic chants are made and used during the hours of darkness (Chapter 11, *Reversal*).

Although temporal duration is of little moment, timing is a major device of the ceremonial order. Timing is related to number, direction, song, offering, prayer, and all other elements that make up the chant, since, to be effective, each must come in at exactly the right time. Timing measures the number of nights of a chant's duration and determines the sequence of events. In addition, some events must occur simultaneously. Most frequently, ritualistic acts are accompanied by song; certain motions, passes, and gestures depend not only upon the song but upon its very wording. Foam for the bath is made from the yucca root to the accompaniment of song; pollens are sprinkled across the foam at a particular word of the song. In like manner, the pollen ball of the Shooting Chant is administered, the knots of the plant garment are cut as significant phrases are sung.

Materials from which ceremonial properties are made are considered as 'natural'—that is, 'neutral'—with a potentiality for good which, by ritualistic performance, may be enhanced so as to sanctify the resulting item, giving it active instead of merely potential power. To watch the laying of a sandpainting may be somewhat dangerous for the uninitiated who has not been sung over. A chanter has undergone many performances of the chant he knows—for his initiation, for the dedication of specific chant properties, for renewal of his power—and therefore need not fear it. Although the layman may not witness the preparation of objects used in the chant

sung for him, the chanter should participate in almost every activity. There is, however, a time when even he must not witness the completion of the sandpainting preparation, a moment of sanctification when the painting becomes sacred—the instant when the encircling guardian of the sandpainting is started.

JS was sung over at a performance of the Sandpainting branch of the Male Shooting Chant Holy for the purpose of making and dedicating four wide boards and four talking prayersticks for his bundle. He helped with all the sandpaintings, but gathered up his blanket and cigarettes and went out just before the painters began to lay the encircling guardian. One day, however, they forgot that he was in the hogan—or perhaps did not know of the restriction—and started to work on the feet and skirt of the encircling rainbow while he was still putting the finishing touches on another figure. When he saw what had happened, he called out, grabbed his blanket, told the men to erase the figure and remake it. He did not return until it was finished.

The Hoop Transformation rite (Male Shooting Chant Evil) requires a representation of four mountains with an arrangement of hoops, sand designs, and feathers, all outside the hogan. Anyone may watch the construction of this feature; animals must be kept away from it. After each part has been set up, a trail of corn meal connects each part and leads into the hogan. When, to complete the whole, two eagle tail feathers are crossed on top of each mountain, the Hoop Transformation arrangement becomes sacred; the instant of placing the feathers becomes the moment of consecration.

Direction

The earliest witness of a Navaho ceremony noted direction as a symbolic device. Matthews discussed 'the laws of butts and tips' at length and amply illustrated them in his later works.¹⁵ These laws are constantly observed and I need merely summarize their significance. Plants, like other living

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things, are ritualistically dealt with from base to tip, because growth, and therefore life, is upward. The earth may be the ultimate cause of all that is good—reproduction, vegetation, and power of attainment—but it holds within it the evils beaten into it at the War Ceremony. If the directional symbolism, which is relative, not fixed, is to represent growth, the ritualistic act must be upward, but since the sky also furnishes gifts, it must be included. Since rain falls, there must be downward motions.¹⁶

The number of ritualistic directions may be interpreted in several ways. They may be counted as five—east, south, west, north, and up-and-down (in a single motion); as six—the same with up and down counted separately; as seven—the same as for six with the addition of ‘around.’ Perhaps up and down may be considered a single direction as often as two, being indicated by a single continuous motion of the hand. Pollen sprinkling and other ritualistic acts may become so perfunctory that the motions in all directions—east, south, west, north, around, up, down—are so continuous as to seem like one.

A quadrant as well as a line may indicate a direction: by east the southeast quadrant may be meant; by south, the southwest; by west, the northwest; and by north, the northeast. Since there are two ways of designating these directions—a circle from east to north in sunwise direction and a cross from east to west and south to north—the one may represent the quadrant, the other the trail. The track of turkey approaching its master includes both the line and the quadrant division of the circle, and the combination of the turkey track with that of its master shows the cross line for the turkey, the arc for the master.¹⁷

Circular space—the hogan or circular sandpainting—may be divided into quadrants by imaginary lines or by crosses,

Greek and Maltese. When the arrangement of figures is linear, each retains its theoretical direction, although the onlooker may not be aware what it is. For instance, in a sandpainting of the Mountain Chant there are four figures of Long Bodies in a line. The northernmost (black) is said to belong to the north, the one under it (white) to the east, the next below (blue) to the south, and the bottom one (yellow) to the west. I mention the colors because they are differentiating, but directions and colors do not always have the same meaning in linear paintings (Chapter 13). For example, figures of a painting belonging to the Navaho Wind Chant in the Bush Collection are said to belong to the following directions: Snake at top (black) to the north, Snake next below (blue) to the west, Snake next (yellow) to the south, Snake at bottom (white) to the east.¹⁸

The subdivisions of the day are associated with directions—Dawn with the east, Day Sky with the south, Yellow-evening-light with the west, and Darkness or Night with the north.

The rule of the open circle (Chapter 6) affects the directional circuit. When a patient is told to make the ceremonial circuit and return to his original position, he is warned not to complete the turn when reversing. He is, of course, unavoidably moving anti-sunwise when returning. The following excerpts from myth describe the path:

When First Man saw the cloud that indicated a wonderful happening—the cradle with the baby who later became Changing Woman—he ascended the mountain over which it hung, first from the east side, then from the south, west, and north, each time having gone to the foot of the mountain before ascending in a new direction. To get the cradleboard he had to go east, but, instead of going from north to east, he returned without crossing his own path.¹⁹

The path First Man took when he discovered Changing Woman is exactly the same as the one she herself customarily traveled when walking about on the sacred mountains.²⁰

In these settings two ritualistic requirements are at odds: one decrees that the circle be left open, the other that the circuit be sunwise. The open circle wins. The countermovement is defended on the ground that the turn is not completed; to finish it would bring the patient to a starting point within a circle smaller than the original one—he would be ‘winding himself in.’ To turn and with care avoid crossing the path brings one back to the start in an ever-widening circle, allowing space for the exit of evil, the entrance of good. Pallbearers in their journey to the grave and back move along such a path.²¹ The double ceremonial circuit is therefore a satisfactory compromise, making the best of a conflicting situation and meeting adequately the major requirement of avoiding the circle of frustration (Chapter 6).

The following are examples of progress in counter-sunwise direction:

The circular brush windbreak used on the hunt was laid out symmetrically. It was marked first from east to south to west—that is, sunwise; then the leader returned to the east and marked another semicircle from east to north to west—that is, anti-sunwise.²²

Black God in the first world became angry at the chiefs of the four directions and broke their water jars. The waters flowed from east to south and from north to west—that is, both sunwise and anti-sunwise.²³

On the blue and pink prayersticks of the Shooting Chant, dedicated to the Winds, the lines are to run anti-sunwise. One of the Whirlwinds moves counter-sunwise.

Talking God sprinkled pollen toward the east and north over the suds prepared for Rainboy’s bath.²⁴

At some points in the Restoration Rite there is anti-sunwise movement (Concordance C).

All these examples have one feature in common: they refer to extraordinary dangers—hunting, lower worlds, Undependable Deities (Winds, Whirlwinds)—which require rever-

sal. Rainboy was a patient in the Hail Chant because Winter Thunder, exceedingly difficult to persuade, wanted revenge. The Restoration rite seeks to bring one back from the land of the dead, where all things are the reverse of those we know here.

The other cases are not difficult to explain since they occur in the War Ceremony, which may almost be said to have reversal as a theme.

While the dangers of enemy slaying were being exorcised in the War Ceremony, the beneficiary told his nieces, the Corn Maidens, to choose any men they wished for husbands. The men were standing in a line with Monster Slayer at one end. The girls circled him in a sunwise direction, then crossed their own path and went around the next dancer in a counter-sunwise direction, and so alternating to the end of the line, always keeping their own path continuous.²⁵



Fig. 1. Spiral path of dancers

The line of the dance was more complicated than any so far encountered, the sunwise and countersunwise circuits alternating as illustrated in Figure 1.

The Black Dancers of the War Ceremony are clowns who seem to break every rule. It is, therefore, not surprising to note that the mixture of mud and dung with which they are smeared is applied to one in a sunwise direction, to the next anti-sunwise, and so alternating until all have been treated.²⁶

The observance of ceremonial direction applies to the handling of ritualistic property as well as to the motion of people. Knots, for example, must be tied in a particular direction so as to preserve the open quadrant lest ghosts

interfere with the life of the person tying or for whom they are tied.

Sandpaintings that seem to lack an opening are sometimes explained by what appears to be clever rationalization. An odd composition is that of Scavenger in the Eagles' Nest.²⁷ Scavenger appears in the circle of the nest, but he is not really enclosed, for his head is over the circular lines at the east; incidentally, the design so produced is artistically effective.

The painting of White Coiled Mountain²⁸ seems to break the rules. If we trace the white snake from the head, it moves anti-sunwise. If, however, we start from the tail—as the Navaho tell us—the coiling is sunwise, but the tail starts out of the western instead of the eastern quadrant of the mountain it represents. Since it is coiled, it is thought of as projecting upward in a spiral, an effect that extends its power into the atmosphere above (*Spiral*, Concordance B). The circle of small snakes around it is said by the chanters to be broken wherever a snake moves after the one before it; all are obviously moving sunwise.

I have examined many sandpaintings in addition to those published. Few have exceptions to the rules of direction and, unfortunately, there are no explanatory data for these, or at best only indefinite suggestions.

Plate VI of Oakes and Campbell has two figures, War Gods, each within a colored frame, which is said to be "a rainbow of protection and strength." Plate XIII is also completely bordered by a rainbow, which the singer explains: "This painting is from Blessing Way, and is very holy. It is given, so that each man will have a personal blessing that has nothing to do with war" (cp. Chapter 19). Both paintings were executed in corn meal, powdered petals, and various pollens.²⁹

A possible reason for complete enclosure is apparent in the notes given by the singer; since the pictures represent blessings only, there can be no evil about them. They are like the hoop-enclosed space referred to in Chapter 6, thoroughly circumscribed, protected.

One sometimes reads that the opening of a sandpainting is 'always' at the east. It usually is, since the Navaho dwelling or ceremonial enclosure faces east. Medicine men strewing sand in a non-Navaho building have to decide upon an expedient set of directions. For example, the entrance to a museum or department store may be out of sight of the place where the painting is to be laid; east is arbitrarily determined and a prayer is offered to make the decision correct. On one occasion the chanter laid all the pictures on the floor of a warehouse just in front of the door, which opened to the south. He had, therefore, to choose whether the paintings should open at the east, which meant toward a wall, or at the direction corresponding with the entrance. His solution was simple: for the occasion, four days, he said the south would be east. The broken circle orientation superseded the absolute directional requirement.

After remarking the rarity of mirror symmetry, especially in the circular sandpaintings, I became acquainted with the paintings of *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plates I-X, laid out in mirror symmetry, requiring half the picture to be read sunwise, half anti-sunwise. The Bead Chant, to which these pictures belong, is concerned with eagles in a realm alien to the hero.³⁰ The chant is associated with eagle trapping; hence the central theme is exorcistic—hunting is a dangerous and uncertain undertaking. The symmetrical arrangement, involving two opposite directions, may therefore be tolerated.

In winding, sunwise motion is carefully adhered to by

bringing the string up toward the body of the winder with the end under, as in Figure 2.

Direction with respect to the body is also observed. The right side is considered normal; the left, awkward, difficult, but not necessarily harmful or unlucky. When Turquoise Boy was placed inside Monster Slayer's thorax, Black and Yellow Wind were called upon to set him properly on the left side. "For this reason the man's offering is placed on the left [south] side of the sandpainting, the woman's on the right or north side."³¹ The man's body is oriented as he comes in the door facing the rear of the hogan. I would expect the orientation to be as he faces the door, since that is the ritualistic position of the patient during the time the rite takes

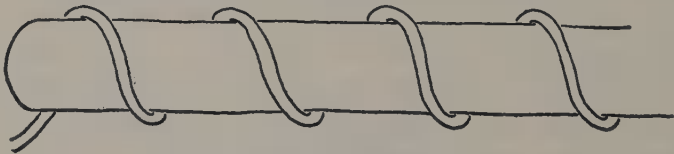


Fig. 2. Direction of winding

place. Instead, the patient's right and left are co-ordinated with his place in the house rather than with his position on the sandpainting.

Wristlets belonging to the figure-painting rite of the Male Shooting Chant Sandpainting branch were put first on the right wrist, then on the left.

The feet and shins of the patient are painted first on the left, then on the right in the figure-painting of the Shooting Chant.

Child-of-the-water in the belly of the fish cut his way out first on the left side, from which his head protruded, then on the right, from which his feet appeared.³²

In the cincture rite, the knots of the strings were cut first from the front, then from the right side, the back, and finally the left side.³³

Applications of ceremonial properties, such as the laying on of prayersticks, may be from the right foot up the side, across the body, and down the left side to the left foot, a body circuit representing 'around,' or the blessing brought by 'application' to specific body parts—the soles of the feet, knees, palms of the hands, to the breast, the back, the shoulders, the face, the mouth, and the head.

When Rainboy was treated in the Hail Chant, the loops of the unravelers were pulled out first at the left, then at the right.³⁴

Evil spirits customarily step left foot first.³⁵

Body-part directions change sequence details in different chants and for different purposes. The order followed in the prayer for protection and dedication of power in Gray Eyes' version of the Shooting Chant mentions front, back, under, and above the body. The song to Monster Slayer of the War Ceremony mentions the same directions with respect to the body, and adds 'around,' these directions being preceded by emphasis on soles, toe tips, knee tips, palms, finger tips, tip of the body, tips of the shoulders, tip of the face, tip of the eyes, tip of the mouth, top of the head.³⁶ The purpose of this song is to identify the patient with Monster Slayer as the remains of the emetic are rubbed on his body. The ritualistic parts of the body are the same as in the blessing prayer, but 'tips' are emphasized, the 'tip of the body' instead of 'front and back' because the war garb of Monster Slayer is of flint, symbolized by arrowpoints at various points of his body. Such symbols have value as identification, repetition, exaggeration.

Reversal of the rule from foot to head is explained by the following: "The prayers are like this: he [warrior] starts with the enemy's head and mentions all the different parts of his

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body down to the ground and ends his prayer in the ground. This is just the same as burying the man." ³⁷

When a sequence is given from bottom to top, the strongest color is usually at the bottom and the next strongest at the top. For instance, when the hoops of the Big Star Chant are laid flat, the twinkling (thorny) one is at the bottom; on that are white, yellow, and blue; black tops the pile. The hoops are arranged in the same sequence from south to north. Since the order in the sunwise circle is black, blue, yellow, white, and twinkling in the center, these linear arrangements from top to bottom represent the sunwise order from east to north and center last.

CHAPTER 10

SEX, DOMINANCE, AND SIZE

SINCE REPRODUCTION is a primary concern of Navaho religion, sex would be expected to be a major symbol. To understand it, the relative position of the sexes in the culture should be examined. Actually, there is little to limit what women may attain in any phase of Navaho culture.¹ Their status in the home, in the economic, social, even political life is equal to that of men. Theoretically they may reach the highest place in the religious life also, but very few women have become chanters (Introduction).

The ritualistic treatment of females contrasts somewhat with woman's high position in the tribe. The belief that the minds of women and children—the uninitiated—are weaker than those of men seems to explain, at least partly, the reason for certain sex restrictions, more numerous and more rigidly imposed upon women than men.²

It is often assumed that regulations against female participation in supernatural affairs are due to woman's functions—menstruation and childbearing—in many tribes believed to corrupt sacred things. Conversely, woman may be greatly feared because her sexual role puts her into extraordinary rapport with the supernatural. She may, therefore, have to observe restrictions so as not to endanger the male members of the tribe. Both these ideas—fear of woman's corrupting influence and wonder at her power—are prevalent in many North American tribes, but I have found no evidence that the Navaho subscribe to either.

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The Navaho try to protect everyone against woman's physical weakness; once strengthened by ritual, a woman may undertake and withstand anything a man can. Her protection is quantitative rather than qualitative—she needs more than a man, but the character of the prophylactic or defensive measures is the same. I am constantly amazed that the Navaho never questioned why a woman should undertake the task I proposed—learning the religion. Never have I been excluded from any rite on the grounds of my sex, nor was my right to an interest in ritual ever challenged because I am a woman. As the particular cases illustrate, the reasons for restrictions were most often lack of supernatural armor, a shortcoming common to both sexes.

tlǎ'h's response to my request that he dictate the story of the Hail Chant is instructive. At first he demurred without saying why. Explaining that I had had the story of the Shooting Chant in my possession and had been sung over twice because I wanted to learn more about it, I showed him my bead, the token of the chant. Immediately his whole attitude changed: "You have the bead. This [the Hail Chant] will not harm you," and he was ready to begin dictation. Our interpreter, LT, was more vulnerable. She had no bead, no protection against the danger of mouthing sacred lore. She was in the class of a chanter's helper, who assumes no responsibility but does as he is told. tlǎ'h warned her against repeating some of the unusually sacred words—formula and curse, for instance—that I could say without harm.

Women are allowed to sing the Night Chant; consequently, they must own and handle the masks, its focal symbol. However, women as patients of or attendants at the Night Chant are enjoined against seeing the masks and, until they are completed, the sandpaintings. This chant is sometimes postponed until the female patient's menstruation ceases. A

menstruating woman was not allowed in the hogan of the Rain Ceremony or in the place where prayersticks for the Night Chant were being made. The reason for the latter restriction is that the gods might reject the offerings.³ Here, as in other cases, the assumption of contamination may be false. Whereas many North American Indian tribes treat the pubescent girl as if she were tainted, the Navaho honor the moment of her maturity. I have had no evidence that menstruation itself is considered corrupt; rather, its appearance is regarded as the fulfillment of a promise, the attainment of reproductive power. Menstrual fluid is another matter: it is feared and avoided because it is body matter that may harm not only the one who threw it off but also the one exposed to it. It differs, however, from other forms of 'atexin—excrement, nail pairings, hair combings—in belonging exclusively to woman; carelessly handled, it must, therefore, be extraordinarily harmful to man or, ceremonially protected, unusually beneficial (Chapters 3, 11).

Restrictions on pregnant women are to protect the unborn child. It behooves parents to guard the child from dangers that may beset it during gestation, though they may not become apparent until the child grows up. The behavior of the father as well as of the mother may affect the child. The primary danger is in contact with a dead person or a symbol of the dead.⁴ Consequently, the War Ceremony is dangerous to a pregnant woman, since its very purpose is to eliminate by recapitulation enemy ghost power.

Stevenson cites an interesting case that concerns the effects of ceremony upon an unborn child. The wife of the man chosen to sing the Night Chant was pregnant and the people who chose him doubted that he would officiate, for they said his seeing the sandpainting might cause the child's death. The singer himself was so sure of his power that he sang the

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chant. He said he would shield the child by administering, shortly after its birth, a mixture in water of all the sands used in the painting.⁵ The pregnancy was not believed to have any adverse effect on the patient or any participants of the chant. A male chanter (JS) told me that a woman chanter, even if pregnant, may sing her chant, for she will recite a particular prayer to protect her child. Since the reason most often given for restraining a woman from certain activities is security, it is practically certain that some such idea prevails also concerning the effect of menstrual fluid. Doubtless it is more powerful than other worn-out body material and may, therefore, be more weakening.

During the first days of my apprenticeship, I was told that because I was a woman I could not be present when a sand-painting was being made. Women did, however, go into the hogan while the painting was going on—to grind colored pigments, to take a message, to take food; later I learned that they had been sung over. They were under the protection of the paintings and for this reason were said to ‘own’ them. Since those early days five paintings have been made for me, and, in regions where I am practically unknown, not only have I been allowed to enter the hogan while paintings were being made but have even been invited in.

On one such occasion, the most memorable in my experience, I ventured a criticism after the twenty-five or thirty sand strewers had examined a finished sandpainting⁶ and had not detected a glaring mistake. When I called attention to it, the medicine men all shook my hand, thanking me. They assumed that I knew a great deal more than I really did and respected my apparent authority. The reaction was to knowledge, not to a man’s or a woman’s knowledge.

Restrictions directed against women are sometimes general—that is, enjoined upon both sexes; a male patient of the

Night Chant, unless a chanter, should not see the masks being prepared any more than a female, because no one should witness the preparations for the chant being sung for him. I have recorded merely the taboos I happened upon, but I think that if a special study were made, corresponding restrictions applying specifically to women would be found for men, and that the underlying reasons for both would be similar.

Few articles on restrictions discuss their opposite, prescriptions, which may amount to privilege and honor. Navaho ritual, true to the dogma that opposites must be included, prescribes honors in one activity and represses them in another. Women are barred from holding aggressive offices in the War Ceremony—that is, they may not conduct it; the stick receiver and the ashes strewer must be a man; women and children should no more hear talk about its proposed performance than in the old days they could listen when the men were planning a raid. Yet the person in charge of the rattlestick, the master symbol of the War Ceremony, should be a reliable female virgin; sometimes only a very small girl can fulfill the requirements (Chapter 8).⁷

The woman at the first blackening ceremony had to be coaxed and, upon consenting to be blackened, gained the privilege of representing Earth Woman, who had been put in charge of continuous growth and all things on the earth's surface.⁸

Women furnish the food for all ceremonies; bringing it into the ceremonial enclosure is one of their ritualistic duties. In the War Ceremony women of the patient's clan bring in many-colored yarns for the decoration of the rattlestick.⁹

Women prepare the drum tapper and the material for the cover of the pot drum, the making of which is an important rite of the War Ceremony.¹⁰

It is decreed that a man should grasp the pot drum firmly, whereas a woman should merely put her hand under it while

the prayer is being said, and that the rattlestick should lie in the woman's hand or that she should merely touch it during the prayer. These differences in ritual are said to show she is not a warrior and carries no weapons.¹¹ They illustrate also the contrast between male and female ritualism.

Matthews early observed the Navaho distinction between that which is coarser, rougher, and more violent, called male (*bika'*), and that which is finer, weaker, and more gentle, called female (*ba'a'd*). As I have already shown, the terms include more than the literal differentiation of sex, since two deities of the same sex may be paired and perform the same kind of functions as do male and female in other cases.¹² Therefore, in ceremonial the underlying symbolism must be understood. It classifies potency, mobility, energy, bigness, and dominance as male; and generative capacity, passive power, endurance, smallness, and compliance as female.

The descriptions of the gods illustrate these characteristics: Sun is the ideal male, Changing Woman the ideal female, both sexually and ritualistically. Another type of pairing includes two members of the same sex: Sun and Moon, both male; and Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water (cp. Chapter 4).

Matthews notes that in the Night Chant sandpaintings male divinities are represented with round and female with square heads. The choice is probably different in every chant, for even in the Night Chant a round-headed figure may represent a goddess.¹³ JS gives additional rules for the Shooting Chant, but there are many exceptions. He says he represents 'people' by round heads; when Snakes are 'just snakes' he gives them diamond-shaped heads. When males and females both have square heads they are siblings, 'all of one kind, all belonging to one family'; when the male of a pair has a round head, the female a square one, they are

married. JS adds that the head shape must be learned for each painting.

Examination of the published sandpaintings shows that none of these rules except the last was consistently followed.

All the snakes in Newcomb-Reichard, Plate III, and *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plates XIV and XVI, are 'people,' yet the Arrowsnakes have round heads. Perhaps there was a differentiation between dominant round heads and the secondary square heads, each group indicating a related family. However, when RP painted the picture corresponding with that of Newcomb-Reichard, Plate III, with twenty-four figures instead of twelve, all had round heads, although some figures were male and some female.

The prayersticks of the Night Chant carry out the theme of the round-square heads. The naturally circular ends of the sticks sufficiently represent the caplike male mask. Facets are cut on the female sticks to represent female masks.¹⁴

Holy Man, Holy Woman, Holy Boy, and Holy Girl all have square heads, and similarly, the heads of Dawn Boy, Blue Sky Man, Yellow-evening-light-girl, and Darkness Girl are all square in Newcomb-Reichard, Plate XVIII. The following are shown with square heads regardless of sex: Snake People, Corn People, Pollen Boy, Cornbeetle Girl, Buffalo and Medicine People, Thunders and Water Monsters, Arrow People, Scavenger.

All the flint-armored male figures are represented with round heads.¹⁵

There is some reason to believe that square-headed figures represent 'people' or their intermediaries, whereas round heads stand for deity itself. This suggestion would account for the difference between snake forms and it would differentiate the Holy People from the flint-clad deities. Plate X in *Navajo Medicine Man* shows three male figures—Holy Man with a square head in the middle between two flint-armored round-headed figures which represent Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water; Plate XX shows relatively the same

arrangement. Interpreting round heads for deity and square heads for those less powerful may be a way of contrasting dominant and secondary motives.

If we bear in mind JS's rules and combine them with the rule of deity (dominant) and intermediary (secondary) power, we have the explanation of some cases, but we need the help of the chanter for others.

If the contrast is between deity and intermediary, the former is represented by round, the latter by square heads.

The rule would account for the square heads of the Holy People, invariable in my material, who represent man and god, and the round heads of the flint-clad boys, who represent divinity.

If the sex of the deity is to be expressed, the male may have a round, the female a square, head.

In *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XXII, the husbands of the Sky, Sun, Water, and Summer People have round heads, the wives square. But in Newcomb-Reichard, Plate XIX, these same people, acting as separate, probably family, groups, all have square heads. Perhaps these two pictures best illustrate the contrast between the divine and human; in the Dark-circle-of-branches form of the chant (*Navajo Medicine Man*, Pl. XXII) the figures are deities; on the other hand, separate parts of the picture in Newcomb-Reichard, Plate XIX, identify the patient with deity at each of the four-day emetic rites; hence the figures are intermediaries.

Pollen Boy and Cornbeetle Girl, both yellow, have round heads, whereas blue Cornbeetle Girl has a square head; here the sex of deity is differentiated. Pollen Boy and Pollen Girl in Newcomb-Reichard, Figure 10 and Plates IIB and XXII, have square heads. Plate IIB probably represents intermediary power; Plate XXII and Figure 10 may mean the same or they may indicate siblings.

The deities who owned the domesticated plants—white corn, blue bean, yellow squash, black tobacco—are described as male and all have round heads.¹⁶

The inhabitants of the Lodge-of-dew, called Long Bodies, all with square heads, are described as female. They were helpers of Reared-within-the-mountain of the Mountain Chant.¹⁷

When sex is not involved, the shape of the head may represent dominant or secondary power:

Sun and Moon as persons, or Sun-bearer and Moon-bearer, are represented in Wheelwright, *Navajo Creation Myth*, Set II, 1, to look like Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water without armor. The Sun-bearer (black) has a round head, Moon-bearer (white) a square head. Both are male; here, as in Gray Eyes' myth, Moon is the maternal uncle of Sun.¹⁸

Bigness indicates an abstraction, a whole standing for its several parts—a large central cornstalk represents all corn, a huge Thunder (with small Thunders painted on it) all thunders. Length is a symbolic aspect of size. Sandpaintings gain power from the elongation of figures as well as by repetition. Jeff King explains the relative smallness of the Warrior Twins: “[They] are short and both of the same color, for they have not yet been given their names and have not much power.”¹⁹ Long prayersticks have greater power than short ones. A single long prayerstick rather than a number of small ones should accompany the Big Thunder painting just referred to.

CHAPTER 11

ALTERNATION, REVERSAL, AND NEGATION

ONE REASON for some changes in repeated sandpaintings is the stipulation that the chanter change colors or the color sequence in successive performances, a rule that accounts for some differences previously thought to be errors. Since the chanter's achievements have never been listed, there is no way of verifying color details. Although I saw a chant repeated more than once and knew the chanters who would have given me such a list, I was unaware of *alternation* at the time and missed the opportunity.

The main function of alternation, whether of colors or of ritualistic acts, is to prevent overdoing; a very slight change makes a rite 'different.' A chanter may paint Thunder's tail brown one time, black the next.¹

According to the myth, the Shooting chanter should vary the figure painting: the first time black should be inside; the second time, white; the third, blue; and the fourth, yellow.

RP's sequences for the successive figure paintings of the Shooting Chant (with Blue Corn People sandpainting) were:²

1st b-w-u-y* 2nd y-b-w-u 3rd u-y-b-w 4th w-b-u-y

The first three series are in a regular succession, the last color being the first in each new sequence. That the fourth is not a mistake is attested by the fact that my two figure paintings were exactly like the first and fourth. RP had most

*The list of abbreviations will be found on page 745.

likely sung the chant twice, but he may even have sung it six or ten times during the year intervening between the two performances for me.

Alternation is by no means confined to color combinations. When RP sang over me, he asked if I wanted stripes or dots on my face as a part of the figure painting. When I chose stripes, he said, "Remember this and you can have dots next time." Unfortunately, I forgot and had stripes the second time as well as the first. The theory is that the two give more complete protection—stripes for Sun's House power, dots for hail (cp. *Figure painting*, Concordance C).

Alternation is an artifice of singing. The double sandpainting of the Shooting Chant is made to the accompaniment of two choruses singing alternately. Presumably this is the pattern also for the Hail Chant, where one group represents Winter Thunder's, the other, Black Thunder's party. The same device, alternation with symbolic significance, is emphasized in the War Ceremony. Two groups of performers, representing the Navaho victors and the enemy or vanquished, should sing alternately; the singing should neither overlap nor lapse for even a moment.³

In the Night Chant the position of the plants on the bath platform should alternate: once they should be arranged in the form of the Greek, the next time of the Maltese cross. The number of prayersticks also should alternate. If there are six once, there should be eight or ten the next time.⁴

. . .

Reversal is among the techniques of magical manipulation. Sanction of procedure otherwise forbidden stresses the importance of opposition and enhances compulsion. It has already been illustrated as applying to direction and explained as exorcistic rather than as attracting good. It is most common

in the Evil chants, but may characterize also rites of the Holy chants. Red inside, rather than in its customary position, outside, in the sandpaintings of the Red Inside phase of the Shooting Chant is an example of color change in a Holy chant with exorcistic emphasis.

Outline colors of the centers of two comparable pictures, one to attract good, the other to repel evil, are reversed (Chapter 19). The one with red inside is chosen when the chant theme includes the evil inherent at a place where Holy Man was changed into a coyote. It signifies in brief detail the change of Holy chant phases, selected if a person's illness is attributed to lightning or storm. The Hoop Transformation, a reversal rite (were-coyote motive), is employed when sorcery is suspected and is a major rite of the Evil chants.

The various phases of the Male Shooting Chant Evil are differentiated by reversal. Five large hoops are a part of the Hoop Transformation, one called 'jagged,' being made of a thorny wildrose withe. In the simpler form of the rite they are set up (from the hogan outward in a chosen direction) b-jagged-u-y-w, but if the Prayer on buckskin rite is included, the order is jagged-w-y-u-b, except for the jagged hoop, a reversed sequence.

To emphasize exorcism, the sunwise circuit is changed to anti-sunwise; the direction for body treatment, normally from foot to head, is reversed—a technique tantamount to annihilation; square knots, normal to the living, are tied as grannies for the dead; odd numbers characterize uncertain undertakings (exorcistic) in contrast with even numbers to indicate greater confidence (Chapter 7, "Attraction of Good"); sandpaintings are a part of night rather than daytime performance; even masked dancers, ordinarily limited to winter dancing, may appear in the Feather Chant in the summer. There may even be contrary interpretation of dreams.

Of hunters Hill records:

"Topics that dealt with blood and death, which under ordinary circumstances were avoided, were now [during hunting or hunting training] spoken of with the utmost freedom. The hunters were charged to keep their minds on killing and things pertaining to death. The demeanor, habitually gay, became dour, and no joking or levity of any kind was countenanced. Dreams of killing and defeat, which in ordinary circumstances were omens of disaster, were interpreted on a hunting trip as signs of good fortune. After meals, instead of the usual 'may it be pleasant,' the hunters recited some phrase connected with killing. Again, pollen was thrown into the fire, an act which, under ordinary circumstances, was one of the worst sacrileges a Navaho could commit." ⁵

Order, the foundation of Navaho ritual, is reversed in Coyote's character. He threw the stars into the sky in a haphazard manner, he defied hunting rules, he vacillated between evil and good in the ceremonial assembly, he chose October, a changeable and uncertain month, to be his. Plants representing him in the rites are unselected, as are his arrow feathers, and his songs are not grouped in order. After the Bats had killed him, they ground up his skin with soil from undesignated places and scattered the mixture in every direction (*Coyote*, Concordance A).

Clowning is an exaggerated form of reversal. Commonly war raiding was carried on with the utmost circumspection and a minimum of noise. The Hard Flint boys acted like noisy rowdies just when the war party was ready to attack Taos; their behavior added the rite of the Black Dancers to the War Ceremony.⁶ The Black Dancers perform daring practical jokes—grab people, undress them, and rub them with dung, or a piece of sheepskin smeared with menstrual blood, fearsome because it is generally considered even more dangerous than excrement. In the Night Chant, Water Sprinkler shocks (and entertains) the audience by reversing

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everything the serious dancers take pains to do correctly.

Clowning, at least in the old days before the whites had much effect on Navaho morals and even perhaps today in isolated areas, reached a peak of obscenity in the Fire Dance event of the Mountain Chant and in the characterization of *be'γotcidí*.⁷ Silly, obscene behavior is more than intentionally and obviously amusing. Its symbolism may best be understood by the attitude of the audience.⁸ Almost everyone laughs at the antics of a clown in the dance space. Yet mingled with amusement is shock at the thought that anyone, even a god, dares to ridicule sacred things. And if the clown approaches too close, the smiles of the women and children quickly change to expressions of surprise tempered with fear. The reaction is similar to that of our own children at the circus. When the clown is at a distance a child laughs; addressed directly, he may cry or edge away. Masked impersonators are bogeys during the first years of the Navaho child's life, and woman may repeat the threat of deific visitation so often as to come to believe it.

. . .

A conscious *negation* is as significant as other symbols. Prescription is almost impossible without restriction, and evidence has already been given of the numerous restrictions the Navaho observe.

Watersnake should never enter into the Male Shooting Chant Holy because one of Sun's 'sky' children was bitten by a water snake and cured by The Twins.⁹ This negation is especially interesting from the viewpoint of the position and repetition of snake figures in the sandpainting. For aesthetic reasons, four kinds of snake, one for each quadrant, would be advantageous. Instead there are only three. Watersnake would make a good fourth, although other kinds might also

be chosen. Perhaps one reason that three are prescribed is to give an odd number of snakes, since they are evil (Chapter 14).

Several passages of the Hail Chant myth reiterate that Big Snake should not participate in the chant in any way. So strongly did tǎ'h feel the importance of this restriction that, when in the list of deities present at one of the assemblies Big Snake's name crept in—automatically, it seemed—he got up, hunted about the room until he found a copy of the *National Geographic* magazine, and pointed to a picture of a Chinese dragon which he said was Big Snake, entirely different from the ordinary Big Snake commonly referred to! ¹⁰

To judge from the chant myths I myself have recorded, the negation is as significant a symbol as direction, sex, or color, and should always be ascertained. Each chant has at least one kind of strictly forbidden food; many chants have more. I was emphatically forbidden to eat fish after the Shooting Chant had been sung over me 'because the pollen ball I ate had fish blood in it,' symbolizing the capture of Child-of-the-water by fish.¹¹ MC was forbidden to eat animal entrails after her sing because they were a part of the mixed stew she had ceremonially eaten.

The myth of the Hail Chant, while it enumerates particular foods required by the chant, especially warns against eating corn dumplings during the chant, for to do so would cause hard times and damage to the crops by hail. The dumplings are synthesized as hail symbols. The Night Chant seems to have something in the way of a food display closely paralleling that of the Hail Chant, and restrictions are enumerated, especially about the preparation and cooking of food.¹²

That negation is an important symbol is evidenced by the care with which it is noted in texts:

The Hail Chant and the Shooting Chant formerly had three 'wide boards' each and the Shooting Chant had two

bull-roarers, but 'when the two chants met,' Hail gave Shooting one wide board, so that now Shooting has four and Hail only two. In exchange, Shooting gave up one of its bull-roarers, so that now each chant has one.¹³

The Bead Chant has no rattle because the original Bead chanter exchanged it for two prayersticks of the Awl Chant.¹⁴

In the Hail Chant myth the details of the Fire Dance are carefully enumerated. After teaching them all to Rainboy, Talking God told him not to use the Fire Dance form of the Hail Chant in the future.¹⁵

Similarly, the hero of the Bead Chant, after instructing his brother in the lore of the Fire Dance, decreed that it should henceforth be omitted.¹⁶

A hero of the Night Chant, made a special trip back to his home to show his younger brother a sand picture which he then said was never to be used.¹⁷

No prayerstick was to be offered to Long Bodies, who aided the hero of the Mountain Chant; a linear painting was to be substituted, never one with a cross arrangement.¹⁸

Holy Man showed the hero of the Mountain Chant how to stand holding the plumed arrows, but did not give him any.¹⁹

When Deer Owner's daughter showed the home of the game to her newly acquired husband, there were two prayersticks to represent deer, antelope, sheep, and fawn, and one for Talking God, but none for elk.²⁰

Even the absence of elaboration is mentioned, indicating that the rite or chant in its complete form has neglected no essential symbol.

When people were created from corn for Whiteshell Woman, 'no songs were sung and no prayers were uttered during the rites, and the work was done in one day.'²¹

CHAPTER 12

COLOR AND PRECIOUS STONES

Color

COLOR, AN outstanding symbol of Navaho ceremonialism, is especially significant in combination, but first I discuss the more general aspects of each color in the order in which they most commonly occur. No color or sequence runs through a single chant consistently; none has the same meaning in every setting, nor does chance account for apparent exceptions to the rules; every detail is calculated. If there seems to be a variation, it is for cause.

White (lgai, lgaihi'gi') apparently differentiates the naturally sacred from the profane—black or red, for instance—which, through exorcism and ritual, must be transformed to acquire favorable power.

Myths explaining the earliest beginnings of creatures that later became manlike take for granted the existence of corn; man was created from a white ear (Chapter 3). In some versions the corn was of whiteshell, and the three—whiteness, corn, and shell—are associated, accounting for the quality whiteness; for a vegetable product and the staff of life; and for well-being, supernatural favor, and wealth.

White corn is associated with maleness, yellow with femaleness. In the Sun-Moon combination, Sun is blue, Moon is white. However, various attributes of Sun are white: he appeared to Changing Woman on a white horse; parts of his house were composed of whiteshell; a white rock stuck up out of the water at the east of his house; he directed The Twins

to descend from sky to earth at a white spot on a mountain.¹

White garments are indicative of purification, readiness to undertake contact with divinity. Myths that have a description of the bath indicate that beautiful white clothes are supernaturally provided for the patient after he has washed in yucca suds. Such garments were furnished to Monster Slayer by Talking God; to Changing Woman at her nubility rite by First Woman. At present Changing Woman is believed to live in a home made of whiteshell in the western ocean (Pacific). When the sisters, Whiteshell Woman and Turquoise Woman, came to the home of Monster Slayer—represented in the Eagle Chant as the owner of corn—he made them purify themselves by bathing, then gave them white buckskin clothing.²

White is discussed first because it is the color of the east, and, frequently in the Shooting Chant, of dawn or daylight. Talking God, the tutelary of the east, wears white clothing, and the white eagle feathers of his headdress are spoken of as the rays of pre-dawn.³

According to Matthews, Talking God's is the only white mask⁴ worn in the Night Chant, of which he is the leader. Yet in the Hail Chant we are told that the Winds borrowed the mask from Talking God and did not return it. For this reason the faces of the Wind in the Wind Chant are blue.⁵

It is said that white clay drives away enemy ghosts,⁶ perhaps because day, in contrast with night, when ghosts dominate, brings back the possibility of self-protection.

When The Twins arrived for the first time at the home of their father, Sun, they were hidden in four curtains representing the times of day, the first being the white of dawn. Mountain-fallen-away and Rock-which-reached-through-the-sky had sky covers, one being dawn white. The homes of the Buffalo were partly made of dawn.⁷

The white line of the Shooting Chant figure painting represents flash lightning (xatso'ol'ya'i).

I shall later consider the position of white in the color sequence; it may occupy several of the cardinal directions at some time or other (Chapter 13). At Rumbling Mountain, white in the southern quadrant signifies the motion of the rocks. At the west of the center, from which Endless Snake emerges, white guards the mountain.⁸

In the double sandpainting, a white line is drawn around a black mountain representing foam on water. White dots on a black bar stand for seeds or foam; similar dots on the bodies of Sky, Sun, Water, and Summer People are seeds.⁹

Contrasting with the natural goodness of white in the preceding examples is its emphasis when applied to Winter Thunder. In the Shooting Chant paintings there is a Pink Thunder where a white one would be expected. JS explained the absence of the white one: "He is such a bad one that you don't put him in the sandpainting because he might come. You don't want him to come."

Winter Thunder, though white, is nevertheless depicted in the sandpaintings of the Hail Chant. He must be present because without him Rainboy could not be restored. The name of Winter Thunder, 'i'ni' djiłgai, is derived from the stem for 'white.' Meaning 'thunder is inherently white,' it signifies the rare winter thunder. Winter Thunder's home, all white, was decorated with snow rainbows. There was much valuable whiteshell and turquoise in the house and even his wife's attractive face was white. After Rainboy had lain with her, her husband struck him, a deed that could be requited only if Dark Thunder and his adherents overcame Winter Thunder in war. With difficulty it was learned that Winter Thunder's offering was a white prayerstick. To signify acceptance he smoked a whiteshell pipe, blowing smoke in all

directions. Later, as his war party advanced toward Dark Thunder's territory, it was heralded by a white cloud.

Reflecting the ill nature of Winter Thunder are white rain and mist, which Hill remarks are omitted from prayers of the Rain Ceremony because they carry hail.¹⁰

Blue (do'thij, do'thijígí') is discussed next because in the sunwise circuit it often occupies the southern quadrant. In fact, its position there is more consistent than that of white in the east.

There has long been a psychological question about the way primitive people regard blue and green. The point has been made that colors may be distinguished, yet not named. The Navaho differentiate the colors and have names for them, but Navaho blue, green, and yellow differ from ours in value. The ideal blue is the bright color of good turquoise; green is the color of certain mature plants—corn leaves, for instance. Immature succulent plants are usually described as shades of yellow. Green (yellowish) is named from water scum (tátłidi').

When RP reproduced the sandpaintings in water colors, he substituted green for blue. I thought the reason was lack of blue paint, but even when given blue paint, he persisted in using green. Since his paintings are remarkably consistent and accurate when compared with others and with the mythical description, I assume his reason was to make a slight change to quiet doubts he may have had about the preservation of the pictures in a permanent medium—a well-known restriction.¹¹

In the Day-Sky sequence—Dawn, Blue-day-sky, Yellow-evening-light, Darkness—blue signifies the bright blue sky of day and belongs to the south. I do not understand Matthews' remark that "blue is associated with zenith in myths

but not in acts and sacrifices,"¹² since the Day-Sky sequence, which seems to be the god sequence as well, is common in the Night Chant.

Matthews records also that blue is the color of the south and is female. It is true that blue occurs most frequently at the south, but not always, and it is not by any means always female; in the Shooting Chant, for instance, it is male. Still another association noted by Matthews is black for the sky and blue for the earth. The bundle wands of the Night Chant represent the legendary fourth world—four black wands are placed at the north, four blue at the south of the lodge. The black doubtless designates Sky; blue, Earth.¹³ In describing the center of a Shooting Chant sandpainting, RP said the water could be either black or blue, presumably black if for a male patient, blue if for a female. These are not the usual sex colors of the Shooting Chant, both being male, but probably represent Sky and Earth.¹⁴

The black Sky People in Newcomb-Reichard, Plate XXII, have blue eyes, whereas all the others—Sun, Water, and Summer People—have black eyes. Blue may be merely a contrast, though white is the more usual contrast to black.¹⁵

Blue sometimes stands for the earth shadow. Edged with pink, blue rises in the east and moves to the zenith to become darkness. This phenomenon is called *naxode'ctli'j*, 'cosmic-streak-of-blue, earth shadow.'

An element readily noted in the sandpaintings is the so-called rainbow (*ná'tsí'lid*); one not always properly differentiated is the sunray (*cábit'ló'l*). These are really two symbols, each composed of a red and a blue line, but the first has a white outline which also separates the two colors. The sunray stands for the light rays emerging from a cloud when the sun is behind it; it is not the same as 'sunbeam' (*cándí'n*), which is white and yellow.

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In the picture *Mountain-of-motion*, which symbolizes the motion of various parts of the earth, blue at the west represents the motion of clouds. The painting that commemorates the rejuvenation of *Changing Woman* for the *Shooting Chant* shows blue deities, *Water People*, at the west. Rain water may be closely akin to clouds, but the motion of water in streams is represented by yellow.¹⁶

Just as white signifies the presence of, or the change to, holiness, so blue seems to represent the fructifying power of the earth, especially as demonstrated by the domesticated plants. The corn in *Newcomb-Reichard*, Plate III, is representative of all corn; hence it is large, having twelve ears, and blue, because it is of the earth in a painting for a female patient (for a male, it would be black).¹⁷

I shall have occasion to note that birds have significance within the chant complex. The bluebird (*dóli'*) is the bird of dawn, of promise, and of happiness. Talking God told the Visionary of the Night Chant that he would appear among the Navaho in the form of a bluebird. When blue is applied to other birds, no matter what their actual color, as it often is in prayer and song, it stands for happiness.¹⁸ In a sand-painting, blue was sprinkled on magpie feathers to indicate their sheen (Chapter 15).

When The Twins made their second visit to Sun, he asked them to sit. There were three seats, one of whiteshell, one of turquoise, and one of redstone. Wind warned them not to sit on the white or blue seats, because they were seats of peace and The Twins had come as warriors. Monster Slayer, therefore, chose the red seat and Child-of-the-water was directed to stand. According to an episode of the War Ceremony legend, one of Sun's favorite horses was blue.¹⁹

One set of The Twins' theme colors, black for Monster Slayer, blue for Child-of-the-water, is perhaps the Sky-Earth

sequence. In a rite of the last day of the Shooting Chant, the head feather is attached to the scalplock. According to the myth, there was a discussion about whose name should be mentioned when the head-feather bundle was fastened: "Monster Slayer's head feather was red when he overcame the monsters, Child-of-the-water's was blue. Therefore these will not do. The head feather of Changing Grandchild is yellow, so let his name be mentioned hereafter." ²⁰

Yellow (Itsoi, Itsoihigi) represents fructification, closely associated with pollen. Since 'real' pollen (yellow) is gathered from cattail rush, it symbolizes more particularly, although not exclusively, the power of wild vegetation. In the sandpainting of the Night Chant the legs of the dancing figures are yellow to signify that they are knee-deep in pollen; the lower parts of the Buffalo bodies of Shooting Chant pictures are outlined in yellow to represent the power of reproduction and growth. Woman originated from a yellow corn ear; yellow corn meal is a female symbol of domesticated plants. The inexhaustible food bowl is yellow, symbolizing sustenance. ²¹

In the Day-Sky sequence, yellow is the most consistent in position and meaning. At the west, it represents the yellow of sunset or evening light. xa'ctcé'óyan is a god of the west and sunset. Matthews and tlá'h describe his headdress as consisting of eagle plumes (white) and owl feathers (yellow). In the sandpainting all are white, representing the rays of yellow evening light corresponding with Talking God's pre-dawn rays. ²²

In the Sun-Wind sequence, consisting of Sun, Moon, Black Wind, and Yellow Wind, the position of yellow may seem confusing because Yellow Thunder and Yellow Snake are associated with Black Wind. On the other hand, Yellow

Wind is associated with Pink Thunder, Pink Snake with red-stone. The stripes put on the patient's face during the figure painting of the Shooting Chant refer to the Sun-Wind sequence, the name of Yellow Wind being mentioned as the yellow streak is drawn across the chin.²³

In the Lightning-Rainbow sequence, consisting of zigzag lightning, flash lightning, sunray, and rainbow, the last (red-blue and white) is associated with yellow, and the yellow line of the figure painting of the Shooting Chant stands for rainbow.²⁴

Yellow symbolizes the motion of streams or earth waters in the picture whose center depicts the motion of various cosmic forces.²⁵

Black (łjin, łjinígí'), *dark* (dłxıl), is a sinister color; it threatens and, since it confers invisibility, it also protects. It is paired with blue in the Day-Sky sequence; it is jet of the precious stones. One of the most puzzling questions of color symbolism is the position of black and white in the paintings; black is sometimes at the north—the accepted direction where evil and danger dwell—and sometimes at the east (Chapter 13).

In connection with direction, sex, color, place, and vegetation symbolism, black is paired with yellow or blue almost as often as it is with white. Black Wind is the power of Sun; with it are associated Yellow Thunder, Yellow Snake, and abalone. Sun gave Black Wind as a mentor to Monster Slayer, Blue Wind to Child-of-the-water. Later Big Fly was substituted. The Winds when acting as mentors match the boys they guard in color.²⁶

Black Buffalo, whose name was Abalone Woman, had a house of dawn and darkness which was white and black. In

this instance both types of pairing—black-yellow and black-white—are associated with the same person.²⁷

Black has already been considered in connection with blue as representing Sky in the Sky-Earth sequence. Black Sky (yá dīxīl) is to be distinguished from Darkness (tca'ixe'ī), the black element of the Day-Sky sequence.

The black-blue pair is found in the Mountain Chant where the home of mountain sheep consisted of two black and two blue rooms. The wood of the Dark-circle-of-branches represents the black and blue spruce, which first helped Reared-in-the-mountains. In the songs the black mountain is male; the blue, female. However, the hero of the chant was told by Wind to choose food from the black jar at one end and from the white at the other end of a row of jars in Bushrat's home.²⁸

In the Shooting Chant, the Lightning-Rainbow sequence, black paired with white represents the male zigzag lightning; white, the straight female lightning.

An interesting use of black-blue symbolism is found in the Grinding Snake picture in *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XV. The black center represents a metate; the blue rectangle on it a mano. This picture is comparable with Plate IX of Newcomb-Reichard, which has a white metate. The explanation of these pictures is not entirely clear, but suggests a black-blue, black-white, and, possibly, blue-white metate-mano pairing.²⁹

References to black are too numerous even to list, but the following are typical. Darkness was a blanket, one of the covers of each of The Twins' cradleboards; it later hid them from Sun's anger when they first came to his house in the sky. When the storm caused by Changing Woman threatened her house, her older son covered it with a black cloud staked to the ground with rainbows (black-yellow), with a black fog made fast with sunbeams (black-yellow), with a black cloud

fastened with sheet lightning (black-white), and with a black fog secured by zigzag lightning (black-black).³⁰

When Frog raced with Rainboy the second time, to confuse his opponent he threw down successively a dark cloud, a male (dark) rain, a dark fog, and a female rain. Rainboy lost his way in the darkness and ran in the wrong direction.³¹

Black God's entire costume is black, even though he is the fire god. He often got what he wanted by burning the home of the recalcitrant or harmful person, but when he went with Bat to offer the prayerstick to Winter Thunder he threw down his fire drill with great force and so much smoke filled the house that it became completely dark. Probably the striking of fire and darkness from the same implement, the fire drill, symbolizes a black-red color pair. Another event suggests such a pairing: it will be remembered that Winter Thunder indicated his willingness to meet Dark Thunder by white smoke and that a white cloud announced his war party; at the same time a dark cloud from which red light glowed indicated where Dark Thunder's warriors were.

Corresponding with Monster Slayer's blackened body is Child-of-the-water's, covered with red ocher. The bodies of Land Fringed Mouth gods are painted (longitudinally) half black, half red.³²

Blackening ('ante'c) is one of the most reliable rites for frightening ghosts—ghosts of the Navaho dead in the one-night vigil, of foreigners in the War Ceremony. The main purpose is to disguise the patient, to conceal him from lurking evils. When so blackened, he may absorb the invincibility of Monster Slayer, who was painted black with a coal of dark sky.³³

Blackness and invisibility have advantages for the exercise of good as well as evil power. A vegetation symbolism is described for the creation of the world. Coyote had tried to

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outrival First Man in making a miniature of the earth, a model over which they quarreled bitterly. Little Wind warned First Man that, unless he guessed the proper meaning of Coyote's plan, it would supersede his own. Since Coyote's was bound to be distorted, its permanence would be disastrous to man.

With Little Wind's prompting, First Man interpreted the five lines as follows:

<i>Lines of</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>To represent</i>
turquoise	blue	green vegetation
abalone	yellow	mature vegetation
jet	black	vegetation with black leaves or horizontal stripes on the mountains
whiteshell	white	snow-covered mountains
rock crystal	crystalline	ice

Black as a vegetation color belongs to the yellow mountains of the West (San Francisco Peaks).³⁴

Like the other colors, black has an abstract meaning, even if the meaning is expressed specifically. A symbol of all forms of an existing category of concepts, it denotes origin and summary: large black corn with twelve ears, painted for a male patient (corresponding with blue for a female), represents all the corn of the universe.³⁵

The black Endless Snake (see *Never-ending-snake*, Concordance A) symbolizes all snakes, their origin and the inevitable struggle against evil. The great Black Thunder represents all thunders as well as their origin. The Place-of-emergence is depicted in black because it represents the origin of all things.³⁶

Red (łtci'', łtci'', łitci''ígí') is the color of danger, war, and sorcery as well as their safeguards. As such, it is paired with black.

In early times, when pre-human creatures were struggling

from the lower worlds and seeking in vain for an exit to a higher realm, they saw a red head sticking out of the sky and heard a voice telling them to fly to the west—it was Red Wind, who had twisted a passage through the sky like the tendril of a vine. Later, in the fourth world, the people came to a red water and were warned that it would hurt their feet if they tried to cross without a raft. Since rites of the Night Chant commemorate events of the fourth world, the requirement to deposit the prayerstick of Red God (xa'ctcé'lteí') in red ground may refer to this episode.³⁷

Before the earth had been made safe for humans, the gray monsters sent out messengers—red Crow (gâ'gi'), red Turkey Buzzard (dje'có'), red Woodhouse Bluejay (tśáńdílji'í), and Coyote—whenever they got wind of the existence of Earth People.³⁸

According to tǎ'h's version of creation, Red Turtle, Red Thunder, Red Otter, and Red Water Monster were guardians of the third world.³⁹

In the war legend there are many references to red. First Man gave a prayerstick, colored with blue paint and sparkling earth, symbols of peace and happiness, to Child-of-the-water to watch while his brother went on one dangerous mission after another. When the warrior got into serious trouble, the prayerstick turned red as blood.⁴⁰

Red outlined the dark cloud that presaged the attack of Dark Thunder and his allies.⁴¹

After the attack on Taos, when two desirable girls had been captured and deprived of their valuables, Sun rose red and trembling, indicating to the warriors that the girls were his children. Revenge is implied, but it was averted by giving Sun the precious stones taken from the captives.⁴²

When Gambler pitted his strength against the Pot Owners, he painted his face and the back of his head red so that the

enemy could not tell which way he was facing. Monster Slayer's head feather was red when he slew; Child-of-the-water's was blue.⁴³ Red and blue seem to be the rainbow, rather than the armor or danger, pair of colors.

A nice contrast illustrating reverence is shown by two groups before they set out for the west. Changing Woman's group made ceremonial mush of whiteshell in the prescribed tall black pot, stirring it with ceremonial sticks. They ate, rubbed themselves with a little of the mush, and prayed as they ate. First Woman's group made their mush of redshell, grabbed the food, ate carelessly, and drank hot water. They represent heedless people who bring sickness and refuse to co-operate with the gods.⁴⁴

Protection may be achieved by changing ordinary colors to red. The sandpaintings, Plates XIV (normal) and XVI (red-dened) in *Navajo Medicine Man*, illustrate the difference; the red one is said to belong to the Male Shooting Chant Evil.⁴⁵ The position of red among the outline colors of the center illustrates another important symbolic use of color (Chapter 19).

Red ocher is used in many ceremonies, in especially large amounts in exorcistic forms. It is mixed with ordinary sheep tallow and a token quantity of sacred tallow provided by the chanter. The red salve is applied to face, hair, or other parts of the body as the rite requires. The entire body of the impersonator of Child-of-the-water may be covered with powdered red ocher (*Overshooting rite*, Concordance C).⁴⁶

Other explanations of the occurrence of red are the following:

At the close of the Night Chant we see the red of the sunset because Child-of-the-water traveled on Darkness when he went to join his brother.⁴⁷

After the moccasin game, in which the people gambled for night and day, Bear ran off in haste, having reversed his

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moccasins. As he ran away, his fur looked red in the sunlight; this red is sometimes indicated in sandpaintings of Bear even today.⁴⁸

Big Snake, who had aided in the contest with the famous gambler, was rewarded with a piece of redstone which he was to wear on his head, as he does in some sandpaintings.⁴⁹

Red may signify flesh. Some skirt tassels of gods depicted in the sandpaintings are black and white with a small dot of red between them; this dot represents flesh, particularly of rare game, and is a symbol of plentiful meat.⁵⁰

In the seventh act of the Hail Chant Fire Dance, Cedar Waxwings and Titmice came in with pine and spruce branches. As they held them around Rainboy, he disappeared and the branches became trees. On the tips of the twigs red spots could be seen; these were bits of Rainboy's flesh. The act commemorated his destruction by Winter Thunder and his eventual restoration.⁵¹

Red stands for blood as well as for flesh. Talking God explained the color of the red yarns tied to the rattlestick of the War Ceremony as he instructed Monster Slayer: "This [red] represents the blood that will flow on the soil."⁵²

A gambler who visited the place where game was kept learned the hunting ritual. One of the songs contains the line, "Over there where the black bow and red-shafted arrows lie across each other, it is red with blood from the mouth of a male deer."⁵³

Red is a dominant color of sorcery:

A female were-coyote had marks on her face like those of the figure painting of the Shooting and Hail chants; she was painted red around her shoulders and had white and yellow spiders painted on her arms. . . . The man who saw her saw also some sticks painted red projecting from her hide.

Some men intending to kill a Mexican by sorcery had a small red basket among their properties.

Sorcery medicine was made of dark red corn meal and the gall of various animals.⁵⁴

Pink (disqs) indicates the glint of copper, and stands for a reddish shimmering quality of light. For sandpaintings pink is made by mixing red, white, tan, and yellow sands, sometimes with a touch of black. Pink is quite common in some chants, the Shooting Chant in particular, where it depicts Thunder, Water Monster, Water Horse, Sky People, and Changing Grandchild. The featherlike appurtenance of Thunder's tail, which symbolizes reverberation, is pink.⁵⁵

Pink Thunder is said to live in the Land-beyond-the-sky, and may represent the power of the celestial worlds.⁵⁶

Serrated flint is represented as pink. Paired with yellow, it occurs most often as armor of the duplicate Twins.⁵⁷ Possibly pink indicates in some cases shimmering yellow, or perhaps sky shimmer as opposed to the shimmer of subterranean waters.

In discussing the paintings of the Bead Chant I remarked that pink and white—colors of eagles (and hawks)—were interchangeable, implying, as I at that time thought, that one could be substituted for the other and that the two perhaps stood for the same thing. I now believe that pink represents the attempt of an Earth Person to attain the power of a sky or deep-water being; that such power is perhaps more difficult to acquire than that of the white denizens of the same realms; at any rate, that pink and white are differentiated. It seems to me significant that pink Eagles attend Scavenger, hero of the Bead Chant, before he reaches the sky; afterward, the Eagles are white and he himself, having acquired the power of them all, has wings of every color, including pink and white.⁵⁸

It is almost certain that pink is not another way of representing redstone. Pink is the outline color of the redstone arrow and stands opposite abalone (yellow), which has red as an outline color.⁵⁹ This and the pairing of yellow and red

with Black and Yellow Winds suggest a close relation between yellow and pink, but what relation is not quite clear.

Gray (Ibái, Ibahígí') is almost universally the color of evil, equivalent to our use of the word 'dirty' in its moralizing sense, 'despicable.' The monsters are referred to generally as gray, but after the main ones had been destroyed, 'gray gods' were said to exist, some of which were destroyed wholesale by a hail and wind storm. Big Monster, whom Coyote overcame in contending for Changing-bear-maiden, was called Big-gray-monster.⁶⁰

After Monster Slayer had given some of the Cliff Monster feathers to Bat Woman as a reward, she went to a place where gray birds lived. They merely hopped about, for they had no wings; they were not to be trusted. Because Bat Woman disobeyed the hero's instructions, the feathers in her pack were changed to gray birds, then into birds of all colors which were no longer harmful.⁶¹

Monster Slayer came to the home of Deer Owner, one of the gray gods, or one of the Syphilis People. He found a pretty girl and was offered food. As he had been warned not to eat it, he took out a small quantity of his own gray food, which he mixed in his own yellow bowl with water from his own water jug.⁶² This reference to gray food may be literal, for the corn meal of ceremonial gruel is gray, but in this case it may be that grayness, being evil, is also protection against evil.

Hill's informant particularly states, "These [clothes of hunters] had always to be grayish color, never red or black."⁶³

Just as black and red protect against danger, so gray perhaps protects against primordial evils. Ashes rubbed on bodies of the War God impersonators before they shoot at the symbolic scalp ward off such evils (*Overshooting rite*,

Concordance C); pallbearers are similarly disguised or protected.

Brown (yictlij) means literally 'speckled, dim, gray.' In each chant there is a prescribed color for the faces of the deities. The symbolic color may or may not appear when the picture is complete since the faces may be covered with other colors. The designated face color for the Shooting Chant is brown, but for the Sun's House branch the colors of the Day-Sky cycle are so superimposed that the brown is not visible. Brown is considered the 'natural' color of 'persons' and of the earth.⁶⁴

Beaver, Otter, Bat, and some other animals are represented in brown. The deities of some chants have strings hanging from their arms, the strings of the Shooting Chant being brown and yellow to represent otterskin. The chanter's collar of beaver or otterskin, depicted on the gods of the paintings, is brown.⁶⁵

Sparkling, see Chapter 15.

Variegated ('alta's'ai) is a summary of all the colors. Literally it means 'projecting-in-every-direction.' In a sense it signifies purity, as white does when indicating a change from human to divine. When Talking God first prepared The Twins for their great deeds, he dressed Firstborn in white and Secondborn in clothes of all colors. White may here represent the power of Talking God; variegated, that of xa'ctcé'óyan, who is sometimes said to be clothed in all colors, although in the Night Chant he wears black.⁶⁶ Since some parts of the description of xa'ctcé'óyan—his association with yellow evening light and his yellow headdress, for example—connect him with yellow, there is some reason to believe that variegated

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and yellow are closely associated. The relation between abalone and yellow also contributes to this conclusion, which, however, does not mean that yellow and variegated are not distinguished.

Offerings, paint, feathers, corn 'of all kinds' are often mentioned in the tales and are ceremonially very common. The clothes of Holy Woman and Holy Girl and the encircling guardian of the painting are varicolored in sandpaintings; several versions of Holy Woman and Holy Girl have been published; they are duplicated by others in private collections. Some were even made by the same chanter at different times—never is the variegation twice the same; the chanters say it need not be. The shape and relation of the different colored spaces differs in the Shooting and Hail chants.⁶⁷

The term 'variegated' occurs in prayers as a summary of all colors. In the Shooting Chant, Black Thunder is the chief of all thunders, but a guardian of Changing Woman's western home was a Varicolored Thunder, larger than the others; he was paired with Black Thunder at the north door. The representative of a group is probably variegated when peaceful, black when counteracting evil. The hogan blessing prayer refers to hogan covers of varicolored soft goods and to a floor of varicolored precious stones.⁶⁸

Spotting has apparently at least two functions, one to summarize, the other to terrify. One phase of the Sun's House branch of the Male Shooting Chant is called bitśi's 'oltij, 'dotted body,' distinguished by the encircling sandpainting guardian, sometimes called Mirage. In the shape of a rainbow, the central part is composed of varicolored dots; the whole is then outlined. RP said that the guardian so described represented all the precious stones. When Talking God came for The Twins, he strung out a rainbow and motioned for

them to step on it. On it he put white, black, blue, sparkling, and yellow medicine (herbs).⁶⁹ If this rainbow were depicted, the variegation would doubtless be a superimposition on the original colors, red-blue-white.

Water Sprinkler is said to be represented with a body sprinkled with powders of many colors.⁷⁰

Badger, the fifth of the hunting animals in the Bead Chant, is depicted with a body spotted in all colors.⁷¹

An invocatory prayer for a prayerstick includes petitions to many deities, such as Corn, Mirage, Heat, Precious Stones (often varicolored in dots); the prayer concluded by mentioning varicolored horses from Sun's house in the east, varicolored sheep from Changing Woman's house in the west, varicolored fabrics from Moon's house in the east, and varicolored hard goods from Whiteshell Woman's house.⁷²

Spotted Wind is mentioned as having aided in restoring strength to the heroes of the Shooting Chant. In the Hail Chant myth it was difficult to propitiate Spotted Thunder, but eventually he consented to sprinkle his medicine, cattail pollen, on the suds of Rainboy's bath and even to wash his hair. Spotted Thunder lived with Pink Thunder in the Land-beyond-the-sky where Shooting and Hail chant lore were taught to novices. Spotted Thunder's house was striped and guarded by a spotted, swastikalike arrangement of sticks. Spotted Thunder was said to be the 'head' of the chants—Shooting, Hail, Water—and the chanter explains that Rainboy's "visit to him was just like a visit to the President at Washington."⁷³

In an assembly of the Hail Chant, Wind People sitting on the south side had gourd rattles—dark, blue, yellow, pink, and spotted. Those on the north side had similar rattles, but the striped ones corresponded with the pink; dotted in all colors (do'ye'd), with the spotted (dactlij).⁷⁴

Stephen enumerates the Winds that dried up the third world as the people emerged—Left-handed Wind, Striped Wind, Spotted Wind, and Shiny Wind.⁷⁵

An incident of the Shooting Chant represented in sand-painting is the kidnaping of Holy Boy by the Thunders, who had 'real power'—Left-handed Thunder, Winter Thunder, Spotted Thunder, Left-handed Wind, and Spotted Wind.

Stripes have a terrifying effect.

When The Twins attacked Big Monster, he raised his face and they saw it was striped. The numerous 'gray gods,' indefinite evils, are described as 'looking terrible with striped faces.' When subdued, they became yellow jackets.⁷⁶

Arrowsnakes and Rainbow People lived at Striped Mountain, the stripes being represented by rainbows.⁷⁷

The stripes of the figure painting of the Hail and Shooting chants are terrifying to the onlooker but protective to the person on whom they are painted. In the Shooting Chant they represent Day Skies.⁷⁸

In the powerful performances of the Flint Chant for the most serious diseases, the war colors, black and red, are applied in horizontal stripes.⁷⁹

I suggest that the theme of stripes be examined with the symbolism in mind to explain Striped Wind Chant and the associated symbols, which have exorcistic emphasis.

The discussion of colors has shown that each color has an abstract meaning. White is the color of day, of hope, of newness, of change and commencement. The symbol of divinity, white expresses perfect ceremonial control.

Blue is the color of celestial and earthly attainment, of peace, happiness, and success, of vegetable sustenance. Yellow is the symbol of blessing, of generation, of safety, of promise. Black, sinister but protective, is the color of darkness, night, confusion, smoke, omnipresence, of threat, doubt,

indefiniteness, wonder, and origin, of finality. Red is the color of danger, warning, and threat, and of protection from those very things; it also represents flesh food and blood. Pink is the color of 'deep sky' or deep-water motion. Gray is the color of the unpersuadable deities, those known to be against man, of the indefinite and fearsome, and protection against them as well.

In addition to its abstract value, each color has specific connotations, subdivisions of the generalization and related to it. The particular, as well as the general, meanings of color are indicated, often only indirectly for each chant, being determined by other elements with which color functions.

Materials for coloring sand are ground or natural colors. White, red, and yellow are found free in nature on the Navaho reservation in the form of clay and ochers. Black is from soot made by ritualistic burning. All, after being ground, are mixed with ordinary sand to give them enough body to fall evenly through the fingers. Blue, pink, and brown are mixtures.⁸⁰

Chant myths explain the color origins.

Rainboy in the Land-beyond-the-sky was instructed for the Hail Chant: "You will not make the paintings in this form in the future. Instead you will use powdered rock—dark, blue, yellow, white, pink, brown, and red. If we give you the paintings on the stuff we use, they will wear out, so it is better to make them of sand each time anew."⁸¹

Monster Slayer got the sandpainting colors for the Shooting Chant when he overcame Traveling Rock. When hit with the powerful flint club, the monster fell into four parts, all of which were white. Monster Slayer picked them up and scattered them, saying, "In the future Earth People will use colored rocks." The bone of the monster became white ground rock, its flesh blue, its hair black; its mouth and blood, red; its intestines became the yellow that is now a sandpainting material.⁸²

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Coloring matter for painting prayersticks and figure painting is of somewhat different character from that mixed with sand and is often more difficult to obtain. For instance, blue paint is some form of copper salt, whereas white and black sands are mixed for the gray-blue of the sandpaintings. Sparkling rock may be applied to the body, prayersticks, or bundle properties. Kluckhohn and Wyman point out that sparkling rock is sometimes specular hematite, sometimes galena, or even serpentine, a variation of chrysotile.⁸³

Black for body paint, like that for sandpainting, is usually composed of soot from specific herbs or roots. In the Shooting Chant, corn smut is applied as paint.

Precious Stones

The discussion so far has shown the intimate, almost inseparable, association between color and shells, precious stones, and other mineral products. For convenience I take up the stones in the order of their color symbolism.

Whiteshell (yo'lgai) designates the 'white from which beads are made.' It is one of the many examples in Navaho where the same word means a part or a whole, the material or the object manufactured from it. Whiteshell may refer to the thin, flat, white shell beads greatly treasured by the Navaho and often incorrectly called wampum by the whites. Formerly, the beads were made of a seashell, doubtless imported through trade from the west coast, probably from the Gulf of California.

According to tłǎ'h's creation story, the spirit of whiteshell was placed inside Moon, which was composed of ice; the spirit of turquoise was put into Sun, that of abalone into Black Wind, that of redstone into Yellow Wind.⁸⁴ JS, speaking of the Shooting Chant, said Moon's house was whiteshell.

An indispensable requirement of a chant is the basket; at least one is believed to represent whiteshell. All the precious stones are mythical basket materials. Frequently the basket is of one stone with a contrasting rim—whiteshell rimmed with turquoise or the reverse; abalone rimmed with redstone or the reverse, jet with an abalone rim or the reverse. Bowls, though not as common as baskets, may be deific properties. White Body of the fourth world carried a bowl of whiteshell.⁸⁵

A song intoned at the preparation of the War Ceremony rattlestick refers to Child-of-the-water's queue as whiteshell.⁸⁶

Turquoise (do'tłiji'), 'the-particular-one-which-is-blue,' may be the general collective term for all the precious stones, wealth, or mixed offerings. Good fortune is attributed to the stone. A few of the most unusual references to turquoise are as follows:

Sun gave one of his wonderful children a pair of turquoise earstrings to enable him to win at gambling.⁸⁷

The hair of a remarkable girl, desired by many suitors, was covered with images of coyote and birds of different kinds, all of turquoise; and she possessed a huge disk of turquoise.⁸⁸

Four rattles of buffalo hide are important equipment in the Shooting Chant. One explanation says they symbolize Big Snakes, another that they represent Sun's turquoise rattles.⁸⁹

Sun's son smoked a turquoise pipe, as did Frog.⁹⁰

Perhaps the most unusual allusion is that to First Woman, who, in the first world, was intrigued by a distant fire. When she got to it she found a man, who said, "Your fire is rock crystal; mine is turquoise." This identification was cited as a reason why the two should live together.⁹¹

The Twins' bows and arrows are sometimes said to be of turquoise.

The reference to turquoise as symbolizing green vegetation in Coyote's first model of the world is interesting.⁹²

Changing Woman's home had a turquoise door, and four footprints of turquoise led to a turquoise room. Black Sky Man pulled her up with a cane of turquoise and she became a degree younger than she had been when the Sky People came to her. The cane corresponded with one she gave her wandering people with which they struck the desert and brought forth water.⁹³

A small but perfect turquoise bead and an olivella shell tied on a string make the bead token of the Shooting and Hail chants (*Bead token*, Concordance B). Sun may be identified with whiteshell or with turquoise.

Abalone (di'tcili') is 'the-particular-one-that-is-iridescent, the-one-whose-various-colors-scintillate'; the name probably derives from the stem -tcil, meaning 'tremble.' Abalone is associated with yellow and with Black Wind, whose house, according to JS, was of abalone.

Abalone was offered to Blue Crane to induce him to sing over Holy Man, who had become ill and weak after his many wanderings.⁹⁴

Jet (bá'cdjini') is the black substance found in large deposits in the Southwest. A soft cannel coal with a structure that lends itself readily to carving, it takes a beautiful polish. Although jet is the jewel representing black, it is mentioned less frequently than the other jewels.

When the domesticated quadrupeds were brought into existence, a basket of jet edged with abalone and one of abalone rimmed with jet were mentioned. Many birds are now black because they ate of the eggs in the jet basket. The jewel symbol of the northern mountain (dibéntsah) is jet.⁹⁵

At the time abalone was offered Blue Heron for his supernatural advice, a piece of jet was offered to a bird called tših.⁹⁶

When Monster Slayer was knocked out for having drawn the figure of a person on the bull-roarer, Big Fly instructed him to make the offering for restoration by stringing pieces of jet on tassels of grass.⁹⁷

Native *redstone* (tséltcí'') contains ferric coloring matter ranging from dull red to dark pink, often streaked with white. Some of it is probably carnelian. Coral, introduced by the Spanish, has become a substitute, even being called redstone. Examples of the role played by redstone have occurred in the discussion of red; others are the following:

After testing his sons, Sun led them to the edge of the world. There they saw sixteen poles extending from earth to sky—four of whiteshell, four of turquoise, four of abalone, and four of redstone. Sun asked them to choose which they would ascend on; Wind whispered that they should choose the red since they had come seeking war.⁹⁸

All jewels are closely associated with Sun's house, which they compose. Opposite it were five mountains—redstone, glittering, abalone, whiteshell, and turquoise—Sun's mountains, all harmless.⁹⁹

The rattles with which Sun tried to destroy his sons are mentioned in the order: turquoise, whiteshell, abalone, redstone.¹⁰⁰

Yellow Wind's house was of redstone (JS).

Among the canes furnished Earth People by Changing Woman was one of redstone.¹⁰¹

It is doubtful that *agate* (no'lyíni') should be included among the precious stones. If we do, to be consistent we should include the other kinds of ceremonial flint, for agate belongs more properly with them than with precious stones. The following will explain the connection between flints and precious stones:

When Sun was convinced that The Twins were really his children, he placed a small agate man inside the body of

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Monster Slayer to identify him with Sun and make him invincible. A miniature man of turquoise became Child-of-the-water's corresponding symbol.¹⁰²

The stones of the sweathouse were of agate when Sun exposed his sons to the heat test; it was expected to destroy them. Although it exploded, the agate did not destroy The Twins because Talking God had dug a small hole into which they crawled, and had covered it with four white shells. When the test was over, the white shells turned into red-stone, abalone, turquoise, and whiteshell.¹⁰³

An agate arrowpoint forms a part of the head bundle of some ceremonies. Fastened to the hair of a patient in the War Ceremony, it represents the flint points that fell from the breast of Big Monster when he was conquered.¹⁰⁴

Rock Crystal (tséyá'tíndí'ni, ntó'li, tsésq') is usually not mentioned among the precious stones, but has many ceremonial usages. tséyá'tíndí'ni means 'stone-through-which-light-beams'; ntó'li means 'the-particular-one-which-is-clear, -translucent.' In many rites it symbolizes fire, especially in the symbolical lighting of the prayersticks, which may contain tobacco. tsésq', 'rock-star,' may mean glass as well as crystal.

A crystal was put inside the dark cloud in which Scavenger was enveloped to furnish him light.¹⁰⁵

At creation a rock crystal was put into the mouth of each person so that everything he said would come true, a probable reason why a crystal is part of many pollen bags, especially the personal ones carried for safety; the pollen represents well-being, the crystal the prayer—that is, the word that makes the prayer come true.¹⁰⁶

The glass cup holding the chant lotion of the Shooting Chant is a substitute for crystal.

Changing Woman had binoculars of rock crystal.¹⁰⁷

The line of crystal on Coyote's model of the world represented ice, the only association between crystal and ice I have found.¹⁰⁸

The basket for the emetic in the first War Ceremony was of crystal.¹⁰⁹

Mixed jewels, the tiny fragments of precious stones accompanying the prayersticks, often indicate that the reed or plant material of which they consist stands for the jewels. Similarly, the feathered wands of the Shooting Chant are substitutes for Sun's jewel arrows, as is the rattlestick of the War Ceremony (Chapter 18). Sun's jewel arrows represent the Sun-Wind combination—turquoise for Sun, whiteshell for Moon, abalone for Black Wind, redstone for Yellow Wind; in the Night Chant, the jewels represent the Day Skies.¹¹⁰

When the pot drum was prepared for the War Ceremony, the jewels stood for the 'floor of the drum's home,' into which the sounds were pounded.¹¹¹

CHAPTER 13
COLOR COMBINATIONS

Paired Colors

MEANINGS MAY best be determined in combinations of colors. It has long been assumed that each Southwest tribe has a fixed color pattern for the cardinal directions. I do not know whether this is true of the other tribes, but it certainly is not of the Navaho.

A cursory study of the Shooting Chant sandpaintings showed that different schemes fulfilled various requirements. As more material becomes available, colors are seen to be paired in ways at variance with what is said in Chapter 12. Black and white are one male-female pair in the Shooting Chant, blue and yellow another. In the Bead Chant, however, black and blue are paired as male and female; yellow and white form another pair. Obviously, from this example and others, color is not fixed for male and female combinations. If this question is pursued through the chants for which there are accompanying myths, it becomes apparent that so-called 'chant colors' are not absolute, but that various principles are followed. To discover these principles I studied color references and associations in the literature as well as in my own ritualistic material. The conclusions are suggestive rather than final. The problems posed should be borne in mind by all who collect material so that the color schemes may be confirmed; most of the data now at hand yield only chance conclusions.

COLOR COMBINATIONS

Colors have meaning according to their position in a complex, the order being as significant as the color itself. The colors are few, the permutations many. Sex pairing (dominant-secondary) varies with the chant; the pairs are combined in different ways, depending primarily on what they represent. Rules of sequence differ for quadrant, cross, and linear arrangements, and outlining in multiple colors. In addition, color sequences are mentioned in myth and prayer. Color is associated not only with sex but also with cosmic and celestial phenomena, direction, time and seasons, motion, and vegetation, and the various beings who people the different realms.

The simplest combination is pairing. A rather general type is a flat color outlined by a contrasting one, the latter supplementing the former as well as giving a pleasing effect: black is usually outlined in white, white in black, blue in yellow, yellow in blue, and pink in white. Such outlining is common in the Shooting, Wind, Hail, Big Star, Endurance, and Night chants, occasionally even in spite of the color pairing. Yellow Thunder, for instance, though paired with Pink Thunder (outlined in white), may be outlined in blue. Another exception to the common rule is Black Wind outlined in red, though paired with Yellow Wind outlined in white.¹

In delineations of the precious stones, turquoise (blue) is outlined in white, whiteshell in blue, abalone (yellow) in red, and redstone in yellow.²

Color pairing and the combination of pairs depend upon the ideas to be conveyed or the personifications—for example, the Day-Sky cycle, the Sun-Wind, or the jewel sequences. Since only a few colors are combined to indicate a large number of ideas, the same colors appear frequently and, since their position is significant, they sometimes seem to be out of

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place, but they never are. There is a reason for the position in the sequence, though as yet it cannot always be determined.

In the following scheme the dominant (male) color of the pair is given first; the second (female) is the secondary or weaker member of the pair. The pairing includes combinations not found at all in the sandpaintings to which I have access. They concern simple ritualistic acts or arrangements of a few symbols, or refer to right and left, or up and down.³

<i>Color Pair</i>	<i>Significance</i>
w-y	corn, original man
w-var	divinity (TG-X)
b-var	Holy Man-Holy Woman
b-r	danger imminent
u-r (w outline)	danger past (rainbow)
b-w	zigzag lightning
w-b	straight lightning
w-y	sunbeam
u-r	sunray
p-w	serration, threat with light

Sequence in Quadrant Arrangement

Chart III (pages 218-19) continues the pairing and adds more complex associations. Some sequences of four may seem the same, and so they would be were it not for position. Pairs such as w-var or b-r are mentioned for prayersticks, clothes, and some attributes, and do not as a rule enter into a complicated series, but two pairs may be combined in numerous ways. Though it may seem the most complicated, I discuss first the arrangement of the pairs in the quadrants representing the cardinal directions. The examples concern the sandpaintings, since no other part of the ceremonial is so arranged. The directions are considered in two ways. The figures occupying the quadrants may be read in a sunwise direction

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beginning with east—east, south, west, north—or they may be established by a cross arrangement—east, west, south, north; one method is as common as the other. In determining the significance of the quadrant color combination, it is necessary to know the sex of the color, its opposite in the context, the entire arrangement in the circle, and the basis of the arrangement, whether in the sunwise circle or the cross. In addition, any of the following permutations of male and female colors may be expected:

<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>n</i>
m	f	m	f
f	m	f	m
m	m	f	f
f	f	m	m
m	f	f	m
f	m	m	f

When all these factors—color, sex, arrangement—have been correlated, sequences that seem to be the same may be seen to result from different permutations: *w-u-y-b* is the circular color sequence of Day Skies and gods, but the former has the sex sequence *f-m-f-m*, and the latter, *m-f-f-m*; the similarity is therefore accidental. The circular sequence *b-u-w-y*, apparently the same for Buffalo and Sky-Earth pictures, is nevertheless different because of the sex of the colors composing them—*m-m-f-f* in the former, *m-f-m-f* in the latter. The sequence *b-u-w-y* occurs also in the picture depicting motion; the colors seem to be arranged in the same sex sequence as in the Snake and Buffalo pictures, but they are not identical, for they indicate the cross rather than the circular sequence.

The sequence *w-u-y-b* is often mentioned in the myths, even if there is no question about the place of the colors in

CHART III

ASSOCIATION OF COLOR WITH OTHER SYMBOLS (SHOOTING CHANT)

<i>Color Pair</i>	<i>Pair Name</i>	<i>Sequence Name</i> (4 elements)	<i>Sequence Association</i>	<i>Color Circuit</i> (e-s-we-n) and sex	<i>Cross Sequence</i> (e-we-s-n)
u-w b-y	Sun-Moon BW-YW }	Sun-Wind	chant symbols	u-b-w-y (m-m-f-f)	u-w-b-y (m-f-m-f)
u-w y-r	t-wh ab-re }	jewel arrows		u-y-w-r (m-m-f-f)	u-w-y-r (m-f-m-f)
b-w u-y	Night-Dawn Day-Eve-Sky }	Skies		w-u-y-b (f-m-f-m)
b-w y-u	Snakes Snakes }	Snakes		b-u-w-y (m-m-f-f)	b-w-u-y (m-f-m-f)
b-w u-y	z-fl rst-rb }	god conveyances		b-u-w-y (m-m-f-f)	b-w-u-y (m-f-m-f)
b-w u-y	Buffalo Buffalo }	Buffalo		b-u-w-y (m-m-f-f)	b-w-u-y (m-f-m-f)

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b-u y-w	Sky-Earth Mt.-Water	Sky-Earth	b-u-w-y
b-u y-p	MS-CW RE-ChGr	flint	b-y-y-p (m-f-m-f)
b-u y-p	Deep Water- Deep Sky	Thunders	b-y-u-p (m-f-m-f)
b-u p-y	Deep Sky- Deep Water	Water Monsters	u-p-b-y (m-f-m-f)
w-y b-u	TG-X BG-WSp	Gods	w-y-u-b (m-f-f-m)
b-w u-y	mountains-rocks clouds-water	motion	b-w-u-y (m-f-m-f)
b-u y-p	Sky-Water Sun-Summer	Sky P	b-y-u-p (m-f-m-f)
b-u y-p	Herbs of Emergence Place		b-u-y-p
b-r u-y	Land FrM Water FrM	Fringed Mouths	

power of realms

the quadrants, because it is the one that first occurs to the narrators. I believe it may be called the 'normal' order, for I find that within each chant the sequence is mentioned automatically in enumerating objects or concepts that seem to have no position in the circle. For instance, the chant sequence of the Hail Chant, b-u-y-w, occurs with unexpected consistency when four or more colors are mentioned. Similarly, w-u-y-b, the sequence of the Shooting Chant, appears when there seems to be no question about the cardinal directions.

The Day-Sky sequence, w-u-y-b, is found in the more general descriptions of origin, such as the emergence myth and other legends of origin and wandering. The Skies, gods, and their equipment, corn, mountains, the hoops representing the motion of the Winds; many items relating to water jars of the Water People, rafts, Ducks, Fish, Grebes, rooms of the deep water regions with moss covers; and the home of Thunders in the vicinity of Winter Thunder's dwelling are all mentioned in the w-u-y-b sequence.

A variation of this sequence is *w-u-y-var*. Variegation, the sum of all colors and occupying the position otherwise given to black, describes corn, corn medicine, and, in the Eagle Chant myth, the home of Monster Slayer, which in this case represents corn as a means of subsistence.

The sequence *w-u-y-r*, representing the jewel sequence in the sex order f-m-m-f read sunwise or in cross arrangement, is used for the skypoles; also in Sun and Moon pictures, for male and female patients in two sand pictures of the Chiracahua Wind Chant.⁴

The most frequent sequence not fully accounted for by the rules of sex and sequence is *b-u-y-w*. The difference between it and the one just discussed is that the colors of the north and east change places. Matthews suggests that the *w-u-y-b* sequence represents events in lucky or happy places, and *b-u-y-w* occurrences where there is danger. He goes on to say that this rule is not entirely satisfactory. On the other hand, Sam Day, recording and interpreting for RP, comes to the opposite conclusion: "In paintings presumably of this world black is at the east. The painting of Buffalo's home is beyond this world; hence white is at the east." ⁵

Matthews' legends explain chants different from mine, but in none does the color scheme remain constant. Apparently black, the harbinger of danger, as well as protection against it, is placed in that quadrant from which danger is most imminent for the particular event depicted (Chapter 12, *Black*).

In the double sandpainting, for instance, the Ducks in the western section are arranged in the *w-u-y-b* sequence.⁶ Helpers, they bode no ill, but Fish in the southeast, who captured Holy Boy and from whom he had to free himself, are arranged in the order *b-u-y-w*; there is the same sequence on the mountain at the east. However, in Roman Hubbell's copy of the picture, painted by RP, the color sequence of Ducks, Fish, and mountain is the same, *w-u-y-b*. The occurrence of the two sequences in the same picture is one of the many examples showing that the sequence is not general even for a chant, and that other reasons must be sought. The details that should be known about these pictures were not collected when they were painted. Probably the one in *Spider Woman* was painted for a male patient; if so, the male color, black, would start the sequence. Perhaps RP had in mind a female

patient and started with the female color when he painted the Hubbell picture. This explanation alone does not account for the Duck sequence of the first picture. Certain sequences are well accounted for by the concepts they represent, but at times white and black quite unaccountably change places at the east or north.

When Changing Woman threw colored hoops to ward off the attacks of the monsters, she threw them in the order w-u-y-b, but when she hurled hail and hoops to which flint had been fastened, the order was b-u-y-w. If my theory about danger is correct, the monsters would have come primarily from the north in the first case, from the east in the second.⁷

Another instance that contrasts two versions—more closely related, perhaps, than the two just mentioned—is the contest for the world between Cicada, who represented the emerging people, and the Grebes, the current owners of the world. According to Goddard, the sequence is w-u-y-b, but he notes that since Cicada had already had the two arrows crossed through him, the Grebes did not endanger him. Matthews, on the contrary, has Cicada meet the Grebes, whose colors are black, blue, yellow, white (b-u-y-w), *before* he undergoes the test.⁸

In the material I have analyzed, b-u-y-w occurs more often by actual count than w-u-y-b, although both are frequent. The number is not significant because we do not have all the myths or details of all the Navaho chants. And even if we had, the b-u-y-w sequence would certainly predominate if the reason for transposing black from north to east to give greater protection at the start is valid, for the main purpose of the chant is to overcome and protect from danger. If the episodes of the chant explain original attacks by evils, it is to be expected that the east should frequently be guarded.

COLOR COMBINATIONS

Some w-u-y-b and b-u-y-w sequences may be explained by the choice of circular or cross arrangement and the leading sex color. If so, they demonstrate the following permutations, all of which occur:

<i>Circular</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Sex</i>
b-u-y-w	m-m-f-f	b-y-u-w	m-f-m-f
w-u-y-b	f-m-f-m	w-y-u-b	f-f-m-m

Unfortunately I have never been able to discover what determines the formation or the sex of the lead color. If the lead color depends upon the sex of the patient, the formation and some of the permutations are unexplained. Perhaps like the arrangement of the lines in figure painting, the first color depends upon alternation (Chapter 11).

The sequence b-u-y-w refers to Winds, Whirlwinds, Cactus, Clouds, Hail, Big Flies, to hoops associated with Winds as well as with Stars, and to the mountains of the fourth world (in the Night Chant). It is mentioned for the First Dancers of the Mountain and Night chants and for rocks taken from birds' nests, properties of the Hail Chant.

Where there is no question of the sandpainting position, the sequence may be extended. The colors of the sandpainting are mentioned in the myth of the Hail Chant as b-u-y-w-p-br-r; the gourd rattles carried by the people on the side of Dark Thunder were named in the order b-u-y-w-p-spotted, but those on Winter Thunder's side carried gourd rattles in the order b-u-y-w-striped-var (dotted).⁹

Arranged in the sequence *b-u-y-p* are Sky People—Sky, Sun, Water, and Summer—when each group occurs alone on successive days in the Shooting Chant, and for Snakes in the Male Shooting Chant Evil.

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A variation of the *b-u-y-p* sequence is *b-u-y-ser* to describe the pistons in Sun's house, the clubs Sun gave The Twins, the home of Monster Slayer, and flint-armored deities (in an invocation).¹⁰

The sequence *b-y-u-p* represents The Twins in flint armor, Flint Boys acting as hogan posts (in which case the center pole was white), Thunders, Sky People (when all four colors were represented in one picture), the talking prayersticks of the prayerstick branch of the Shooting Chant (when sung for men), and the curing herbs of the Place-of-emergence.

The sequence *b-u-w-y* preserves the sex pairing of the Shooting Chant, but differs from any of the sequences so far mentioned. Buffalo and Snake pictures have it and often the herbs that guard their homes. God conveyances are described in the sequence *b-u-w-p*, probably not by accident, since Snakes are associated with lightning, and lightnings are two of the god conveyances; moreover, Buffalo have hoop conveyances, which may easily be associated with Snakes.

This sequence is extended to include pink, *b-u-w-y-p*, when Holy Man uses five herbs to treat Fish after cutting his way out of Fish's belly.¹¹ Pink in this case represents the zenith.

Pink takes the place of yellow in the picture of the Emergence of the Medicine People, making the sequence *b-u-w-p*.¹² According to JS, Medicine and Thunder People are so arranged in the Life chants, suggesting that there is a choice when five colors are possible and there are only four places.

In the chants sung for MC and me the order for Snakes was *w-y-b-u* (*f-f-m-m*). The female colors may have occupied the first two quadrants, east and south, because we were women, or the rearrangement may have been due to the chanter's sequence in singing the chants (cp. Chapter 11).

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In several cases the sequence is *u-b-w-y*, indicating Sun-Wind deities, the closely associated jewel arrow sequences, and the cloud houses of Sun, Moon, Black Wind, and Yellow Wind.

A rearrangement of the jewel sequence is *u-w-y-b*, having the sex pattern m-f-f-m, instead of m-f-m-f, in sunwise circuit. Sun's canes, the entrance to Changing Woman's home, offerings to the corn fetish of the Eagle Chant, and Winds, who dried up the mud of this world when the people first emerged, are described in this sequence.¹³

With red in place of black, the sequence *u-w-y-r* describes Sun's arrows and their substitutes in the Shooting Chant, the baskets in which Sun, Moon, and Winds were placed when taken down from the sky, the rattles held by the Holy People when they brought down the sun, the Arrow People and their homes, and the order in which Sun applied the pistons to his sons (*Application . . . various references*], Concordance B).

The sequence *u-y-w-r* is extended in verbal description for the trumpets (pistons) of Sun's house as *u-y-w-r* with a jet floor; for the canes by means of which Changing Woman was restored to youth and beauty and proceeded into a room made of jet; and for Sun's enumeration of his most valuable horses, rattles, and pollens at the new home he made for Changing Woman. In the center of the jet floor grew a black cornstalk and at its black root there was a jet horse.¹⁴

Here, as in the Sun-Wind and jewel sequences, red or black may be chosen if there is only one place available, but when five are desirable, all the colors representing jewels are mentioned. The habitat of Dove Man, who helped to bring down Sun, is depicted as having both black and red in the sequence *w-b-u-r* (yellow is omitted).

There is only one example in which Water Monsters are not dominated by Thunders (sequence b-y-u-p); the sequence seems to be *u-p-b-y*.¹⁵ Since Water Monster and Thunder are closely associated, the transposition of colors east and west and south and north may differentiate creatures of the deep-sky and deep-water realms.

Sequence in Maltese Cross Arrangement

Besides the quadrant arrangement in the sandpaintings there may be a subsidiary arrangement in the form of a Maltese cross, each arm of which occupies the southeast, southwest, northwest, or northeast corner. Sometimes the elements composing them correspond with the major figures of the quadrants; and sometimes, though the elements differ, the colors match those of the four cardinal directions.¹⁶ At other times, however, when elements composing the Maltese and Greek cross differ, there is little explanation for the colors. Two types of design are most common as arms of the Maltese cross: 'medicines' or herbs, and domesticated plants—corn, beans, squash, tobacco; they are placed in the sunwise sequence—southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast.

Plants accompanying the Arrow People (u-y-w-r) are arranged in the sequence b-u-w-p, and prayersticks made on the days when the double sandpainting was painted were described in this order. In explaining the picture "Emergence of the Medicine People,"¹⁷ in which the sequence was the same, RP observed: "The four herbs are of different colors because the disease [he was painting on paper and not for a patient] is due to water. If it was due to Thunder, there would be blue corn, blue bean, black squash, and blue tobacco." The picture belongs to the phase Thunder Lies and suggests that all such details are learned. I do not have

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enough material to discover the general reasons for one series or another if, as I suppose, they exist.

The sequence b-y-u-w represents corn in the corners between Thunders. Read as a cross arrangement it becomes b-u-y-w, the commonest sequence; thus white corn is beside Pink Thunder. Winter Thunder in the Land-beyond-the-sky makes offerings in the order b-y-u-w.¹⁸

Corn, bean, squash, tobacco fill corners in the following sequences:

<i>Sequence</i>	<i>Picture of</i>	<i>Chant</i>	<i>Reference</i>
b-u-y-b	{ Cloud P	Hail	Bush Coll.
	{ Rain P	Hail	NCWC, p. 188
b-u-b-b	Cloud and Big Fly P	Wind	Bush Coll.
b-b-b-b	Thunders	Shooting	NR, Pl. XXI
u-u-b-u	{ Snakes	Shooting	MM, Pl. XVI
	{ Blue Corn P	Shooting	NR, Pl. XXII
	{ Thunders and Water Monsters	Shooting	NR, Pl. XXXIII
	{ Arrow P	Shooting	NR, Pl. XXXV
	{ Flint-armored War Gods	Shooting	MM, Pl. XIX
	{ Earth	Shooting	NR, Fig. 5
u-u-b-b	{ Holy Man in power of Thunder	Shooting	MM, Fig. 6
	{ Crooked Snake P	Shooting	Huckel Coll.
u-u-u-u	{ Rain P	Water	HCWC, p. 196
	{ Water Monsters	Water	HCWC, p. 198

Sequence in Linear Arrangement

It is almost certain that in linear arrangement the directional viewpoint of the colors is preserved, but it is equally demonstrated that this viewpoint changes not only from chant to chant but also from picture to picture within a given chant. In Chart IV (pages 228-29) the linear sequence of sand-paintings is from bottom to top—south to north—and, where possible, the direction and color sex are noted. In a few cases descriptions of the position of prayersticks are available; they too are listed.

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CHART IV

COLOR AND DIRECTIONAL SEQUENCES, LINEAR ARRANGEMENT

<i>Element</i>	<i>Chant</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Head Shape</i>
Crooked Snake, and Corn People	Shooting (NR, Pl. IV, XXI)	y	f	we	square
		u	m	s	square
		w	f	e	square
		b	m	n	square
Crooked Snakes	Bead (MM, Pl. II)	w	f	e	
		y	m	we	
		u	f	s	
		b	m	n	
Flint-armored heroes	Shooting (NR, Pl. XVI)	b	m	■	round
		u	f	we	round
		y	m	s	round
		p	f	n	round
Mountain Gods	Mountain (Matthews 1887, Pl. XVIII)	b	m	n	square
		w	?	e	square
		u	f	s	square
		y	f	we	square
Long Bodies	Mountain (Ib., Pl. XVI)	b	m	n	square
		w	m?	e	square
		u	f	s	square
		y	f	we	square
Armored Snakes	Navaho Wind (KW, Fig. 15)	}	w	f	n round
Cactus People	Ib., Fig. 16		u	f	s round
Spiny Cactus People	Ib., Fig. 17		y	m	we round
Cloud People	Ib., Fig. 18		b	m	e round

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CHART IV—*Continued*

COLOR AND DIRECTIONAL SEQUENCES, LINEAR ARRANGEMENT

<i>Element</i>	<i>Chant</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Head Shape</i>
Armored Snakes	Navaho Wind (Bush Coll.)	{ b u y w	{ m f m f	{ n we s e	{ round round round round
Arrows under Holy People	Shooting	{ u w var r	{ m f m f		
Buffalo People	Shooting	{ y w u b	{ f f m m		
Wind People	Navaho Wind (Bush Coll.)	{ b u y w	{ m f m f		
Fish prayersticks	Shooting	}	{	{	{
Mountain Sheep	Night (Matthews 1902,				
prayersticks	p. 91)				
Bee and Coyote	Hail				
prayersticks				{ w u y b	

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Sequence in Verbal Order

In dictating the texts of the Shooting and Hail chants, the chanters followed the prescribed order. If the recording is accurate, it gives a clue to color arrangements in addition to the sandpaintings.

<i>Part of Rite</i>	<i>Sequence</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Corn in Turkey lament	w-u-y-var	Matthews 1897, p. 181
Herbs to heal Fish	w-u-b-y-p	Shooting Chant ms.
Medicines on rainbow	w-b-u-spar-y	Ib.
Corn for mush	w-y-u-gray	Ib.
Corn in basket	w-y-u-var	Reichard 1944d, p. 67
Corn for drumstick	w-y-u-gr-str	Shooting Chant ms.
Offering jewels	w-y-u-b-pollen	Matthews 1902, p. 91
Offering to Young Pinyon	w-u-y-b-ashes-u pollen-reed pollen-real pollen	Shooting Chant ms.
Prayer to Big Snakes	w-u-y-b	Ib.
Sand on mountain	w-u-y-b	Ib.
Snakes at home	w-y-u-b	Newcomb-Reichard, Fig. 6
Canes in prayer	b-w-r-p	Haile 1943a, p. 286
Flints in song	b-w-ser(p)-var	Ib., p. 151

The Hail Chant sequence b-u-y-w is mentioned for Clouds, Cloud homes; Cloud, Fog, Lightning, Tadpole, Water, and Moss prayersticks; covers of Changing Woman's cradle-board; doorway covers; pollen food of Snakes; and Wind People with Snakes.¹⁹

The sequence b-u-y-p is found in invocations to Winds, Thunders, and Water Monsters; prayersticks of Monster Slayer and his brothers, and of Wind; Agate Boys as house-posts (sequence b-u-y-p-w[up]); in the prayer for the journey through the rooms of a black flint house (sequence b-u-y-ser).²⁰

An invocation to Cloud houses and to waters has the sequence b-u-y-var.²¹

The sequence b-w-u-y is mentioned for flints blown at Spider Woman by Monster Slayer; superimposed spider

webs; hoops made by Holy Man to restore Buffalo; invocation to Pinyon; prayer of Buffalo prayersticks.²²

Other sequences are found only once; some are extended beyond four elements. A gambler took offerings of jewels and sacred materials—whiteshell, turquoise, abalone, redstone, jet, sparkling rock, blue pollen, pollen, real pollen—to help him win. When he wagered with Talking God, he laid them down in this order, except that he transposed red and yellow.²³

A mirage-encircling guardian was described as black with white, blue, yellow, and red, the jewel arrow sequence, w-u-y-r, sprinkled on it.²⁴

There is often a series of covers or curtains (Concordance B) that vary in sequence. In the Night Chant the gods' sweatshouses were covered by Day Skies—black, blue, yellow, white; these were also the cradleboard covers of Changing Woman. Monster Slayer in his babyboard was covered with Darkness, Blue Sky, Blue-evening-light, Yellow-evening-light, Mirage, and Heat, sequence b-u-u-y-var-shining. Curtains in the order Darkness, Daylight, Moon, Sun—that is, in sequence b-w-w-u—hung over the door where Gambler and Talking God gambled.²⁵

In introducing a prayer to Snakes, Gray Eyes said, "At the time of the origin of this story these various pollens were shaken down separately and it was decreed that they should not be mixed, but at present they are shaken off any old way and mixed together. On this subject people's minds are not clear. I alone carefully observe this."²⁶

In the Hail Chant, color is attached to directions concerning the position of the human body. The 'manos,' equivalent to prayersticks, are crumbled as follows: black in front of the patient, blue at his right, yellow at his back, and white at his left.²⁷

Sequence in Outlines

Sequence is important also in outlines around the symbols of places and around or upon certain figures. In the schematic representations the flat or central color, first in the series, is italicized; it is followed by the others, reading from inside out. The most elaborate have a center with four petal-like figures at the cardinal directions. The sequence *b-w-y-u-r* appears as an outline series at the center of the arrangement in the pictures of the home of the Big Snakes, the Armored Twins, the Arrow People, the Buffalo People (Newcomb-Reichard, Pls. IX, XVII, XXXV; *Navajo Medicine Man*, Pl. XXIV). There is the same sequence around the petal-like figure east of the center in the pictures of Thunders (Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XXXI) and Buffalo (*Navajo Medicine Man*, Pl. XXIV). In another Buffalo painting the outlines are in this sequence around the element north of the center (*Navajo Medicine Man*, Pl. XXIII). The verbal description of Sky-reaching-rock has the same sequence of outlines with the explanation: black is the mountain itself and the water on the mountain, white is foam on the water; yellow, water pollen; blue-red, the rainbow.

The outline color sequence of the center of *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XIV, is, however, *y-b-w-u-r*. This contrast suggests one reason for the differences frequently encountered: the point of view from which a painting is described must be known; it is often far from obvious or simplistic. The house in Plate XIV is said to have been laid in black to represent water, but what shows is a round design of yellow—standing for real pollen with which the water was covered—with outlines of black, white, blue, and red; there is nothing in the picture to indicate that the center is supposed to be dark.

COLOR COMBINATIONS

The center of Newcomb-Reichard, Plate V, appears outlined in the sequence *y-w-b-u-r*, but is said to be laid in the order *b-u-w-y-r*.

Lines around the drawing of the newly planned world were described as *u-y-b-w-shiny* (rock crystal).²⁸

Other outline sequences are the following:

<i>Sequence</i>	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Subject of Painting</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>u-b-w-y-r</i>	{ cen	Pollen Boy on Sun	NR, Pl. II, B
	{ cen	Sun in eclipse	NR, Pl. XI
	{ cen	Monster Slayer on Sun	NR, Pl. XV
	{ cen	Feathered Arrow P	MM, Pl. XXIII
	{ s of cen	Buffalo-who-never-dies	MM, Pl. XXIV
<i>u-y-w-b-r</i>	{ s of cen	Buffalo home	MM, Pl. XXIII
	{ s of cen	Big Snakes	NR, Pl. VIII
	{ s of cen	Thunders	NR, Pl. XXXI
<i>w-b-y-u-r</i>	{ we of cen	Big Snakes	NR, Pl. VIII
	{ we of cen	Thunders	NR, Pl. XXXI
	{ we of cen	Buffalo Mountain	MM, Pl. XXIII
	{ we of cen	Buffalo-who-never-dies	MM, Pl. XXIV
<i>y-u-b-w-r</i>	{ n of cen	Buffalo	NR, Pl. XXVI
	{ n of cen	Buffalo and Medicine P	NR, Pl. XXVIII
	{ n of cen	Thunders	NR, Pl. XXXI
<i>y-u-w-b-r</i>	{ we of cen	Buffalo home	MM, Pl. XXIII
	{ n of cen	Big Snake P	NR, Pl. VIII
	{ n of cen	Buffalo	NR, Pl. XXV
	{ n of cen	Buffalo	NR, Pl. XXVI
<i>y-b-w-u-r</i>	cen	Snakes at Mountain-fallen-away	MM, Pl. XIV
<i>r-b-w-u-y</i>	cen	Red Snakes at Red Mt.	MM, Pl. XVI

Correspondingly unpredictable are the series of lines made on the bodies of Snakes in some of the sandpaintings:

SYMBOLISM

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Sequence</i>	<i>Position</i>
NR, IX	Big Snakes	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} w-b-u-y-r \\ b-w-u-y-r \\ y-u-w-b-r \\ u-y-w-b-r \end{array} \right.$	top
			bottom
NR, VI	Big Snakes	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} b-w-y-u-r \\ w-b-y-u-r \end{array} \right.$	n(top)
			■ (bottom)
MM, XV	Crooked Snakes	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} w-b-y-u-r \\ b-y-u-r-w \\ y-u-w-b-r \\ u-y-w-b-r \end{array} \right.$	e
			we
MM, XIV	Crooked Snakes	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} w-b-y-u-r \\ b-w-y-u-r \end{array} \right.$	s
MM, XVI	Crooked Red Snakes	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} r(w)-b-y-u-r \\ r(b)-w-y-u-r \end{array} \right.$	z

The above sequences have been taken from their setting to show a particular kind of correspondence. A few duplicates of pictures are available, but, unfortunately, not sufficient information about the circumstances to furnish evidence for the differences. Let us compare two versions of the picture Buffalo-who-never-dies—the version in *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XXIV, and one I saw at Rough Rock on November 24, 1938:

<i>Sequence at</i>	<i>MM, Pl. XXIV</i>	<i>Rough Rock Picture</i>
cen	<i>b-w-y-u-r</i>	<i>u-y-u-r</i> ²⁹
e	<i>b-w-y-u-r</i>	<i>b-w-u-y-r</i>
s	<i>u-b-w-y-r</i>	<i>u-y-b-w-r</i>
we	<i>w-b-y-u-r</i>	<i>w-b-y-u-r</i>
n	<i>y-b-w-u-r</i>	<i>y-u-w-b-r</i>
herbs se to ne	<i>b-u-w-y</i>	<i>b-u-w-p</i>

This example illustrates the complications of the problems. Both pictures belong to the Fire Dance branch of the Shoot-

ing Chant; the one at Rough Rock was made for a male singer. Its function, to restore power to a chanter who made mistakes, may have been the reason for the slight variations. Besides the differences in color, *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XXIV, has buffalo houses (horizontal bars) and short rainbows between the center and the major figures of the Holy People; these were missing in the picture at Rough Rock.

Only one generalization emerges from these details: with few exceptions, red or blue-red, the rainbow pair, is on the outside. None of these pictures, except perhaps *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XVI, was drawn for the Red Inside phase of the Male Shooting Chant Holy Sun's House branch; if they had been, the sequences would doubtless be different.³⁰ Obviously, red guards the element with duplicate outlines. The order of the outlines may be a phase of alternation, that is, determined by the relative place of the particular performance in the chanter's sequence. Singers usually insist on having a patient as if the whole ceremony were being performed even when painting or doing only a part of a ceremony for record; doubtless they need a patient to establish a viewpoint for details—of sex, direction, alternation. They cannot think of a chant in terms of a single part; it must be thought of as a whole—even an excerpt includes many kinds of elements.

. . .

During the course of this analysis I have suggested several reasons for color combinations that occur, and for differences related to the setting and figures in a particular picture, to the colors required by the chant scheme, to the branch or phase of the chant, and even to the sequence of the

chanter's singing of chant, branch, and phase. Although it is difficult to account for all these differences, there is enough evidence to show that they are not accidental.

Color sequence differs with the chant in which it occurs, each having its own sequence. If it happens to be the same for more than one chant, it does not necessarily have the same significance in all; indeed, the interpretation may differ somewhat even in the same chant.

Changes of sequence may depend upon the sex of the patient.

The sequences may be read in a sunwise cycle from east to north or in a cross arrangement, east to west, south to north—a matter connected with the sex of both patient and color. The sex of the patient probably dictates the lead color, that is, the one at the east.

Although the symbolism of each chant is dominant and regular, it is by no means universal in a given chant. The sequence may define the deities represented or some symbol of their power, and may take precedence over the chant symbolism, although some adjustment may be made between the two.

The colors of a sequence may signify a choice of colors for a limited number of places chosen from a series containing more units than the places needed. In verbal descriptions all elements may be mentioned.

Sequences represented in different ways, by major figures of the sandpaintings, minor elements of the sandpaintings, paintings of prayersticks, figure painting, and the like, do not necessarily correspond, although their association may be very close.

The sequences may depend upon the position of the chant

sung in the series of four or in the number it chances to be in the chanter's practice (Chapter 19).

Reversal accounts for some color sequences just as it does for other unusual procedures (Chapter 11).

Color Associations

To demonstrate certain ideas of the universe, Chart I was set up to show how dogma synchronizes different types of symbol with the making of the world, especially the placing of the mountains. There is an association between mountains, stones, day skies, jewels, birds, vegetation, sound, body-part of the personified earth, inhabitants, power of motion, special gifts, and physiography. Now that the symbolism of place and position, time and timing, space, direction, sex, dominance, size, alternation, reversal, precious stones, color, and color combinations has been discussed, other associations may be made in schematic form to tell a story. Charts V-XVI (pages 238-40) show several of these associations and illustrate also the complex relationships of the numerous elements.

The color associations of Thunders, Snakes (Chart V), and Sky People (Chart X) are similar. No others, however, are exactly the same; the Sun-Wind and jewel colors are more closely related to one another than to the other groups. Other associations are quite apparent and a few have no explanation.

The directional circuit in which Winter Thunder and Dark Thunder blew smoke (Chart XII) is the reverse of the normal ritualisticscheme—down-up, east-north-west-south—because they were announcing war.

CHART V

ASSOCIATION OF SYMBOLS (SHOOTING CHANT)

	Sun-Wind											
	Sex	Color	Group	Color	Jewel	Thunder	Snake	God	Conveyance	Color	Twin Hero	Human Hero
Sky	m	b	Sun	u	t	b	b	zigzag	lightning	b	MS	Holy Man
			BW	b	ab	y	y	rainstreamer		y	ChGr	Holy Boy
	f	u	Moon	w	wh	u	u	flash lightning		r	ChW	Holy Woman
Earth			YW	y	re	p	p	rainbow (sunglow)		(var)	RE	Holy Girl

CHART VI

MOUNTAINS AND HERB PEOPLE (SHOOTING CHANT)

<i>Holy Man approached mountain at</i>	<i>Climbed...side</i>	<i>Sat at...side</i>	<i>Sav...Herb P</i>	<i>Homes at</i>	<i>Made of</i>	<i>With...of</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Representing</i>
e	n	s	w	e	Darkness	cen	w	Dawn
we	s	n	y	s	Blue Sky	upper half	y	Yellow-evening-light
s	s	—	u	we	Dawn	upper half	b	Darkness
n	n	—	var	n	Yellow-evening-light	upper half	y	Blue Sky

CHART VII

BUFFALO HOMES (SHOOTING CHANT)

CHART VIII

ENDLESS SNAKE (MALE SHOOTING CHANT EVIL)

<i>Snake color</i>	<i>Snake guards</i>	<i>Realm color</i>
b	sky	b
u	earth	u
w	mountains	(w)
y	waters	(y)

CHART IX

LINE OF FIGURE PAINTING (SHOOTING CHANT)

<i>Color</i>	<i>Represents</i>
b	zigzag lightning
w	flash lightning
u	sunbeam
y	rainbow

CHART X

SKY PEOPLE (SHOOTING CHANT)

<i>Gave Changing Woman</i>		
<i>Sky P</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Color</i>
Sky	m	b
Sun	m	y
Water	f	u
Summer	f	p

cane of . . .

t
ab
wh
■

CHART XI

TALKING GOD MADE CHANGING WOMAN'S NUBILITY HOGAN
(Haile 1938b, p. 89)

<i>At</i>	<i>Of</i>	<i>With sound of</i>
e	wh	bluebirds
s	t	cornbeetle
we	ab	small, pretty bluebirds
■	j	cornbeetle

CHART XII

WINTER THUNDER AND DARK THUNDER
(Reichard 1944d, p. 45)

<i>Blew smoke in . . . direction</i>	<i>To</i>
down	Earth
up	Sky
e	Dawn
n	(Night)
s	Blue-horizon-light
we	Yellow-evening-light

CHART XIII

OFFERINGS (SHOOTING CHANT)

<i>Of</i>	<i>Made to</i>
wh	white corn
ab	yellow corn
t	blue corn
j	variegated corn
j	Dark Thunder
ab	Yellow Thunder
t	Blue Thunder
wh	Pink Thunder

CHART XIV

BUFFALO PEOPLE AT THE MOUNTAIN-OF-MOTION
(SHOOTING CHANT)

<i>Color at</i>	<i>Represents</i>
cen	Mountain-of-motion
b	motion of mountains
w	motion of rocks
u	motion of clouds
y	motion of waters

CHART XV

LANDSCAPE
(Sapir-Hoijer, p. 199)

<i>Color</i>	<i>Represents</i>
w	river
b	cottonwoods
u	water
y-green	cottonwoods

CHART XVI

HORSES
(Haile 1943a, p. 287)

<i>Color</i>	<i>Jewel</i>	<i>Kind of Horse</i>
u	t	Sun's
r	re	bay or red-maned
b	j	black
w	wh	white or white-maned
y	ab	roan

CHAPTER 14

N U M B E R

Even Numbers

REPETITION IS one of the major devices of Navaho ritual. The attention formerly paid to fourfold repetition has obscured the whole subject of number, since four and multiples of four were selected for emphasis from the vast array of numbers actually found. The analysis of prayers has shown that scarcely any number predominates in Navaho ritual.¹

Pairing has been mentioned in other connections and two-fold repetition is taken for granted (Chapters 10, 13).

The sandpaintings illustrate the progressive use of number; those in the Newcomb-Reichard volume were arranged to illustrate its relative importance. If only one painting of a series is made, either for a test or in a more elaborate rite or chant, it is usually chosen from at least two paintings that differ chiefly in color arrangements, depending on the sex of the patient. Another painting may be chosen from a progressively elaborated series. The Snake series admirably illustrates the rule. Two snakes may be adequate, four is a common choice, eight may be used, and the number may be increased to twelve, sixteen, twenty, and sometimes even forty or fifty-six. Newcomb-Reichard, Plate III, which has twelve figures, may be made with twenty-four. *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XV, with fifty-six snakes, is an elaboration of Plate IX, in Newcomb-Reichard, which has forty. Multiplication of elements is believed to strengthen power.

SYMBOLISM

Merely a few of the many possible examples of the use of four and multiples will be given because this phase of number is well-known:

Navaho stars have four points.²

The signal for a race is '1, 2, 3, 4, go!' ³

Matthews gives three versions of the number of Earth Pillars; one has four poles at each of the four quarters, one has sixteen, and the third version has thirty-two. In the picture of the People-who-stand-under-the-sky there are six at the south and six at the north.⁴

To announce their presence gods commonly give their call four times, beginning with a faint sound which becomes successively louder and nearer.⁵

Attempts to create new things or to overcome evils are usually unsuccessful three times and successful the fourth.⁶

Mythologically, ritualistically, and often empirically, a request can hardly be refused a fourth time; the very fact of the fourth repetition makes acquiescence compulsory. Refusal the fourth time is serious indeed and rare in the literature.⁷

Four (or a multiple) applies to time reckoning as well as to the designation of space, persons, objects, and actions. The number of days occupied in discussion as well as the number intervening before an assembly or group enterprise takes place is important and depends upon the people as well as on the kind of activity proposed.

When Whiteshell Woman was dying of loneliness, Talking God appeared to her and bade her come to an assembly of the gods four days later.⁸

After the monsters had left only four people in the world, Talking God appeared and bade them meet him at the top of a sacred mountain in twelve days.⁹

Twelve days after being notified, the gods met to perform a ceremony to get back the great shells Gambler refused to give Sun.¹⁰

The people who desired to travel eastward from the western home of Changing Woman discussed the matter for twelve days, but, once having made a decision, fixed on the fourteenth day as the date of departure.¹¹

People allowed considerable time to elapse before they took steps to allay anxiety about one who had disappeared.

The brothers of co, hero of the Night Chant myth, let four nights pass before they began to search for him when he did not return from the hunt.¹²

Twelve days after the Visionary had started making his whirling log, his grandmother began to worry for fear he might leave the family again as he had done once before.¹³

The number of idealized brothers is not the same in all the stories in which they appear. In my text of the Endurance Chant myth there are twelve brothers in addition to the sister, making thirteen in the family. This is understandable since the story and the chant are for driving off evil, a situation that requires odd numbers (see below). In what may be the secular form of the story, Matthews records twelve in the family, including the sister, and refers to ten left after the sister and youngest brother had been lost.¹⁴

A large and unexplainable even number is the reference to 102 years as the age of man—probably the ideal of a long life span. Matthews was also told that ‘seven times old age has killed,’ meaning that seven full generations of Navaho had existed up to the time he collected his legends.¹⁵

Odd Numbers

The use of five elements in the sandpaintings, discussed in *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant*, will not be repeated here. When I wrote in 1937, I had not seen a sandpainting with five major figures. Since then two sandpaintings of the Bead Chant featuring five figures symmetrically arranged have been published.¹⁶

The number of nights devoted to a rite or ceremony,

whether for blessing or exorcism, is odd. One-night sings are common. I know of only one type lasting an even number of nights, two nights and the intervening day, the second and fourth of the ideal series of four (Chapter 19). Other performances are carried through one, three, five, or nine nights.

The War Ceremony takes three nights. Because it is in the class of evil-chasing, the odd number seems reasonable. Chants sung for five or nine nights may be rationalized on the basis of four. When the more usual five-night form is chosen, each of the first four days is really a unit, for the ritualistic acts are repeated in quite regular order although each day new acts may be added, making the effect cumulative as well as repetitious. The last night is set off by name and by rite as distinct; during this time a summary in song is made of all the preceding acts and symbols. The nine-night form should be thought of as two four-night groupings plus the summary. The chief difference between the five- and nine-night terms is that of relative crowding and elaboration. Emetic and prayerstick offering take up the first four days of the nine-night ceremony; sandpaintings are made on the next four. When the ceremony is to last only five days, all these features are telescoped—emetic, prayerstick offering, and sandpainting being done on the same day. The Night Chant and the Fire Dance branches of other chants must last nine nights. Male Shooting Chant Evil continues five nights and is divided exactly as are the Holy chants: four nights (days) of repeated acts and one night of the song summary. My informants insist that an Evil chant should not be prolonged beyond five nights.

The number five and fivefold repetition must be considered as transitional between good and evil. The rule is that blessing and divinity are represented by even numbers, evil and harm by odd. Nevertheless, five is almost as common as four,

although it has a somewhat subsidiary position in the sand-paintings. In the literature, where the full text with all repetitions of prayers, songs, and episodes is available, five-fold repetition is frequent and often five is a 'good' number.

Remarks about Navaho ceremonies lasting many days refer to the unlimited singing that goes on when a singer or a group of singers performs for a person who seems hopelessly ill. Such singing belongs to the Life chants I have termed 'emergency rites.' It may be continued for days, weeks, even months, but is in some respects outside the pattern of the chant order or charm I am analyzing here. It includes many of the elements prescribed elsewhere, but in a different order. If a person recovers after these extreme ministrations, he is expected to have the ceremony sung over him just as does a person for whom a short test rite has been performed.

The requirement of odd numbers in Evil rites is more consistently corroborated by description and in practice than that of even numbers for blessing and holiness. Since odd numbers have never been discussed, I cite several typical cases:

The probable reason for groups of five in the sandpaintings of the Bead Chant is that the major figures are predatory animals.¹⁷

The Eagle Chant was to begin three days after the ceremonial hut was made. Since the Eagle Chant was to give power in eagle-catching, it belongs to the hunting—that is, Evil—category, as Hill indicates: "The beliefs connected with catching eagles paralleled those current in hunting deer, antelope, and bear."¹⁸

The war party that attacked Taos was on its way three days, including the journey thither and back. A second trip was proposed five days later, another eleven days after the second, and a fourth nine days after the third. The men sweated for three days in preparing for war.¹⁹

Monster Slayer gave the people three days to prepare for a raid. Five days intervened before offerings were made again. The warriors met once more after seven days, and a fourth time after nine days had passed.²⁰

Hill's account of actual warfare shows that these examples are empirical as well as mythological.

The time between the formation of a war party and its departure must be an uneven number of days, the interval being spent in purification and preparation.²¹

Similarly, an odd number of days intervened between the consultation of the singer and the departure of a hunting party.²²

When a gambler contested with Talking God for deer, he transformed tiny offerings into a great heap of precious stones. Talking God and Black God gave each of those present fifteen pieces, then thirteen, nine, seven, and five.²³ The reason for the odd numbers, mentioned in descending order, is doubtless the subject of the tale: gambling and hunting (since deer are the wager), both uncertain activities.

Matthews' note regarding the attack of the twelve bears in the Story of Deer Owner is interesting in connection with number. He remarks that the episode is weak and inartistic, even wrong, since there were five devices for killing.²⁴ According to the rule of odd numbers, five might be expected, since Deer Owner was a wizard and was practicing sorcery on the hero.

Numbers in the myth "Growth of the Navaho Nation," which recounts the wanderings of the people and the origin of clans, are frequently odd.²⁵

Once when the Navaho met new people there were twelve, it is true, but instead of being paired, they consisted of five men, three women, one grown girl, one grown boy, and two small children. Another accession was a family of seven adults. Changing Woman gave the people created at her western home five pets and five canes, with which they later struck water from the desert.²⁶

NUMBER

I think odd numbers are appropriate here because the people were setting out into uncertain and foreign territory. On the other hand, when Changing Woman's own power, which is firmly, definitely divine, is referred to, the numbers are two and four.²⁷

Ceremonial numbers in exorcistic rites (which may occur even in holiness ceremonies) occur according to the rules:

Unraveling is repeated an odd number of times, the number increasing on the successive nights of a chant (*Unraveling, Concordance C*).²⁸

The fir garment is usually composed of a specific odd number of knots to be tied at various parts of the body, the numbers increasing on successive nights of a single ceremony (*Plant garment, Concordance C*).

Five hoops recapitulate the were-coyote episode and restoration of Holy Man to divine normality (*Hoop transformation rite, Concordance C*).²⁹

After the basket drum had been prepared for Rainboy to eliminate the evil resulting from war, it was turned over and hit five times just before Rainboy was called in.³⁰

Some uses of number are difficult, if not impossible, to explain on the basis of the rules for good and evil, since odd and even numbers are combined.

The Twins had brought five hoops back from their second visit to their father, Sun. Changing Woman set up the black hoop so it would roll to the east. Through it she spat a four-cornered black hailstone. She set up a blue hoop at the south and through it spat a six-cornered blue hailstone. At the west the yellow hailstone had eight corners, and at the north the white one had eleven. A shiny hoop, through which four varicolored flint knives had been cast, was flung to the zenith.³¹

The frequent use of incense in the Holy chants and its infrequency in the Evil form lead me to consider it an element that attracts good. Often it is burned on two coals,

but in the Hail Chant myth there were two after the emetic of the first day, three after the sprinkling of the second day, and four after the sprinkling of the third day.³²

The number of baskets differs greatly and probably does not correspond completely with the chanter's generalization. The Prayerstick branch of the Shooting Chant emphasizes good, yet five baskets were required.

Because they vary so much, no significance can yet be assigned to the number of individual songs in specific rites, combination of songs in groups, or grouping into ceremony. Song lists show that even and odd numbers are common for the songs themselves and repetition within them in Blessing, Holy, and Evil rituals.³³

First Time

So much importance is attached, in both myth and practice, to beginning an event or to the first time an act takes place as to make initiation a major symbol. The success of a first attack in raiding is an omen of the final outcome, toward which careful ceremonial preparations are directed.

In helping his children overcome the most dangerous and powerful of all the monsters, Sun instructed them: "When you reach the earth, don't do anything. Let me do the first slaying." Consequently, the first blow was struck at Big Monster by lightning, sent by Sun, deafening the enemy, depriving him of sense, and softening him for the later blows of The Twins.³⁴

In contributing various elements to the blackening rite of the War Ceremony, Crow instructed: "I myself shall be the first to attack the ghost of the enemy."³⁵

After Monster Slayer had restored Sun's blue horse, he instructed: "Suppose that in the future one of you returns from war with booty and the first person meeting you asks for some part of it, you must not deny it to him. Such refusal would mean refusal to part with the enemy."³⁶

The import of initial behavior is demonstrated by the ritualistic massage of the pubescent girl, and of The Twins at their first visit to Sun (cp. *Pressing*, Concordance B).

At each of the many sweat-emetic rites I have attended, the first of the series was performed carefully and elaborately, the greatest importance seeming to be attached to it. Succeeding rites were perfunctory, although the third day of the chants, when exorcism was emphasized, was also stressed.

Apparently the first try has power because it signifies the purpose and predicts the outcome. The last of a repeated series is also important because it is culminative; what has been indicated as good has taken place.

Within all these types of symbolism, and so closely connected with them that it can hardly be differentiated, is the aesthetic motive which sometimes manifests itself as a ritualistic rationalization. The notion of multiple selves is a convenient supernatural device for spanning the difficulties of space and necessity. It is an artifice that lends force to the power of repetition and recapitulation, and it is also a means of elaboration, of obtaining balance, symmetry, and contrast especially in plastic representation. Pairing is an illustration of a cultural compulsion. The reason that Whiteshell Woman and Turquoise Woman are doubles for Changing Woman is aesthetic as well as ritualistic. Similarly, although Child-of-the-water is the gentle, pacific, steady foil to the active, impulsive Monster Slayer, the functions of their doubles, Changing Grandchild and Reared-in-the-earth, are hardly discernible except as an artistic device, though the effect of multiplication must not be completely ignored.

CHAPTER 15

PERCEPTUAL SYMBOLS

Light and Seeing

THOUGH THE Navaho are so impressed by color that they have woven it into their entire ritualistic scheme, they seem to regard it as a function of light. In Stevenson's origin myth we are told, "By the time they had reached the fourth world the people had separated light into its several colors." They assigned the colors to the different parts of the sky to be the light manifestations called the Day Skies—Dawn, Blue Sky, Yellow-evening-light, Darkness.¹

In the upper world the people found only darkness; they had to create the sun, moon, and stars to furnish light. In Matthews' most detailed version, each color lasted an equal interval in the first world; in the second, black and blue lasted longer than white and yellow; in the third, black and blue lasted still longer; and in the fourth, black and blue lasted most of the time. According to tłá'h, although there was neither sun nor moon in the third world (yellow), the mountains gave plenty of light.²

Light is an essential of life and protection, whose most outstanding symbol is pollen, tádídí'n (xadídí'n), 'it emits light in all directions, it shines in amongst.' Since light (sunbeams, warmth) is a necessary element of generation, it is not surprising that pollen should be the symbol of fructification, vivification, and the continuity of life and safety. The associations are extended to include glint or sheen as an essential part of an animal, object, or person, a quality repre-

sented by pollen. Sheen is distinct from color—Bear had it from a red glow; magpie feathers, though black, have it; water and snakes, whatever their color, may have it. The legs and lower bodies of Buffalo are outlined in yellow to represent their warmth and moisture, which make plants grow and produce pollen.

‘Real pollen’ is the pollen of the cattail rush and seems to supersede even ‘corn pollen,’ which is of great ceremonial value.³ ‘Snake pollen’ was explained to me by a Shooting Chanter: “They used to collect the scales of Snake’s skin, but now they put pollen on, they brush it off, and that is the same as the shine on the snake.”

Matthews explains ‘water pollen’: “During the summer rains, in the Navaho land, a fine yellow powder collects on the surface of pools; it is probably the pollen of pine; but the Navahoes seem to think it is a product of water and call it water pollen.”⁴ Pollen is the symbol of the water’s light, its power of motion and life.

With these interpretations in mind it is less difficult to understand ‘blue pollen,’ the ground petals of larkspur or other blue flowers, which is pollen only in a functional sense; it represents light.

Animals are killed for ceremonial purposes by smothering in pollen, care being taken not to wound them. The pollen is believed to absorb their ‘life.’ If they struggle a long time resisting death, it is a sign of strength, which will be communicated to the person for whom the pollen is subsequently sprinkled.

Matthews summarizes the meaning of pollen: “Pollen is the emblem of peace, of happiness, of prosperity, and it is supposed to bring these blessings. When, in the Origin Legend, one of the war gods bids his enemy to put his feet down in pollen he constrains him to peace. When in prayer

the devotee says, 'May the trail be in pollen,' he pleads for a happy and peaceful life."⁵

In connection with pollen as the representation of light, distinguished from that associated with color, the relation between pink, shimmer, and white in the atmosphere and yellow in the water should be noted. An unpublished painting in the Huckel Collection, *Buffalo People at the Mountain-of-motion*, represents not the mountains, rocks, clouds, and waters but their *motion*, their life, expressed by color associated with light (cp. Chart XIV, page 240).

Matthews refers to the haze in the air which the Navaho call the pollen of morning and evening sky, an idea probably closely related to the ritualistic acts of The Twins:⁶

Monster Slayer motioned with his hand over Mountain Woman and the glitter of sparkling rock made his face terrifying. Child-of-the-water moved his hand along the surface of Mountain Woman, then touched his face with his hand and it shone frightfully.⁷

The passage refers to 'sparkling rock,' which, paired with red, so frightens evils that they retreat as far as its beams extend.⁸

When Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water were prepared for the War Ceremony for the first time, the elder made his face terrifying with sparkling medicine; his brother did the same and his face became so light it was impossible to look at it. The words that describe the transformation mean 'flash horror' and 'beam with horror.' Later the explanation is given: "The rubbing with red ocher belongs to Child-of-the-water and the sparkling medicine by means of which your faces strike terror will cause enemy ghosts to fear you."⁹

Flint is of ceremonial importance for several reasons: it reflects light, and when flints are struck together, they make a frightening sound. Flint armor must be thought of as con-

sisting of free pieces that rattle as the wearer moves. Serrated flint has more facets than plain flint, from which light is reflected.

Changing Woman for a long time resisted moving to her new home in the west. At length impersonators of her sons dressed themselves in black, blue, yellow, and serrated flint. As she saw them approaching, she was terrified by the light of their armor. The leader spoke loudly to her and as he spoke his companions stamped the earth, making the flints rattle, scaring her even more. Their attack, undertaken reluctantly as a last resort, finally frightened her into compliance.¹⁰

When Bat prepared to take the offering to Black God for the restoration of Rainboy, he dressed himself completely in flint. At the ends of his wings were zigzag lightnings, which, with the light of pre-dawn, deprived those beholding him of their courage.¹¹

Appearing before the lesser evils—Hunger, Craving-for-meat, Poverty, and Sleep—Monster Slayer looked at them with disgust and they, in their turn, stared at him, for his flint raiment always struck terror into people.¹²

Flashing light accompanies many of Sun's actions, but is especially emphasized when he appears in his celestial guise to Earth People, and even when he sends a token of his presence.

After Changing Woman had attempted conception with Dripping Water, she suddenly heard a loud noise above her. She looked up and saw a man so light that she could not continue to look at him.¹³

When Sun sent his own symbol of the War Ceremony, a light struck into the center of the room, a sound "so" was heard and there stood the symbol in turquoise! It was the pattern for Earth People, and as soon as they had a good look at it and learned how to imitate it, it disappeared (Chapter 18).¹⁴

Sun by his light enabled Holy Man to wink once more after he had been shattered by Winter Thunder and his parts had been rearranged for restoration.¹⁵

SYMBOLISM

Light is a teasing incentive to new adventures which bring new knowledge and ceremonial control, often indicated as a mythological episode in which a person sees a far distant light, searches for it in vain, sets up a sighting device on a forked stick, and is eventually brought or led into the territory of the enticer.

First Woman in the lowest world thus found a mate whose fire was turquoise.¹⁶

The owner of the pet turkey of the Feather Chant, after planting his garden, saw a light in the distance. It directed him to Deer Owner's home, a visit which eventually gave him control of rare game. Monster Slayer as the hero of the Eagle Chant had a similar experience.¹⁷

Sunbeam (cáandín) and sunray (cábitló'l) are mentors, beings who know what is going to happen and guide heroes.

Rock crystal is a symbol of illumination.

When the Eagles had trouble getting Scavenger of the Bead Chant to the sky, Fringed Mouth and Talking God came to prepare him for the journey he was to make. Because it was dark in the cloud in which he was to travel, they gave him a crystal to light his way.¹⁸

The hero of the Feather Chant was transported by Talking God to a house full of Holy People. The walls were covered with rock crystal, which gave forth a brilliant light. The Stricken Twins of the Night Chant were conducted into a similar dwelling.¹⁹

Conceptually, light and fire are not completely differentiated, but fire probably symbolizes heat as well as light. The crystal fire owned by First Woman is almost certainly related to the rock crystal that ceremonially lights the prayersticks and tobacco pipe.

The warning prayerstick began to burn when Monster Slayer was in danger.

In the Shooting Chant myth the glow changed the pink of the prayerstick to red. The same incident as recorded by

Matthews has Monster Slayer say to his brother, "If [these prayersticks] take fire from the sunbeam, you may know I am in great danger." Later Child-of-the-water tells him, "About midday the black prayerstick took fire and I was troubled for I knew you were in danger, but when it had burned halfway the fire went out and . . . I thought you were safe again."²⁰

The light seems to have shown the danger; no effects of heat, except the change in color, were indicated.²¹

In view of the way light has been woven into ritual, the Navaho words defining phases of light are interesting:

tádídí'n, 'it-shines-in-all-directions, pollen'

cáándí'n, 'sunbeam'

bitśázdíndí'n, 'a frightening light shone from him'

The following are attributive:

bízdílid, 'polished, glassy, smooth from high polish'

niłxin, 'opaque, greasy'

no'lyin, 'lustrous like wax'

no'lyíni, 'lustrous like agate, agate'

niłtóli, 'somewhat clear'

niłtó'l, 'superficially clear'

niłtó'li, 'clear all the way through, clean, pure'

niłsíli, 'being somewhat crystalline'

niłsí'l, 'having crystalline structure'

niłtsí'ł, 'glittering' (in separate particles, as frost)

niłtsí'ł, 'scintillating' (as diamond)

To be compared with the last two is niłsí'ł, 'healthy, sound.' If these stems are related, we may have to conclude that a person is not healthy or sound unless he has light or glint.

ditcił, 'scintillating varicolored, iridescent' (as abalone)

disqs, 'having coppery reflections, pink' (as star)

yibe, 'shimmering'

Sound and Hearing

Sound, associated with light, is thought of as issuing from a small orifice—the mouth, for instance—and spreading in a beam which widens like a beam of light from a pinpoint. This perhaps explains why ‘talk, discuss, consider in words,’ even ‘sing,’ are words constructed by varying the stem that means ‘motion of a round or handy object.’ Sound and breath are so closely related that a man is not complete if he lacks either; at the same time, mouth and voice, which produce the word, are also essential (Chapter 3).

The power of Cornbeetle Girl is often indicated by her sound. Her name is included in the series of the small birds whose calls represent happiness, peace, and prosperity. She gave voices to the first people created from corn ears.²²

Once at an assembly of the gods, Monster Slayer drove Coyote out. Later Talking God and one of the male gods came in; when they opened their mouths to sing, they had no voices. The chant could not be sung until measures had been taken to placate Coyote and induce him to restore the voices.²³

The loss of hearing is considered a calamity. The hearing of the Stricken Twins was restored when xa'ctcé'óyan shouted lustily into their ears.²⁴

Ordinarily the mentors know everything, even things never expressed by sound, for they can read the thoughts of deity and man. But when First Man instructed The Twins about the monsters, he whispered so low that even the Winds could not hear him.²⁵

In the Stephen manuscript the effect of threatening sound on the body is described in a myth fragment about the slaying of the monsters.

The Twins stole up on Burrowing Monster, but a slight noise put him on his guard. Then, as they approached from

the south, their noses made a cracking sound. At the west their ears crackled and at the north their flesh pricked—all warnings that they were contemplating wrong.²⁶

Sight and hearing are important in divination, which is based upon seeing, listening, and trembling. Of these, listening is at present least popular. Formerly, two men who knew the proper prayer and were regarded as trustworthy were chosen to foretell by listening the outcome of a war raid, apparently after the party had been organized. The magical aids given the diviners included seeing as well as hearing. The war leader rubbed coyote and badger earwax on the ears and under the eyes of the listener to enable him to hear acutely and to see into the future. The men left camp and advanced a short distance toward the enemy country. It was a good omen if they saw horses or sheep, or if they heard the trotting of animals. On the other hand, the cry of the crow, screechowl, hoot owl, wolf, coyote, or other 'man-eating' animal, the sound of enemy footsteps or conversation, or the moan of an injured person were so unfavorable that the party would turn back. Animal calls were common as war and hunting signals to the Navaho and other Indian tribes.

In the myth describing the attack of the Stricken Twins on Awatobi, the Hopi called their people together by wolf howls.²⁷

To the Navaho, sound has forms other than that of a beam, as is evidenced by the explanation of the Thunder figure of the sandpaintings. There is often an arrow at each side of the head, said to represent Thunder's sound; the pink curved featherlike lines at the bottom of the tail are the reverberation.²⁸

As is usual with other types of symbolism, sounds attract good and exorcise evil.

SYMBOLISM

The song or call of bluebird, canary, warblers, and corn-beetle at Changing Woman's nubility rite represented the groups of people approaching from all sides—gods who came bearing their gifts for her future welfare.²⁹

When Monster Slayer was about to destroy the Frog People, they begged him to let them live, promising, "We shall not be ugly and mean in the future. We shall give our call just as we are doing now, but it will be asking for rain."³⁰

Matthews records a rite for bringing rain in which sound is significant:

A singer said that if the Navaho captured a mountain sheep in a dry season they butchered it, cut out and cleaned the paunch. Then they slapped it against a stone. In the summer such an act would bring rain, in the winter, snow.³¹

A fur collar to which a whistle is attached is a ceremonial property of some chant bundles. After a sandpainting of the Shooting Chant has been finished and someone has been sent to call the patient and audience, the chanter puts on the collar and blows the whistle over the painting to signify to the gods that chanter and assistants are ready, that the people and gods should take their places.

The whistle of the Bead Chant also represents preparation, for it was the reed given Scavenger when he was about to be taken to the sky in the dark cloud. It was to supply him with air; every time he breathed, the whistling noise was heard.³²

Kluckhohn and Wyman record a general explanation of the ceremonial whistle: "Blow sickness off, blow sickness off on all four sides of the sick man, that's what it's for."³³

Singing in the Flint Chant is accompanied by a hoof rattle and some songs are sung to the rattling of flints.³⁴

Coyote visited the Hummingbirds, where there were two beautiful maidens. Their clothing was ornamented with many bone and hoof pendants, which, rattling with every movement, seemed to emphasize the beauty of the garments.³⁵

These are some ways in which sounds bring blessings. Sometimes, however, they ward off evil. Each deity, helper, and object has some power expressed by sound. Because of its purpose, primarily to counteract harm done by the monsters but also to control all kinds of enemy ghosts, the War Ceremony has more sound symbolism than any of the other ceremonies for which there are texts.³⁶

The underlying explanation is that the harmful sounds of the slain monsters were beaten into the earth and the War Ceremony compensates the earth for the evils left over from prehistoric times. To make it successful, the enemy is sung and beaten into the earth. Beating the pot drum is beating the face of the enemy. With each beat of the stick on the pot drum the minds of enemy ghosts are drawn down toward the earth.³⁷

Falsetto, featured in many of the War Ceremony songs—in sway singing, for example—is believed to have power to revive a fainting person. When a war party arrived home, there was sway singing in front of the hogan of every warrior who had taken a scalp.³⁸

Even though the sounds of both victor and vanquished may be imitated in recapitulating the attack, care must be taken that the songs do not 'cross.' At the blackening rite one group inside the hogan shouts once in a while and the dancers outside also shout; the two groups should alternate, never call out simultaneously.³⁹

As a part of the old-time training to develop strength, boys were taught to clap their hands to their lips as they shouted, as white children 'playing Indian' do today.⁴⁰

Sound, like taboo and other devices, may seduce a character. *xwi''é'hé, łó' xwi''é'hé* means 'arresting, attractive, seductive, enticing sound.' Girls are distracted from what they are doing by such a sound and, becoming curious, get

acquainted with wonderful men. The function of the captivating noise is the same as that of the teasing fire mentioned under "Light and Seeing" (above) and may similarly lead to mating or marriage. In the legend of the War Ceremony, Bear and Big-snake-man seduced the Corn Maidens with the attractive sound.⁴¹

xwi'é'hé, 'pleasing, arresting,' is applied to The Twins' song of rejoicing as Changing Woman heard it when they arrived home carrying the trophy of Big Monster.⁴²

Often special sounds are believed to drive out evils: be'-be'yó is a phrase common to exorcistic rites. Usually the sound accompanies some motion, like that of brushing.

Each deity sometimes functions through sound and gesture, rather than through articulate language. Monster Slayer utters his sound, xahá''' xahá''', when he wants to stay the evil he encounters; Child-of-the-water follows with his sound, xá xá xá xá. The approach of Talking God is heralded a long way off by a faint trace of his cry, which becomes regularly louder as it is repeated nearer and nearer (Chapter 14). At the fourth cry, Talking God appears. He explains to co, hero of the Night Chant, "You must tell [your people] that my voice is ominous, and that if anyone hears it, something strange will happen to him or to his people that day."⁴³

The application of ceremonial items to the novices at the Night Chant initiation, accompanied by the characteristic sounds of the officiating gods, serves to shield the children from danger that might threaten when they look at sand-paintings.⁴⁴

One or more sounds are significant symbols of every ceremony. They are difficult to reduce to writing, since their effect depends more upon the manipulation of the breath than of the speech organs. The sound symbol of the Shooting

Chant is something like *blu'''*, articulated with violent and prolonged vibration of the lips and variation in tone approximating that of the bull-roarer. To achieve the effect, it is, of course, necessary to prolong the vowel greatly. JS says the sound 'makes the body holy.'

The corresponding sound symbol of the Hail Chant is *bluwe'*, in which *blu-* is short and *-we'* very short, the glottal stop almost a gag. Each syllable of the exorcistic *be'be'yó* has a very short staccato articulation and a high startling tone. Wyman describes the sound symbol of the Navaho Wind Chant: "*hihi'yi*, the three syllables represented by the three notes, approximating C below the staff, treble clef, an octave above, the original C; the tempo, a sixteenth note, followed by a note of two beats, a final sixteenth sharply broken off. It is the voice of the wind supernatural, the sound of the wind."⁴⁵

The bull-roarer, called 'thunder speaks,' is said to imitate Thunder's sound. In the Shooting Chant it drives away evil.⁴⁶

To the reflected light, texture, hardness, and strength of flint is added the power of the sound produced when one flint comes in contact with another (*ka'j*). One of the ritualistic acts of the singer, repeated at intervals, is to rub his hands through flints lying in the ceremonial basket to make them rattle.

To protect The Twins against Crow, the messenger of the monsters, First Man constructed a spiral arrangement of flints which reached the sky. With every light breeze the grind of the flints (*kaj*) could be heard, and approach to The Twins was impossible.⁴⁷

Flints, as well as persons, must know when to withhold their power—a symbol of negation.

As infants The Twins were a source of great concern. Upon the advice of Rock Crystal and Talking God, they were put

on a mirage stone under which flint arrowpoints were arranged, one in each of the four directions. Because of the flints, even though they did not speak, the monsters became aware of unfavorable conditions. Had the flints produced a sound, there would have been no hope for the survival of human beings.⁴⁸

Other effects of sound are the following:

Pursued by Tracking Bear, Monster Slayer climbed a sheer wall. As he did so, he grasped a fruit of the yucca in his left hand and in his right a twig of hard oak. The monster feared the rattle (zai') of the medicines.⁴⁹

Witch objects shot into the hero of the Big Star Chant were extracted by the screeching of Prairie Hawk and Mountain Lion.⁵⁰

Coyote, trying to overcome Big Monster by cutting his thigh, said, "to' to' to' to'," ostensibly to heal the cut. The formula worked to heal Coyote's thigh but failed when tried on Big Monster. Matthews explains that to' or tóhe means 'stand, stay' and is spoken to ritualistic objects, as in the dance of the standing arcs of the Mountain Chant to make the arcs resume an upright position without support.⁵¹

Echo is explained as Crushing Rocks' consent to be subjected by Monster Slayer.⁵²

The sound of wind passing through the reeds owned by First Man is equivalent to music.⁵³

Sound in the body of Cicada made the reed in which the prehuman creatures had taken refuge move.⁵⁴

Odor and Smell

The Navaho conception of smell differs from ours in several respects. xaltcin means 'it has an odor, odor is given out'; xaltcxin, 'it has a strong smell.' Neither word necessarily indicates 'bad odor,' because nothing that is 'natural,' provided by nature, is considered disagreeable. Cabbage and skunk smell strong, perhaps, but not bad. Something is said to smell bad when it is spoiled (niltcxon).

Despite the belief that cast-off body material may become dangerous, lack of disgust is remarkable. Women evince no distaste for any of the butchering processes, for instance, and adults make no haste to clean babies, but let them crawl about, soiling things. They pay no attention to a child who smears himself and his vicinity with blood caught from a slaughtered animal or with the contents of entrails.

The role of odor in ritual and myth is, therefore, the more surprising. One of Father Berard's informants told him that the nose is a guide in thinking, the seat of thought.⁵⁵ Odor reveals strangers, for although most references explain how disagreeable the gods find the odor of Earth People, the reverse may also be true.

In the darkness The Twins entered an assembly of Earth People and, even though they could not be seen, the people could smell strangers amongst them.⁵⁶

The odor of certain herbs may be pleasant to some deities, offensive to others. Strong-smelling plants, such as the sages, mints, and evergreens, perform the same functions as other ritualistic property—they attract good and disperse evil.

The description of the scene in which the hero of the Feather Chant first saw deer and other rare game includes the following:

The land was filled with deer and covered with beautiful flowers. The air had the odor of pollen and fragrant blossoms. Birds of the most beautiful plumage were flying in the air, or perching on the flowers and building nests in the deer's antlers.⁵⁷

Odor makes chant lotion effective and contributes to the power of emetic, cold and warm infusion (ke'tloh), and incense.

According to Gray Eyes, the Holy People are afraid of the chant lotion and incense.⁵⁸

SYMBOLISM

When an offering is presented to a deity, he inspects it, then smells it to test its perfection (*Acceptance of offering, Concordance B*).

Food and Taste

Navaho ritual emphasizes color and light rather than sight, sound rather than hearing, odor rather than smell. Not much is made of taste, but food is a major symbol of each chant. Fasting has already been mentioned as a means of purification; feasting, if only on the most ordinary foods, is a great attraction of every ceremony (Introduction). Some of the best recipes are given in the chant mythology.⁵⁹

The idea prevails that special supernatural food imparts its strength to anyone strong enough to consume it.

Talking God and First Man had a discussion about what to feed the wonderful baby who grew up to be Changing Woman. Talking God suggested collected pollens, but First Man said the diet must contain moisture too. He agreed to give it pollen, but said he would add broth of rare game and dew of beautiful flowers. Talking God agreed and gave First Man full charge of the baby.⁶⁰

Changing Woman left her twin infants to the care of Big Bear and Big-snake-man when she went to hunt food. When the mother was home the caretakers fed the children broth made of cottontails and field mice, but, as soon as she left, Bear gave them pollen and mountain dew and Snake fed them earth pollen and dew. Salt Woman stirred the broth with her whole hand, making it very salty. At first the food, being too strong, weakened the babies, but in a short time they thrived on it.⁶¹

Changing Woman ate whiteshell after she went to live in the west.⁶²

When Sun conducted his twin sons to the skyhole through which they were to return to earth, they ate pollen of white and yellow corn, Dawn, Yellow-evening-light, and Sun, all mixed with water.⁶³

Food enters into many mythical concepts; for instance, one person may be transformed into another by eating the latter's food, in some cases with no hope of transformation back into the original form. Smoking a man's tobacco may have the same effect; in any case, it is a test of powers. Another mythical concept is the inexhaustible food supply and the representation of much in little (Chapter 7; *Inexhaustible*, Concordance B).

The Eagles were able to change small game, such as rabbits, prairie dogs, and rats, into rare game.

The Hunting Animals, with their power to plant, cultivate, and harvest corn in a few minutes, represent an unlimited food supply.⁶⁴

The Navaho call corn 'life itself,' but that by no means makes them vegetarians. They express their feeling about meat when the mockers of the Racing God twit him: "He is too weak and lazy to hunt. He lives on seeds and never tastes flesh."⁶⁵ Later the scoffers learned that racing gave the Racing Gods so much strength that they did not need meat, but possibly their doting grandmother fed them meat privately.

Racing is closely connected with endurance, both being associated with food and abstinence; the pubescent girl races frequently during the period when she continually grinds corn for her ceremonial cake; boys ran for miles as a part of the ancient training, preferably without food and drink, at least with very little. Racers ate ceremonial mush before starting a contest. Coyote explains to Big Monster in the Endurance Chant myth: "One who eats rare game can run fast, but what can one expect of a person who eats worms, grasshoppers, and lizards! No wonder you cannot race."⁶⁶

Supernatural benefits to be derived from attendance at a ceremony may be symbolized by sending food as an invitation. The Meal Sprinklers take food to invite guests, even

SYMBOLISM

outsiders, to the Fire Dance and bring back food in token of acceptance. Parched corn has been mentioned as an effective absorptive device (Chapter 7). Cake (sweetened cornbread baked in a pit oven) is a treat of the Girl's Ceremony and the Flint Chant; in both it is an offering to Sun.⁶⁷

Navaho is relatively devoid of words for taste. A general word, *xalni'* or *xalni'*, probably applies to all the senses, 'there is awareness, it is tasty.' *lkan*, often translated 'sweet,' should be translated 'pleasing to the taste, savory.'

CHAPTER 16

WORD, FORMULA, AND MYTH

THE NAVAHO cosmogonists were interested in man's culture and institutions no less than in the natural order. Language, perhaps the most intricate phase of culture, is by its nature symbolical, but in addition to the expected linguistic symbolism, there is ritualistic symbolism, like that of color, direction, and number. Speech as one of man's faculties, references in prayer to the 'tip of the speech,' the existence of the word from the very beginning of conceivable time, the requirement that prayer and song be accurately reproduced in spite of stringent restrictions and a strain on the memory—all these are evidences of linguistic awareness I have not found among other so-called primitive peoples; in fact, it is a cognizance almost lacking in our own society—lost rather than undeveloped. The painted symbol of a prayer with its words is further proof of Navaho recognition of the power of the word.¹

There are references to 'archaic' words in Navaho myth and ritual, based upon an unfounded assumption. So common have these references become that even the Navaho interpreters glibly speak of archaic words. No work has been done upon which to found an opinion about the relative age of Navaho words. Some of the most common must be very old in view of their relation to remote Athapaskan languages. Nor is it correct to call the expressions 'obsolete'; they are as current as words for water or fire, though the people using them may be fewer. The ritualistic phrases belong to a specialized ceremonial language, a cant, spoken by chanters but

not by laymen. The special terms of one chant may differ from those of another; all are not necessarily understood by every singer. In one chant the names of characters may be the lay terms; in another, they may be completely or partly changed. For instance, the ordinary name for 'wolf' is 'large coyote,' but ceremonially he may be called 'large-one-who-trots-like-a-person,' doubtless a reference to the werewolf. Coyote is often called 'First Scolder' or 'First Warrior.' Hummingbird, 'animated-one-repeatedly-suspended,' becomes in the Hail Chant 'one-whose-wings-whir.'² The ordinary, literal names of the Holy People and their ceremonial names in the Shooting Chant, compared with general usage and other chants, are changed in kind and order. Most commonly the order is Holy Man (diné' di'yini'), Holy Boy ('acki' di'yini'), Holy Woman ('asdzá' di'yini'), Holy Girl ('até'd di'yini'); in the Shooting Chant, Holy Boy is kiye' di'yini', Holy Woman is téiké' di'yini'. Holy Man and Holy Girl have the lay names, and the order in which they are mentioned is Holy Man, Holy Woman, Holy Boy, Holy Girl. This order is emphasized as a primary differentiation between the Male Shooting Chant and the others, particularly the Female Shooting Chant. In the Female Shooting Chant the females come first—Holy Woman, Holy Girl, Holy Man, Holy Boy.

Almost every item of ritualistic value has its own term and derives much of its power from its name, which may differ from chant to chant (*Bundle contents*, Concordance C). I have found nothing in the linguistic pattern that cannot be explained by the grammatical rules; a few variations in vocabulary may be encountered. The situation is comparable to that of English used by persons in ordinary life who have no interest in specialized subjects—science or religion, for instance. The Church has its own vocabulary, rarely under-

stood by the layman, for whom it has little interest; the Navaho chant lore is the province of the chanters, the lay Navaho accepts it, and, if he is pinned down to interpret it, calls it archaic.

War parties had a special language that seems to be a part of the cant. It is described, but few examples are recorded. I take the paucity of examples to indicate that informant and interpreter feared to repeat the exact words, since they were not engaged in war or protected from its dangers. One illustration is given: "Even if a horse is meant, if it has kicked or thrown a person, in this changed language [the war language] it may be called 'merely a life feather,'"³ a circumlocution flattering to the horse and signifying its identification with supernatural speed and lightness.

The following explain the 'war' or 'altered' language:

When the warriors entered the enemy's territory, the leader told the men to use special words for the animals and booty they hoped to seize. They called the changed language 'war talk, not talking plainly.' The Navaho did not speak 'war talk' in their own territory because they believed the enemy would attack if they did. The warriors communicated in war talk for one to three days of the journey. When the leader decided that the appropriate time had arrived, the party lined up in a row facing the enemy's country (cp. *Danger line*, Concordance B). At dawn the leader started a song in which the rest joined. At a certain point in the song all turned toward their homes and the common language was resumed.⁴

Turtledove, sent by Monster Slayer to report on the two old warriors who had attacked Taos, returned with the following message: "The warriors, Turtle and Green Frog, did not go anywhere unless they spoke a language called 'irritably they speak.'" This term is explained as a sort of 'twisted language used by warriors.' Either the word symbol was slightly changed in the code or a special meaning known only to fighters was given to the words. Monster Slayer's warband, advancing on Taos, spoke only in the war language.⁵

The Black Dancers in the war ritual must whisper the war language to one another during their performance,⁶ for they represent the Hard Flint Boys, who appeared to Monster Slayer's party on the eve of the attack on Taos.

Similar to the war language is the ritualistic language of the Rain Ceremony, which emphasizes water.

"While in the hogan all conversation had to contain reference to water or to rain. Metaphoric substitution was made. For example, if someone entered, it was said, 'someone is floating.' If that person sat down, he was said 'to have stopped floating.'"⁷

Such circumlocution shows that neither it nor the war language is distinctive; both are variations of the common language for ceremonial purposes; a device of sympathetic magic.

Various quotations have demonstrated the compulsive power of the word. The following examples further illustrate the close identification of person, mind, word, and power and its extension to objects and means:

When the war party was ready to charge, each man talked to his horse: "Be lively; you and I are going into danger, my horse. Be brave when you go to war and nothing will happen; we shall come back safely."⁸

As the war party was about to leave home, the leader instructed the men to spit on their bowstrings and rub them. Then they were told to rub their legs and bodies with their hands and do the same with their arrows. The leader told them that their weapons were like human beings, that they had a mind, that if the warrior was a coward his bow and arrow would be timid. The spitting and rubbing strengthened both men and weapons (cp. Chapter 7).⁹

There are restrictions on as well as requirements for speech: the Stricken Twins got into trouble by disregarding an order for silence; the young man in the whirling log was enjoined to speak only to himself or sing sacred songs; Dark Thunder's

party exerted themselves to prevent Winter Thunder from uttering a single devastating word (cp. Chapter 4).¹⁰

Next to the simple combinations of ritualistically significant sounds (Chapter 15), the simplest linguistic form is the name, usually derived from war. It is conferred by a successful warrior, preferably one old enough to be beyond the possibility of further harm by the uncontrolled evils. In former times and even today among the orthodox, the name was pronounced by its owner only 'if he got into a tight place'; undue repetition wears out its power. A person's name should be his secret possession, something like pollen which he might pit against evil. If he alone knows it, he can gauge the extent of its power; if it is in someone else's possession, he cannot depend on it and it may even be turned against its owner. The secret names of the enemy were among the most important weapons. There are uncounted instances in which mere knowledge of a name and its mention overcame powers.

In the various myths that relate the adventures of The Twins, someone told them the names of the four guardians of Sun's house and, by merely mentioning the names, The Twins gained access to the premises.¹¹

Big Fly told Scavenger the names of the eaglets on the ledge where he had been dropped by his enemies, and he was safe because the old eagles addressed him by the eaglets' names.¹²

After Self Teacher had gained the confidence of Deer Owner's daughter (and wife), the girl divulged the names of her father and mother, as well as her own. In his chagrin and grief at seeing his bears overcome, Deer Owner called out their names, thus inexorably forfeiting his power over them.¹³

Attacked by a windstorm, Reared-in-the-mountain overcame it by pronouncing his own name for the first time; later he quieted thunder and lightning with it.¹⁴

Knowledge of their names greatly assisted Monster Slayer

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in overcoming the various monsters, but Sleep reversed the process by mentioning Monster Slayer's name.¹⁵

Names are often exchanged, one reason being to express cumulative success.

The dominant Twin got his best-known name, na'gé' nei'zyání, 'One-who-repeatedly-slew-monsters,' from his exploits. In childhood and adolescence he was simply called Firstborn. In the introduction to a War Ceremony prayer he is called neidigá'hí, 'One-starting-out-for-repeated-killings, One-setting-out-for-slaughter.' Father Berard remarks that "this name seems more powerful than the ordinary name. . . . If other means have failed, this invocation is employed in prayer."¹⁶

Monster Slayer was also called bił najno'ltłí'jí, 'Let-down-on-a-sunbeam,' to commemorate his descent from the sky.¹⁷

Child-of-the-water, called Secondborn until he had

CHART XVII

TWELVE-WORD FORMULAS

<i>I Hail Chant</i>	<i>II Hail Chant</i>	<i>III Hail Chant</i> ¹⁹ <i>War Ceremony</i>
Earth	Earth	Darkness
Sky	Sky	Dawn
Mountain Woman	Mountain Woman	Yellow-evening-light
Water Woman	Water Woman	Sun
Darkness	Darkness	Talking God
Dawn	Changing Woman	xa'ctc'é''óyan
Talking God	Sun	Boy-carrying-single-turquoise
xa'ctc'é''óyan	xa'ctc'é''óyan	Girl-carrying-single-corn-kernel
White Corn	White Corn	White-corn-boy
Yellow Corn	Yellow Corn	Yellow-corn-girl
Pollen Boy	Pollen	Pollen Boy
Cornbeetle Girl	Cornbeetle	Cornbeetle Girl

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achieved something, was later called *neidi'gici*, 'One-who-repeatedly-cuts-here-and-there-with-a-knife,' because he took care of the monsters after his brother had killed them, disposing of their bodies and cutting off the trophies.¹⁸

The formula is a combination of names having tremendous power. It, like the words of the war language, is usually omitted from the texts, probably because its value is not sufficiently realized by recorders. The names included in each formula should be spoken in exact order—none should be added, none repeated, none omitted. Although *tłá'h* laid great emphasis on the exactness of the twelve-word formula of the Hail Chant, it is found in his text in three forms. I have discovered three other series of words that seem to indicate such a formula and I give all in Chart XVII so that they may be compared.

CHART XVII—*Continued*

TWELVE-WORD FORMULAS

<i>IV Twelve-word song</i> ²⁰	<i>V Holy People in painting</i> ²¹	<i>VI Words of prayer</i> ²²
Earth	Earth	Earth
Sky	Sky	Sky
Mountain Woman	Darkness	Sun
Water Woman	Dawn	Moon
Talking God	Yellow-evening-light	Darkness
<i>xa'ctc'é''óγan</i>	Sun	Dawn
Boy-carrying-single-corn-kernel	Talking God	Talking God
Girl-carrying-single-turquoise	<i>xa'ctc'é''óγan</i>	<i>xa'ctc'é''óγan</i>
White-corn-boy	Male Corn	White-corn-boy
Yellow-corn-girl	Female Corn	Yellow-corn-girl
Pollen Boy	Cornbeetle Girl	Pollen Boy
Cornbeetle Girl	Pollen Boy	Cornbeetle Girl
		Restoration-to-youth-boy
		According-to-beauty-girl

The formula of Column I is repeated after the bundle application just before the short singing of the Hail Chant; that of Column II, in which Changing Woman and Sun are substituted for Dawn and Talking God, during the corn-meal sprinkling of the sandpainting; and that of Column III after the restoration of Frog's children. I do not know the reason for the changes.

The series of Column IV is also incorporated in a song, called the 'twelve-word song of blessing,' sung when the War Ceremony rattlestick is deposited, generally for correcting possible mistakes. Father Berard adds the following explanation:

It should be noted that the chief words only are considered for the twelve-word mention. The song is so well-known that the natives recognize it immediately, although there are numerous other songs of twelve words, which are never recognized as such but are designated by other names. Omissions or alterations are not allowed in the twelve-word song.²³

From these data it would seem that the number twelve is important and that the series are modified for particular occasions. It is likely that words and order, like other symbols, are changed for cause within a single ceremony; unfortunately, the causes have not been ascertained. I believe that the picture *Twelve Holy People* is an illustration of the deities whose names are mentioned in the formula; they are arranged as in Column V.

In what seems to be a song formula of the Flint Chant there are sixteen names, twelve of the usual sort and four of mountains. In a prayer intoned at the cake baking, fourteen words are mentioned (Column VI). The names correspond with the formulas in the kind of deities addressed; they differ in the form, which is song or prayer. A twelve-word song is recorded for the Night Chant. The

only sequences that are exactly the same are one of the Hail Chant and the twelve-word song of the War Ceremony (Column III).

The power of the word is as strong for evil as for good, an inverse wish being a curse. One form is name calling; another a malediction similar to ours, "May such and such happen to you!"

The chief who exceeded his powers in punishing adultery was called 'The-red-one,' 'The-changing-one,' 'The-two-faced-one,' 'The-one-with-two-fronts,' and when the horribly deformed creatures resulting from his punishment returned, they taunted the people with these names, and cursed: "One-eyed persons will continue to exist forever! Noseless ones will exist always! We shall accept no prayers and no songs will be ours! Absolutely nothing will move us!"²⁴

A group that seems to consist of the same beings came to a Fire Dance held for Big Knee. As the women left the dance circle, they screamed, "May the waters drown you! May the lightning strike you!"²⁵

The gambler who was finally overcome by Sun's child was so angry at his defeat that he hurled maledictions at the people: "I will kill you all with lightning! I will send war and disease among you! May fire burn you! May the waters drown you!"²⁶

Changing-bear-maiden's brothers were extremely provoked by Coyote and, before they knew he was present, cursed him; when he appeared, they somewhat tempered their language, for they always feared him. Later they got their revenge. Although he was not entitled to it, he insisted on having the fat that grows around the horn of the mountain sheep, the chief hunter's prize, but as he cut it, the Brothers put a curse on it: "Turn to bone! Turn to bone!"²⁷

Monster Slayer, much annoyed by two old men who wished to join his war party, shouted at them, "yil tśá'xóckali," a common untranslatable Navaho curse.²⁸

Formulas and prayers are accorded equal reverence, the same restrictions being placed upon both. Formulas, an

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elaboration of name power, differ from prayers in having no context. The prayer is a formula in the sense that it functions because of its exactness, completeness, and order. It has content, usually not much disguised by metaphor, and also context, much of it clearly expressed narrative; its main purpose is to identify the person prayed for with the powers addressed. The subject of Navaho prayer is so extensive that I have discussed it in *Prayer: The Compulsive Word*.²⁹

Since the myth belonging to a ceremony differs from the lay myth or tale, it seems to be a synthetic symbol of the chant. One, the myth of Blessing, may explain the position of all tribal ceremonies. Still unpublished, it is perhaps the most inclusive. Each chant myth embodies in an interestingly constructed plot a reason for the diverse and intricate items of ritual and, in addition, has a detailed description which explains rite, properties, and behavior, comparing them with the figurative and symbolic text of the narrative proper.

Although the story has several functions, it is not an indispensable part of the chanter's lore. Many chanters today sing before learning the myth, but if they wish to 'be sure' of their technique and want a secondary guide to the song series to fix the items and events quite thoroughly in mind, they learn the tale and are able to tell it in minute detail.

P A R T T H R E E

R I T U A L

CHAPTER 17

SONG

SONG, AN indispensable part of ritual, a link between dogma and symbolism, has linguistic, literary, and musical aspects. Although many Navaho songs have been collected, few have been analyzed, the summaries being based on small samples of selected songs.¹ It is doubtless presumptuous to discuss song without discussing music, but since the prospect of the musical analysis is dim, I suggest some problems that should be tackled. Music will certainly be found to be a part of sound symbolism; most likely even its components—melody, rhythm, phrasing, and the like—have an independent function as well as a function related to the whole. The musical patterns are just as systematic and varied as the rest of the ritual; they should be determined and their significance demonstrated.

An obvious question is the relation between language and song. Pitch and quantity are outstanding features of the phonetic system, devices for distinguishing grammatical forms and, therefore, meaning. There are two primary tones, one neutral in value and one relatively higher, and two secondary tones, one rising, one falling, actually combinations of the primary tones. Closely associated with the tonal pattern is quantity, for there are short and long vowels. A half-length is differentiated, but seems to have no phonemic significance. In song linguistic tone and quantity are subordinated to the music.

Songs among the Navaho, as among other Indian tribes,

may be disguised by syllables, which on the surface seem to have no meaning. Furthermore, syllables that have meaning may be separated by syllables whose chief function is to fit the word to the music: that is, words and sentences are lengthened by the addition of syllables, either by insertion or by increment.

The following illustrations may be noted:

Shortening of vowels (they may even be dropped entirely):

(normal) 'ei ye''i'ná 'ei níyá, ' with this life has arrived '

(in song) 'einiya 'eiye-'ina'-h²

Increment:

(normal) dza' níyá níyá, ' so far it (chant) has arrived '

(song 1st line) dza niya dza niya

(song 2nd line) dza niya dza niya neya

Syllable insertion:

(normal) xa'yáo'ye'' xa'yáo'ye'', ' one has emerged over the rim '

(song) xa'yao'-wo-ye xa'yao-wo-ye

Distortion:

(normal) xóyé''ê' xóyé''yâ', ' things are weakening, how terrible '

(song) xoye'h weye'-ta ai''

(normal) 'aya'γά, ' he is going in under '

(song) 'eyo'h

Distortion and dropping of syllables:

(normal) 'aγi'í'yá yah'íyíniyâo, ' in he has come inside upon entering '

(song) na-'aγi'í'ya 'ya'e'niyo

(normal) yah'í'yíniyá 'aya'γά, ' he has come in, he is coming in under '

(song) yah'eniyo 'eyo-h

Navaho is a very breathy language, much being made of *h* and *x*; the presence or absence of the aspiration, even its intensity, is one indication of difference in meaning.³ The *h*-sound is rarely if ever lost. It may stand before a consonant, for instance, and it may affect a voiced sonant by combining with it to form a surd (for example, *h-j > c*). *h* and the glottal stop (') have a place in song sometimes quite different from their function in the language. The Navaho find no difficulty in singing the aspirated sounds; in fact, there are more in song than in speech. Similarly, those of us who do not use the glottal stops might consider it impossible to sing them. Navaho songs, in which the lyrical effect is enhanced by aspiration and glottal stop, show the fallacy of such a conclusion. Other so-called 'difficult' sounds, such as *γ*, *ɬ*, *tɬ*, *c*, are often not changed, distorted, or omitted.

Much has been made of the meaningless syllables in primitive, particularly North American Indian, songs. AB helped to record, transcribe, and translate the explanation of the song series of the Big Star Chant; his translation differs from all others extant in having a great deal more content. I do not believe the difference is due to the chant materials, for the Big Star Chant belongs to the exorcistic side just as does the War Ceremony, for which there is a reasonably complete set of songs.⁴ The song content in both is in many ways quite similar. The translation has greater import, I think, because the Navaho was better able to find his way through the disguising syllables to the essential meaning. Furthermore, AB insists that there are no 'nonsense' syllables, that all have meaning. Possibly the syllables constitute another kind of symbolism which a full analysis of the songs may prove to exist. Perhaps Father Berard's informant agreed with AB when he said, "The words have no meaning, but the song means, 'Take it, I give it to you.'"⁵

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Navaho ritual contains many onomatopoeic elements, which may exist independently without 'word content' or may be stems, parts of words depending upon grammatical forms. For this reason and because other unusual devices are incorporated in the ritual, it seems quite possible that the nonsense syllables may have a meaning to one who understands the full context of a rite, even if they never became linguistic forms, a possibility all the more likely since the Navaho who suggested it has rarely been wrong in his interpretations, no matter how farfetched they may have sounded at first. Further investigation with other informants and with texts has corroborated rather than refuted his suggestions. Probably few individuals understand the musical-syllabic meanings, even as few understand other types of symbolism, especially the complicated associations. The musical material so far published is unsatisfactory because it refers to tunes or burdens as the 'same' and 'different.' These words have been shown to be meaningless unless a Navaho definition is given for them. How are the tunes the same? How do they differ, and from what? A rewriting of some of the prayers so that the deviousness of repetition is brought out led to the discovery of intricate rhythmic patterns. A mere glance at the content of some songs shows that they closely parallel the prayers. Although a tedious task, all the songs of a given chant should be recorded if the musical, literary, and ritualistic pattern is to be fully understood. Songs of different chants should be compared as sand-paintings are. I am convinced that certain sets of songs—those of Monster Slayer, Thunder, Talking God, and Dawn, for instance—would show great similarity.

I have said that prayers are harder to learn than songs because of the emotional strain involved.⁶ Matthews seemed to think the songs were more difficult to master because of

their vast number.⁷ He mentions also the requirement that many must be sung without error, indicating that the attitude toward songs and prayers is the same. He further considers the myth a mnemonic device so helpful that a chanter depends on it to remember his songs. I have often heard songs started wrong and corrected simply by a new start as soon as the mistake was realized. tšá'h depended on his songs to recall parts of the Hail Chant myth; he remembered the song though he forgot the plot. Moreover, if a chanter learns the songs though not the myth, he may perform a ceremony; if he knows the myth but not the songs, he is considered incapable of carrying out the chant—he is simply in possession of miscellaneous information.

The conflict between Matthews' opinion and mine is doubtless not serious, for it probably means no more than differences that any two contemporary investigators might find. Emphasis may have changed in the sixty years or more between Matthews' recording and mine. His chanters were almost certainly more rigorous than those of today in their care for ceremonial detail, since the forces making for cultural breakdown had only got started in his day and had not affected a large part of the population.

It is more likely that the differences are due to the materials with which we worked. The Night and Mountain chants should be performed only in the winter; the Shooting, Hail, and Evil chants may be sung any time they are needed. The emergence ritual deals with the most dangerous past, the travail in the lower worlds and the transformation and control of this one, all to be handled with extraordinary circumspection. Once overcome, the monsters should be commemorated, but remembrance, as in the Shooting Chant and War Ceremony, need not be as strongly emphasized as it was the first time (cp. Chapter 14).

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More to the point, however, is the suggested reciprocity between various parts of the ritual and what it does for the chanter, his type of mind determining which part of it helps him with another and how. The myth is dramatic and plot may be impressive to some minds. The ritual includes the action, but only implicitly. The songs follow the structure of the ritual much more closely, and the music suggests the organization. One mind relies on plot and action for its cue; another operates better if it can recall what is done. In doing, one sings. Consequently, it is understandable that the myth has lost emphasis while the songs have gained. Ultimately, the ideal of every chanter is to know the chant completely. Each viewpoint helps the others. Some symbols, like song, are indispensable; some, like myth, though desirable, are not absolutely essential.

Origin of Song

The etiology of song is psychologically illuminating. The Navaho are sentimental and eager to express emotion. Isolation has been suggested as a reason for the individualistic character of the Navaho (Introduction). In myth an ever-recurring theme is loneliness. Crying originated in loneliness and from crying came a song.

When Child-of-the-water left Changing Woman, she was overcome with sorrow. She cried and from her crying came a song.⁸

When Child-of-the-water joined his brother, the latter wept for joy at seeing him, but from these tears 'nothing else [that is, no song] flowed.'⁹

I find these peculiarly interesting passages; one indicates a positive development—loneliness to crying to song; the other, a negative statement, very significant since it explains the

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tear's greeting, an expression of joy, social rather than religious.

Nostalgic crying, brought on by contemplation of natural beauty, is also indicated as an origin of song.

The hero of the Mountain Chant disobeyed his father by going to a forbidden place. From the top of a hill he beheld the beautiful slopes of a mountain. Clouds hung over it; showers of rain fell. As he greeted the land with appreciation he was overcome with loneliness and homesickness and, weeping, he sang a song.¹⁰

Matthews records a lament for a pet turkey that arose in grief; the translation does not indicate whether it is a song or a prayer.¹¹

The Stricken Twins, after an endless journey acknowledged as children of Talking God, were again cast out by the gods. They had to set out on a quest for goods to pay for a curing ceremony. The poor blind one told his lame brother to mount on his back once more. In despair they walked down the canyon, weeping over their mistakes, knowing not where to turn. Without purpose or direction, they cried; at first they uttered meaningless syllables, but after a while they found words to sing. The Holy Ones, hearing a song, inquired of one another, "Why do they sing?" They sent Talking God to bring the children back. The blind boy resisted, but his brother urged that they return and find out what the gods wanted. Arriving where the gods were, they were asked, "What was that you were singing as you went along?"

"We were not singing," they answered. "We were crying."

"Why did you cry?"

"Because you sent us away and we had no place to go."

"What kind of song were you singing?" asked the god.

"We certainly heard the words of a song."

Three times the boys insisted that they were merely crying, but when asked the same question the fourth time, the gentler one explained, "We began to cry; we turned our cry into a song. We never knew the song before. My blind brother just made it up as we moved along." Then he sang the song which described their helplessness and despair and included

a statement that they would be restored to health. The song impelled the gods to take counsel once more, and they decided never again to turn their children away with no means of saving themselves.¹²

This poignant excerpt shows not only faith in ritualistic aid as a counsel of despair but also the compulsive power of song, which could break even the resistance of the gods, the exact function of Navaho songs today.

The origin of song as a warning or sign given by a protector is suggested by the episode in which The Twins tried to learn who their father was.

Four times the children asked their mother before she answered, "Far away your father lives. Between here and there every conceivable danger lies. So don't think about it any more." They lay still, talking and planning, and soon they heard a song. Their mother scolded them when they accused her of singing it, saying, "Who would give me a song? How could I get a song?"

As the boys persisted in planning a journey to Sun, the younger one heard a song near the door. Then he said, "That must be a young man's song. That will be my song."

He prayed with the song, then both boys heard it, but it was not a young man singing; it was the cover of darkness that protected the youths, a sign that their plan would be successful.¹³

Function and Types of Song

The number of Navaho songs is incalculable. The 576 songs Matthews mentioned as actually sung at performances of the Night Chant he witnessed are the very minimum and do not include those for the various branches or phases of the chant. tǎ'h knew 447 for the Hail Chant and had forgotten some. To most rites and chants belong many more songs than are introduced at any one performance. Just as the sandpaintings or prayersticks for a chant are few compared with the number possible, so songs are selected from a large repertoire. Some

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songs are favorites or required and may be heard often; some are appropriate only under unusual circumstances; occasionally one song and no other will do.

Best known are what Matthews called 'songs of sequence,' a group of songs set up in a definite order that should be preserved and belongs to a rite, ceremony, or chant. Such sets, incompletely recorded though they may be, are complex in structure and function, and furnish the basis for the subsequent discussion of "Content and Structure of Songs" (pages 291ff.).

According to Father Berard, a minimum of 131 songs of sequence is required in the War Ceremony, a relatively small number, supplemented, however, by a very large number of informal or spontaneous songs contributed by the visiting chorus. The Big Star Chant is less often performed and would hardly be considered a major chant, yet we recorded 238 songs of sequence for it.

Matthews, in an early work, "Navaho Gambling Songs," refers to the large number of songs concerned with the moccasin game. One old man said there were four thousand, and another that there was no creature that walked, flew, or crawled in all the world known to the Navaho that had not at least one song in the game and that many had more.¹⁴ The reason is almost certainly that the game originated as a contest for day and night in which all living things participated. The samples recorded are simpler than the chant songs; the words, at least, impressionistically characterize an animal or person. Owl, for instance, repeats: "I do not want the night to end."

Chickenhawk sings of his rival:

The old owl hates me.
I alone bring home many rabbits
That is why he hates me.

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Gopher cheated by chewing a hole in the moccasin, thus enabling the guesser to see the stone hidden in it.

Gopher sees where the stone is
Gopher sees where the stone is
Keep striking! Keep striking [the moccasin in which the
stone is hidden]!

The account suggests that a charming descriptive narrative drama could be reconstructed on the basis of these songs alone. Their music must differ as much as their literary quality from the long, repetitious chant and rite songs.

After the pilgrimage for collecting waters from the sacred mountains had been accomplished for the Rain Ceremony, the chanter wove the separate events into a song, unfortunately not recorded (*Rain Ceremony*, Concordance C).

The primary function of song is to preserve order, to co-ordinate the ceremonial symbols; a secondary purpose must be enjoyment, if we may judge by the effort exerted by the lay Navaho to attend and participate in the ceremony, for it is unlikely that he knows the deepest significance of the songs.

The example of the song coming from the cover of darkness just cited shows how tangible the Navaho feel the songs are. The song not only came from the cover, it was the cover. Time and again song and a blanket or curtain are identified. A song moving out into the space immediately surrounding an individual—for example, a horseman riding at night or anyone alone and fearful—establishes a zone of protection that gives comfort, for within it is the person who dissipates the evils by the compulsion of sound and words at the same time that he buoys up his own spirit (*Covers*, Concordance B).

Horned Toad Youth sang for Monster Slayer when he attacked the Gray Gods: "The song was set as a cover upon

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every deed that The Twins performed against the monsters.”¹⁵ In the foregoing examples the verb refers to a blanketlike protection; here the verb means something more, like a lid or bottle stopper.

Songs were said to be kept in a paunch and were referred to as casually as cookies in a jar. In line with the song of the living creatures is that of the kernel of dried corn that begged for attention and water.¹⁶

Song may be a demonstration of inner strength.

Overcome by the Arrow People, the younger Twin said to his brother, “I wonder how strong I am inside; I’ll try to speak out,” and forthwith he started a song and was able to finish it.¹⁷

Like blowing, song may cause increase in size. In one version of the emergence myth, when the World Pillars began to sing, the small model of the earth stretched to its present size.¹⁸

Song has numerous powers, each defined by something in addition to the song itself, and it seems as if the expression of pure joy is subordinated to other functions. Narration, description, and repetition are often compulsive in songs of sequence. Unless a warrior had been killed, rejoicing in the form of gloating and reviling was incorporated in a serenade after the return of a war party. Though enjoyed because of victory, the serenade, like other parts of the War Ceremony, was exorcistic; saying a thing was true made it true.

The importance of song is summarized by the excerpt: “Changing Woman taught songs to her two divine children, admonishing them, ‘Do not forget the songs I have taught you. The day you forget them will be the last; there will be no other days.’”¹⁹

Songs are a form of wealth. Individuals own songs for increase and prosperity, songs belonging to the fetishes of

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domestic animals and the bundles of the simple domestic rites devoted to family or group welfare.

Hill emphasizes the difference between songs owned and sung by chanters and those 'belonging to the whole group.' "A man should not keep these [the latter] secret because they refer to food and are essential to the life of the people. They should be taught to anyone who asks for them and a man should not have to pay for them."²⁰

The commended attitude was displayed when negotiations were made for the dedication of the Gallup stadium. "Will there be any objection to singing the songs of the House Blessing?" the chanter was asked. "No, because they belong to everybody," was the answer.

Poverty is framed in song terms: "I have always been a poor man. I do not own a single song."²¹

Songs, like other forms of wealth, may be exchanged. At an impasse an evil power—Star, Thunder, Snake—says, "My offering, my song, my prayer, I will give in exchange for my life."²² No one should sing a song unless he can prove ownership, his right to sing it.

Some songs are individualistic. RP composed a song for each of his grandchildren shortly after its birth and, as soon as the child was old enough, taught it the new song. We ought to know if and how such personal songs differ from the ritualistic ones and whether they were a general custom or merely the whim of a doting grandfather. Unfortunately, I did not follow up the matter.

One day, when the lesson at the Hogan School was about birds, RP came in as was his wont. As the name of each bird was written on the blackboard, he quietly sang the bird's song. It was not the imitation of a bird call; indeed, it had little, if any, of such character. As far as I know, such songs have not previously been reported. They may belong to

ritual, but I heard them as a spontaneous expression. Perhaps they belong to the moccasin game, played to decide the length of day and night.

Statements about women's singing conflict. Their shyness and aversion to singing in public do not mean that women cannot or do not like to sing at all. They have lovely lullabies and teach other songs to little boys and girls. MA taught such songs to her grandchildren, yet I never heard her sing.

To the Navaho, song is a necessity; it is an inspiration, a hope, a protection and comfort, a guide to one in want of a procedure, a means of transforming frustration into power.

Content and Structure of Songs

Song accompanies all phases of ritual—preparation, use, and disposal of ceremonial items—and is, as well, a summary of the complete performance (Chapter 20; *Vigil*, Concordance C). Much that is treated in prayer is repeated in song, which is nevertheless freer, fuller, more inclusive.

The preparation of the chief symbol of any ceremony is a good example, as the account of the War Ceremony rattlestick demonstrates. The ten songs have key themes:

In set 1:

- 1 ...he is making it for me
- 2 ...he has made it for me
- 3 ...he has brought it here for me
- 4 ...he has placed it in my hand
- 5 ...he has put tallow on it for me
- 6 ...he has made it red for me

In set 2:

- 7 ...he is decorating it for me
- 8 ...he has decorated it for me
- 9 ...now he is taking it away
- 10 ...again everything has become safe.²³

Songs with these themes are required; a prayer and five other songs of blessing are optional at a War Ceremony

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performance, but seem culminative, since the singer learns them at the end of his apprenticeship. Probably no performance includes all five and the prayer, selections being made for the particular occasion.

The song content parallels closely that of the prayer. For instance, in prayer Monster Slayer is invoked through the bow symbol marked on the rattlestick; explanations of the various applications to the rattlestick are cited. The songs mention what Monster Slayer is doing, what he has done, what will happen; both prayer and song catalogue the good that will come to the patient.

The second set of War Ceremony songs mentions each relative of the patient who with him expects to benefit from the ritual. The set that goes with the prayer emphasizes motion: ²⁴

- 1 Here it stood upright among us when it started to move up repeatedly
- 2 Here it stood upright among us when he [the patient] started to move about
- 3 Here it stood upright among us when he arose
- 4 Here that by means of which he moves about the earth stands upright
- 5 Here that by means of which he moved about the edge of the earth stands upright

In this set, places, the parts of the rattlestick, the symbolic jewels of which it is made, and the safety of the space around it are mentioned.

It is to be expected that songs belonging to different rites stress different details, not only because of the character of the rites but also because of the symbols that enter into relationship. The ultimate effect is impressionistic because each word includes a great deal that is ritualistically intelligible to the Navaho, if not to the white man.

Songs of exorcistic rites express strong emotion—vengeance, triumph in victory, retribution—elements I have not found in the Holy ceremonies. Neither song nor prayer includes pity, patronage, humility, or gratitude for blessings con-

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ferred. Since the Navaho can never be better than he thinks he is, or his lot than he says it is, he alludes to fear, but does not mention it directly. The Blackening songs contrast the apprehension felt in enemy territory with the security of home; characteristically, both ideas are applied to persons:

Into the ground with [their spirits]
Everywhere in his own country I wish the enemy may die.

but:

In all parts of the Navaho country rejoicing, flute-playing, and peace have returned.

and:

. . . down into the ground with the enemy, down into the ground with him [that is, with his spirit, by means of beating the pot drum].²⁵

The songs continue with a vivid description of the slaughter, of the enemy's shortcomings and inability to protect his womenfolk from disgrace—really a curse put into song.

Songs referring to deeds in the Navaho country are 'attractive' in their content; they identify the patient with success and safety, with long life, with the favorable ritualistic symbols of the blackening as they apply to the Navaho, and they also mention the exorcistic symbols as they apply to the enemy. Whereas the first set of songs curses as it drives out fears, the second mentions the same details with assurance that they are controlled, thus demonstrating the Navaho faith. The evils have been scattered, repelled by the ritualistic machinery (cp. Chapter 11, *Alternation*). The pattern of reviling and the change to satisfaction is similar in the Male Shooting Chant Evil and the Big Star Chant, both of which belong to the Evil side.

A song group of the Big Star Chant, containing eight songs

for the ascent and eight for the descent of the cliff, describes the anger of Spider and Swallow People at Coyote.²⁶

Corresponding with the subjects and treatment included in prayer, songs of sequence are mainly descriptive and narrative. The song burdens concerned with the making of the War Ceremony rattlestick illustrate a common narrative feature that is fundamentally linguistic, for it depends upon the tense-aspect system of the verb. In Navaho, verbs of action and motion are differentiated in a rather simple tense system—present, past, and future—and a complicated aspect system—progressive, momentary, customary, inceptive, and cessative.

Often, therefore, the burden of the song has a tense or aspective change to indicate progression from a wish to an accomplishment, a linguistic device related to the symbolism of motion (Chapter 13). Hence, there are songs and prayers, as well as sandpaintings, whose theme is motion. Similarly, too, there is emphasis on place and its description. Several groups of songs having different purposes illustrate these emphases. Generally a song or a song set demonstrates more than one of these points.

Farm songs belong to the entire tribe and are sung for the planting and maturation events rather than for a particular ceremony.²⁷ The initial song refers to seed planting; it describes the place for planting, the seed, and offerings made to the seed (or perhaps to the earth). The verbs are first in the form 'I wish it to be . . .' and change later to 'It is becoming . . .' The second song repeats the sentiments of the first, but in the form 'It has become so.'

The songs of the second interval refer to the sprouting of the corn in terms corresponding with those of the first interval. Time is allowed for growth, then song indicates the appearance of tiny blades above the ground, another the

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fresh yellow-green appearance of the field; another celebrates the normal growth of the corn; a song states that the 'corn loves me' and is therefore doing well under my hand; another, that the leaves are large enough to touch one another when the wind blows; still another, that some plants are large and cast uniform shadows over the field, that red silk has appeared, that pollen has formed. Subsequent songs refer to the harvested ears, emphasizing the crackling sound made when the fully developed stalks are pulled. There are songs to describe the plucking of the ears and the piling of bundles gathered and dumped in the center of the field. The next song describes the extension of the piles of corn—'it increases by spreading'; another summarizes by describing the harvest as a whole. The pattern does not change for the husking, which is again described by sound—'now from my hands it gives forth a sound'—or for the drying, which completes the harvest.

Many song sets from the Night Chant would illustrate the progression, but I choose the scene analyzed by Matthews that concerns the safe entrance to the gods' home called White House in Canyon de Chelley. The sequence is based on a myth relating how Dawn Boy entered the house and returned safely to his home. As he did in ancient times, so now the human incumbent does symbolically, the various stages of the journey and visit being emphasized—an example of identification by recapitulation or commemoration (Chapter 7). Since the only approach to the sacred house was by way of the canyon walls, there was a song for ascending the cliff, one to enter the first doorway (representing the entrance to all connecting rooms), a song for walking around the inside of the house, and one for the visitor preparing to leave. The songs for entrance had power to subdue the fierce guardians—Lightning, Bears, Red-headed Snakes, and Rattlesnakes.

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Dawn Boy was taught how to enter the White House; he was to sing the proper songs at the following points: when he got to the place where the White House gods could see him, when he presented offerings to the house owners. In the last song he told who he was, whence he came, and described the gods' home and his own way of entering it.

The prayer was taught to Dawn Boy as he stood on the sacred buckskin (*Prayer on buckskin*, Concordance C).

He sang on his return journey: as he started away from the door, he sang the theme 'with . . . I return'; as he walked four hundred paces, he sang another song; when he crossed a hill, he sang the theme 'with it [power] held in my hand [I move]'; when he was far enough from the White House to see it behind him, yet to begin to think of home, he sang a song quite different from the others, describing the mountain near his home.

Thinking he was still a long way from home, he sang as he ate his lunch, the song having the pattern of the first set with the theme 'now Talking God's food I am about to eat.'

When he had finished eating, he sang the song that now accompanies the administration of pollen with the theme 'xa'ctcé'óyan's food I have eaten.'

Crossing the valley, he sang the burden 'in safety I walk about.'

When he got to the door of his own home, he sang, 'my home I am approaching.'

After entering, he sang, 'I sit down in my home.'

His relatives begged him to tell the story of his journey, and after they had sung a song at his request, he told of his adventures to prove that he had visited a truly holy place.²⁸

Comparable with this series are other song sets, many of them not as thoroughly interwoven into the text or ritual descriptions, at least in the available records.

. . .

Two main verb-stems indicate singing: One is -ta'ł, 'singing, singing and orderly ritual' and 'having possession of protective lore':

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xatá'l, 'chant, rite, ceremony'

dzil xatá'l, 'place where masks are kept' (lit., 'mountain sacred lore')

xata'li, 'one-who-chants, chanter, medicine man, singer'

'átcá' naxodjita'l, 'she had power to ward off danger from herself'²⁹

'a'dji' nixodjita'l, 'thus ends one's chanting'

The other stem, -á'l, is more intimately related to the 'word' and to speech. It may even be the same stem as that for 'a round or handy object moves,' or a derivative. Apparently both word and song are thought of as 'round things,' a classification that explains how songs may be kept in a paunch or jar. Some of the words based upon this stem are generalized in meaning; others are specific for ritualistic description.

nde'íá, 'it has been sung through to the end, end of a song'

ndé'á, 'he has sung it'

nná'náyide'á, 'he is about to start singing another (set of) song(s)'

nxidide'c'á'l, 'I shall finish singing repeatedly'

xaxidide'c'á'l, 'I shall start to sing (them) one after another'

xaná'díc'a, 'I am going to sing again'

dí'di xaná'náyidi'a'hígí, 'another of a series he is about to start singing'

'axóná'to'l'á'i, 'that which is a song to symbolize (recall, commemorate) the episode'

xóná'ti'te'stá, 'the song representing the episode has been sung'

These stems and the words formed from them are interesting in comparison with the noun for 'song,' which has a complicated series of corresponding verb-stems, referring,

however, not to singing or song but to holiness, reverence, prayer, and, in the passive voice, to sorcery.

The following are some of the derivative expressions of sin, song: *si'l*, 'with (accompanied by) song'; *sin bikazí*, 'stem (original, basic) songs'; *sin bikétl'ó'l*, 'song root, song that suggests another.'

Words indicating groups of songs probably have different specific meanings, although they are sometimes used interchangeably:

sin sidja', 'songs in a group because they have the same melody'

dabi'yin 'axa' dadidja'hgo, 'songs arranged in alternating groups'

sin bina'ndja'i', 'songs belonging to a group because they branch off from a single stem'

sin ba' dahsidja'i', 'songs that branch forth from a center'

sin 'ahn'ti', 'songs-strung-according-to-time, theme songs, songs representative of the set'

sin dahdi'ti' nixodjita'l, 'the song series of the chant starts'

sin na'zti'i', 'songs-strung-here-and-there, songs that represent several phases of the same episode' (for example, the hiding of Dirty Boy of the Endurance Chant, his sister's missing him, finding him, pulling him out of the fireplace)

sin 'átša' da'zti'i', 'songs omitted at a particular performance'

sin 'aká' xa'zti'i', 'strung-out-barely-touching-the-surface, songs omitted at a particular performance with the expectation of using them at another time; songs for alternative performance'

sin 'alké' ndja'i', 'songs of sequence, songs that (must) follow one another'

sin be' nixo'l'á, 'concluding songs, songs by means of which singing comes to an end'

Chapter 18 will explain the relationship between offering, exchange, and payment, illustrated by names for songs:

sin be' na'i'ni'hi', 'songs by means of which trade is carried on.' Such songs are owned individually, sung for success in acquiring wealth. Like the Farm songs, they do not belong to ceremonies.

sin be' ná' 'i'ni'hi', 'songs of disposal, songs by means of which sacred objects are disposed of'

The following show variations in the meaning of a single phrase. The variety of interpretations, common to many Navaho words, should make us consider that those above cited may be similarly varied according to their context:

'atla' ná'lyé'l 1. 'concluding series of songs.' 2. 'last song of dancers in Night Chant.' 3. 'last song of Girl's Dance of War Ceremony (falsetto).' 4. 'summary of discussion or decision in ordinary speech'

'atla' ná'lyé'l be' naxayáh, 'atla' ná'lyé'l xatá'l, 'concluding ceremony of chant, concluding rite of a series of rites, a ceremony made up of rites was required and this is the last'

'atla' ná'lyé'l sin, 'concluding songs'

'atla' ná'lyé'l tsodizin, 'concluding prayer'

Probably bitse' sin, 'tail songs' of the War Ceremony, is another way of expressing 'concluding,' the same as 'atla' ná'lyé'l, which is sometimes translated 'tail end of.'³⁰

The term 'alná xo'nił indicates alternation of song groups, of details within songs, or of sets.³¹

The reality, the tangibility of song is demonstrated by the verb-stems that picture the objects they predicate:

-dja" (from -djił) of sidja" means 'a limited number of separate objects of a kind exist.' Songs thus referred to are similar in melody (music).

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-ñil of xo'ñil (from -ñil) 'separable objects, which may or may not be of the same kind, exist or are moved'; 'ahná xo'ñil, 'they (songs) move into space crossing,' that is, 'alternating.'

-ti (from -tìh) has several meanings: 1. 'lie (exist) in a line' (as a taut string or wire). 2. 'lie in a uniformly organized fashion' (of a well-thought-out argument). The difference between this stem and -'áł, 'a round or convenient object lies or moves,' is that the latter refers to each word or sound separately, whereas -tìh calls to mind a linear organization of the separate parts.

CHAPTER 18
PRAYERSTICKS

Forms

THE WORD 'prayerstick' is essential to a discussion of any Southwestern religion. The thing for which it stands occurs in many forms besides the feathered stick from which it takes its name. In Navaho the name is *ke'tá'n*, which probably means 'place-where-it-is-feathered, place-of-feathering.' Many forms not of sticks with feathers are called *ke'tá'n*, probably because they serve the purpose of invoking supernatural aid, rather than that they actually look alike. For example, hailstones of meal and herbs and specially selected stones invite some of the Hail Chant deities. On the other hand, many objects not invocatory—bundle items, for instance—are called *ke'tá'n*. They may represent a good many different things; in some cases they are the chant symbols (explained on page 311).

The leading symbol of the War Ceremony, called *'ayá'ł*, *'ayá'łtsi'n*, though having an etiology similar to that of the bundle talking prayersticks, is more like a feathered stick than a rattle. It is not used like a rattle, but rather like a flag or standard. Father Berard, relying on the literal translation of its name, has called it 'rattlestick.' The chant symbols of the Shooting Chant are permanent properties of the chanter's bundle (*Bundle contents: SC, 8 and 9, Concordance C*); the rattlestick is made for each performance of the War Ceremony. The bundle talking prayersticks are topped with fluffy feathers; feathers are a part of the rattle-

stick, but are almost hidden by large twigs and yarn, particularly red yarn.¹

Another example of *ke'tá'n* is the wide board of the Shooting, Hail, Navaho Wind, and Water chants. In practically every respect the wide boards are bundle items as important as the talking prayersticks and comparably significant. The seriousness with which invocatory prayersticks are regarded is attested by the prominent place given their description in the chant myths. Certain parts of the ritual may be left out of the story, but in the major myths no detail is spared concerning the prayersticks; time and again fear is expressed lest the offerings prove unacceptable. One man said, "They are just like a written invitation"—they differ in that the recipient is compelled to accept the invitation if properly proffered.

Matthews and Kluckhohn-Wyman have discussed prayersticks in detail,² yet a good deal remains to be learned about them. They are so complicated in their connotations that if we understood fully everything about them, we should know almost all there is about Navaho religion.

Since *ke'tá'n* has so many meanings, I use the term 'prayerstick' to designate symbolical objects having ritualistic value, whether or not they are feathered. The subdivisions of this chapter suggest the points at which prayersticks should be set off from other symbols.

Invocatory Offerings

I call 'invocatory offerings' the symbols deity refers to as 'my offering' (*ciye'l*) or 'my featherstick' (*cike'tá'n*), the means by which a god is persuaded. Matthews distinguishes 'cigarettes' ('reed offerings' of Kluckhohn-Wyman) and 'wooden kethawns' ('prayerstick offerings' of Kluckhohn-Wyman), and says that the latter are usually made less carefully.³ By 'cigarettes' he means the invocatory reed offer-

ings, because they may contain tobacco, among numerous other things, and are ritualistically lighted by holding a crystal to the sun. The conceptual difference between the reed and the wooden ke'tá'n is so slight as to be negligible. Those of reeds may contain the complex of offerings within the hollowed internodes; those of solid wood are laid with the offerings around or on them; both kinds may be ceremonially lighted with the crystal. The smeary effect of the paint on the wooden prayersticks—as compared with the smooth application to the reed—has no significance, being due merely to the rougher, less absorbent nature of the material. The correct application of design is stressed, no matter how the finished product looks. I shall discard completely the terms 'cigarette' and 'wooden kethawn,' calling these composites rather 'invocatory offerings,' 'invocatory prayersticks,' terms that enable me to include a great many things not necessarily composed of reed or wood and sometimes not even feathered. A brief quotation from the chanter's description illustrates the way he regards the 'invitations':

"A white cloud was laid down. Three [pieces of] reed were brought in. Blue willow was brought in. They were three fingerwidths long and pointed at one end. Sixteen talking prayersticks were made. Eight prayersticks were cut. *Artemisia frigida* was laid beside them and reed across them near the center. Each had eyes and a mouth. There were Cloud prayersticks—Dark Cloud, Blue Cloud, Yellow Cloud, White Cloud. There were others [prayersticks]. The Dark Water, Blue Water, Yellow Water, and White Water prayersticks were merely painted [had no designs].

"Eight down feathers were arranged. Bluebird feathers were laid with them. Four canary feathers were rolled into a ball and pressed into the Cloud prayersticks with a tamper. Down feathers of the long-tailed chat, rolled into a ball, were forced into the Water prayersticks. An owl tail feather was the tamper. The prayersticks were filled with tobacco. They were lighted with a rock crystal held to the sun and the flame was

extinguished with water. They were sealed with cattail pollen mixed with water. A down feather was laid on each of the Cloud and Water prayersticks. The prayersticks were laid on the talking prayersticks. The owl tail feather was dipped in water and passes were made with it."⁴

The excerpt describes several invocatory prayersticks of the Hail Chant. Others require jewels, honey, sparkling rock, and corn meal. Anything prescribed for the solid wood pieces is laid beside them, if they have not been hollowed out. A bit of cotton string, said to be from one of the pueblo villages, is laid with soft feathers on Shooting Chant prayersticks. With a turkey beard brush the patient 'paints' pollen on them from butt to tip, taking care not to allow the light objects to blow out of place by the slightest degree. The Water prayersticks of the Hail Chant were painted all over with earth paints; many of the Shooting Chant prayersticks have designs, some similar to sandpainting elements, but usually simpler, less realistic. As the facets with eyes and mouth indicate, the prayersticks are looked upon as people; they are often said to be 'dressed.' No two chants have the same details; many conform to the general pattern. Kluckhohn and Wyman describe jewel offerings, apparently without prayersticks, and other types may be met with.

I have demonstrated the similarity of figures in different chants and noted the slight variations to indicate the setting—chant, branch, phase, mythological episode, and its significance (Chapters 19, 20); I have suggested that the same sort of resemblances and deviations are a part of song sets to respective deities in different chants. Comparable alterations occur in the prayersticks for similar reasons. To interpret the prayersticks and know which to choose, one must become thoroughly acquainted with the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of each deity.

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Invocatory prayersticks of Sky, Earth, Sun, and Moon were selected for the last day of both Sun's House and Prayerstick branches of the Shooting Chant; they were also the offerings of the War Ceremony (in myth) before the war on Taos and when the warriors started on a second raid.⁵ In the Sun's House branch the sandpainting was the Sky-Earth picture, in the Prayerstick branch it was the picture of Day Skies (*Prayersticks used: SC Sun's House branch, Concordance C*). The figure painting, carrying the same symbolism with additional elements, was made in the 'presence' of these paintings—that is, of these deities—and the songs and prayers corresponded. Thus by repetition in varied forms it was possible to amass a tremendous accumulation of powers. Although representations of many given powers may often be combined, the whole will doubtless never be absolutely identical. In one rite a particular power may be emphasized by repetition in various guises; in another the same one may appear only once, possibly in a minor role.

The reason for the selection and the accent may be specified in myth; it is conveyed to the witnesses of the ceremony by prayers and songs which include honorific names of deities and the commemorative basis for the ritualistic acts—a restatement of dogma.

Navaho sentiment generally favors learning and remembering rather than recording in a permanent medium. Yet in 1924 I saw a collection of sample prayersticks near Lukachukai. A man, then over seventy, had arranged a prayerstick of each kind for his chant—perhaps thirty or more—in an unbleached muslin case so that he could refer to them whenever necessary. He had modeled the collection on that of an older man, his teacher.⁶ At one chant I attended near Ganado a middle-aged man had paper sketches of the prayersticks. RP referred somewhat slurringly to his dependence on

paper, not to deplore the permanence of the patterns but to ridicule the man's lack of confidence in his memory.

Offering and Reward

I distinguish between offering and reward more for the sake of convenience than because the difference is very significant. By an offering I mean something tendered to compel assent before support is granted. By a reward I mean a material or non-material object given or an effort put forth after aid has been granted. Even the promise of a reward may be an offering, as it was in the case of Monster Slayer who, when he asked Sun's aid in overcoming the monsters, promised the Taos maidens. Originally heroes had few possessions; their ability to 'offer' depended upon the success of an exploit rather than upon actual possessions. The promise then made the difference between offering and reward chiefly one of time. An offering was presented to a stranger; a reward to a relative whose kinship ties compelled aid. Changing Woman, 'our mother,' sometimes gives upon request. Once when she advised her son (Turquoise Boy), she did so 'expecting offerings from him.' First Man and First Woman must have white corn meal sprinkled to them at night; their offerings must be remembered,⁷ not because these gods bring man good but so that they may not render futile the good that may come man's way.

In the Flint Chant are examples of different kinds of offerings: the one to the chanter, the offering of a jewel to a stone that may have injured a person by rolling on him, the offering of ashes bread to the chanter as a reward for singing (that is, a ceremonial rather than a material payment), the offering of a pouch containing tobacco and pipe instead of a prayer-stick to Gila Monster.⁸

Knowledge of what a deity will accept is of prime impor-

tance in handling invocatory offerings. An offering may be of the simplest sort; Earth People's greatest original difficulty was to discover its pattern. Since effort, even suffering, were often required to learn the design, the prayerstick is an 'offering'—it is sometimes called a 'sacrifice.' Prayersticks, like other ritualistic property, are a part of the system of payment and exchange. Knowledge of the indispensable songs and prayers that go with the offerings is wealth. When a difficult deity has been overcome by one more powerful, he promises to give his offering, song, and prayer for his life. The three must go together; any one or two are inadequate. Coffee and flour are acquired at the trading post in exchange for something. Offerings are exchanges, tokens to curry deific favor. In Navaho religion no service is gratuitous; it is interchanged, measured, traded, the benefits being reciprocal.

The bead token (Concordance B) is an example of a reward, as is the profit the singer derives from performing any ceremony. The bead token is a symbol of blessings incurred by the patient, a means by which the gods recognize him as 'their child,' a reward for being sung over. A perfect turquoise is the chanter's token of having sung the chant, a recompense for his training and acceptable performance.

Deposit of Offerings

The care with which all offerings are made is paralleled by that with which they are deposited—a demonstration of ritualistic etiquette. Offerings must be found by the deity to whom they are appropriate where he would look for them. Chanters give assistants explicit directions about the place and method of deposit. Since planting prayersticks properly requires trustworthiness and a sense of responsibility, a patient prefers to have a close relative do it for him.⁹ Generally, requirements for deposit are specific, depending upon

the prayersticks, chant, and other factors. It is said that offerings should not be placed at the north of the ceremonial hogan.¹⁰ Prayersticks of the Holy ceremonies are usually set out somewhere else, but offerings, which in the Evil chants serve the same purpose, should be set at the north, where dangers and evils dwell.

When prayersticks are offered to different deities, each kind may be wrapped in a separate folder—of cornhusk or unbleached muslin—and deposited at designated spots, sometimes a long rite. Or a single wrapper may contain them all; in this case a neutral point, partly fulfilling the requirements for each, is chosen.

In the Shooting Chant, prayerstick offerings may be made to Big Snake, Arrowsnakes, and Blue Lizard at the same time. According to the myth, they should be deposited in the crooked root of a pinyon tree; according to JS, under brush near animal holes. Those of ordinary snake (rattler) should be put under greasewood, those of Arrowsnake at the edge of a hill, those of Blue Lizard near a heap of black rock. One spot could hardly meet all these requirements, but it may be considered representative of them all.

Talking Prayersticks

The 'talking prayerstick' (ke'tá'n yáltih) is confusing because of the Navaho habit of including different kinds of things under one name. It has been discussed as if it were always the same.¹¹ The talking prayerstick is doubtless a property necessary to every ceremony, but one that takes on numerous forms in different chants. Much more should be learned about its manifestations.

Many chanters have a pair of talking prayersticks, one male, one female, made of aragonite or wood with eyes and mouth of inlaid jewels, bound together with yarn or twine,

decorated with feathers and jewels. A chant property, it furnishes individual protection when carried, makes a prayer come true if held while the prayer is intoned. Dire consequences befell the mythical heroes who forgot to take it with them. The chanters I know all have a pair of talking prayersticks; one pair seems to be enough even though they may know several chants. Rain Singer's and Wind Chanter's were of aragonite; RP's, of the same material, belonged to his bundle of Blessing rites, and was not destroyed at his death.

I think that the indispensable prayerstick—actually a pair made one—is derived from the mythical pair of deities, 'alké' na'a'ci', 'One-who-follows-the-other.' *Navajo Creation Myth* contains more references to this pair than any other account, though they are far from clear.

In the second world 'alké' na'a'ci' were created as hermaphrodite twins by be'ȳotcidí, but, because Black God did not like them, he cut them into small pieces and rearranged their parts with reeds. He then breathed into the body of the male through a reed, and a great sound began in their bodies. Near the mountains of the east, white cotton began to move; in the other directions, blue, yellow, and black cotton moved, rose, and changed into clouds. Black God treated the female the same way and under the clouds that arose vegetation appeared.

In the third world be'ȳotcidí created the pueblo Indians—Zuni, Hopi, and Taos. To the Taos he gave a male reed, to the Hopi a female reed. Since he and the other gods living with him wanted the Hopi and Navaho to be friends, they gave a female 'alké' na'a'ci' to the Hopi, a male to the Navaho.¹²

Rain Singer said he got his four aragonite talking prayersticks from a chanter of the third generation of owners; one male prayerstick came from Taos, a female from Oraibi, and a pair, male and female, from Walpi (*Bundle contents: Rain Ceremony, Concordance C*). References other than Wheel-

wright's suggest that talking prayersticks are the symbol of motion.

Other references in Wheelwright are: 'One ceremony is the story of One-follows-the-other, another is the prayer and song, and another the song only. . . . The spirit of One-follows-the-other is the spirit of life and also the spirit of Wanderer-in-the-dark. . . . be'γotcidí in this world took the 'alké' na'a'ci', motioned toward all creation, and it came to life. . . . After the first man died, be'γotcidí reported that he had seen the deceased below in the third world and with him the shadow of the 'alké' na'a'ci'.' ¹³

Since there was said to be the special ceremony, and 'alké' na'a'ci' are set apart from the rest of the deities, Wheelwright may be describing the original and all subsequent talking prayersticks.

Rain Singer says that the pair sa'a na'γái and bíke xójó are the same as 'alké' na'a'ci'.

We ought to know what is meant by male and female in the above references; I suggest that 'hermaphrodite' may in the context mean a male-female pair, bound together as are today's 'talking prayersticks.' I shall refer to such a pair as a 'personal' or 'traveler's' talking prayerstick, since they seem to provide special protection for people in a doubtful position, usually away from home.

. . . .

If the 'personal' talking prayerstick is the general symbol of individual security, the 'bundle' talking prayersticks represent the confidence inspired by the chant. The Shooting Chant myth accounts for them as the earthly replicas of Sun's original jewel arrows. The Twins struggled long and hard to acquire. Sun sent a gleaming turquoise arrow into their midst, left it just long enough for them to memorize its

pattern, then withdrew it to the sky, saying the names would serve for the actual arrows. A similar etiology is given for the War Ceremony rattlestick.¹⁴

There are five talking prayersticks or wands in the Shooting Chant and Mountain Chant bundles, eight in the Hail and Night chants. They are called *ndi'á*, 'those-which-project-upward,' as are the bundle objects of other chants that can be stuck into the ground. The permanence of the bundle talking prayersticks, the transitoriness of the rattlestick seem to make no difference in their functions. Since these symbols are a major item of many ceremonies, I suggest that they be called the 'master symbol,' that which many ceremonies have in common.

In the Shooting Chant and War Ceremony myths a prayerstick kept at home warned of danger that threatened Monster Slayer abroad. I call this the 'warning prayerstick'; it seems to be a mentor or messenger form of the talking prayerstick, which lighted up when its protégé was in peril. By its brilliance it communicated with its own guardians and those for whose sake it existed. The association between Sun's arrows, bundle talking prayersticks (Matthews' 'plumed wands'), and the mythical warning prayerstick is close and well substantiated: I expect to find some corresponding symbol in other ceremonies, but do not expect its appearance or explanation to be simplistic.

The numerous talking prayersticks mentioned elsewhere are probably duplications and manifestations of the talking prayersticks just described. The chant sung for me had as its ostensible purpose blessing for travel; the Prayerstick branch symbol consisted of eight pairs of so-called 'talking prayersticks,' two pairs of which were stuck upright in the ground floor of the ceremonial hogan in each of the four directions to serve as guards for my safety. They were made especially for

the chant and afterward disposed of. The Hail Chant myth, like that of the Shooting Chant, mentions large numbers of talking prayersticks as invocatory offerings. In explanation tłá'h said, "The talking prayersticks are those that have eyes and mouth."

Each of the Sky People in *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XXII, holds a talking prayerstick because it represents the departure from Changing Woman as the people set forth upon a journey. In Roman Hubbell's drawing of this picture painted by RP, the prayersticks are exactly as tłá'h drew them for me for the Hail Chant.

Mythological references to talking prayersticks, unfortunately not so described as to designate the kind, have a protective function.

First Man owned prayersticks of whiteshell, turquoise, abalone, and jet, wrapped in unwounded buckskin; these he never laid aside. He carried them when he went to investigate the phenomenon of the cradle on the mountain.¹⁵

Said Changing Woman to her children, "These talking prayersticks will be with you in your blanketfolds to guide you and to speak to you on your return journey."¹⁶

As Monster Slayer set off to find the lost tribe of Navaho, he told the people, "Get things ready in four days." By 'things' he meant the talking prayersticks that had directed the people on their journey.¹⁷

On the fifth night of the Shooting Chant, Holy Man volunteered to fetch water to moisten the basket that was to serve as a drum. It seemed such a small, casual errand that he did not take his talking prayerstick with him. Water Monster, owner of the spring, drew him down into the water realm and did not release him until powerful gods appeared whose spokesman was the talking prayerstick. Placated, Water Monster explained, "If Holy Man had brought his talking prayerstick with him, this would not have happened."¹⁸

co had been drawn down by the Winds. Talking God came with his unravelers, which acted like a yo-yo. After they had

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shown him where the hero was, Talking God restored co's reason by means of the talking prayerstick.¹⁹

As Holy Man in forbidden territory prepared to skin a mountain sheep he had killed, he laid his arrows aside. Because he was unprotected, he was captured by Thunders.²⁰ In this episode the arrow and talking prayerstick seem to be associated.

Buffalo arrows were the reward for sparing the Buffalo chief after he was overcome. They are described as the *tó bo'oltá*, 'bundle talking prayersticks' of the Shooting Chant.²¹

There are at least three kinds of talking prayersticks—one for personal, individual protection, especially when traveling; one a symbol of Sun's jewel arrows, represented as plumed wands (*tó bo'oltá*) in several chant bundles, and as the temporary rattlestick of the War Ceremony; and one similar to the invocatory prayersticks with the mentor-messenger function. Talking prayersticks should always be carried for the owner's safety no matter how trivial the errand that takes him abroad. No chanter, assistant, or patient should go outside the ceremonial hut without a blanket, lest he leave behind his 'pocket,' including his protective symbols.

CHAPTER 19

CLASSIFICATION OF CEREMONIES

OF THE several classifications of Navaho ceremonies the most inclusive is that of Wyman and Kluckhohn, which is based partly on Father Berard's terminology.¹ My own attempt, far from complete, was arrived at by another method. Instead of starting with the comprehensive view, which assumes that each chanter understands the religion as a whole, I began with the details. Proceeding from the specific to the general, I find myself with a vast number of details—mythological episodes and incidents, rites, color, sound, directional symbols, ritualistic acts, and the like—bound together in a complex organization. Any one of the parts may be slipped from one context to another with ease and with what the Navaho considers complete consistency.

Interpretations always differ and it is to be expected that mine will not agree completely with those cited. None of my Navaho informants concurred in the classification of the ceremonies, each being deeply concerned with the details of his own knowledge but only vaguely or hesitantly with the entire scheme. In other words, generalization is our affair, not that of my Navaho acquaintances. I do not have a single instance in which a Navaho attempt at theoretical summary checked with observed practice, whether it had to do with weaving, farming, or social or ceremonial organization. The situation may be duplicated in our own or any other society because each individual makes his over-all judgments on the basis of his own limited experience, which is rarely repre-

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sentative. Consequently, since in any case Navaho religious organization is confusing, another exposition should have some weight.

Father Berard recorded Gray Eyes' myth of the Male Shooting Chant Holy, I translated it, Wyman and Kluckhohn consulted it for their classification. We were all exposed to the same material, though not equally, since our purposes were different. The differences in our conclusions lie in interpretation—the Navaho interpretation of our queries and our interpretation of their statements. Despite what I have said about generalization, the details of all our materials agree remarkably well.² For example, from the time I first analyzed the Shooting Chant myth I considered the following excerpt of prime significance in classification: "But if one should perform all this and use the wrong prayerstick, the patient does not recover and another sing is required. So one after another is tried. Finally, the wise men try out the War Ceremony. If the right chant is happened upon, one is sufficient to cure the patient."

Wyman and Kluckhohn see in it a mere qualification subsidiary to their main argument; consigning it to a note, they remark, "The practice of trying one kind of ceremonial after another in stubborn cases . . . is frequently observed."³

There is no difference in data: the Navaho gave his unsolicited opinion; Wyman, Kluckhohn, and I differ about weighting. Since I have frequently encountered in practice exactly what the myth states and since myth is spontaneous, I hold such remarks to be major evidence. To Wyman and Kluckhohn they are secondary, worth merely an incidental note.

My disagreement with Father Berard arises from different, irreconcilable viewpoints about linguistic analysis and translations, and from my experience in the ceremonies. He was

not a participant of the 'ways' he records. These two methods, the linguistic and the observational, are interrelated, for the latter permits checking theoretical and folk etymologies by behavior, bringing out the relationship of the particular to the general, and employing a large number of informants and interpreters on a single ritualistic point rather than the spoken opinion of only one.

Based on a consideration of Navaho and English meanings, together with the analysis of Navaho ritual, my terms are somewhat simpler than those of other classifiers. Except for 'chant,' they are as self-explanatory as the English translations warrant. For several reasons I omit 'chantways' and Father Berard's largest category, 'ceremonial.' The latter is such a useful word that the exigencies of writing make me loath to restrict it to a specialized service. I may refer to all performances, whether they last an hour or nine days, as 'ceremonies.' In many cases 'chant' is synonymous with 'ceremony,' although at points they differ. They cannot be distinguished by any one feature or even by a combination of a few; their uniqueness is in the whole.

By a 'rite' I mean the short combinations of ritualistic acts that form a ceremony. For instance, I would call the bath or the offering of prayersticks a rite. I consider each element of one of the shorter complexes a 'ritualistic act.' When I refer to the 'rite of breathing in,' I have in mind a succession of acts—the patient leaves the hogan, holds out his arms, and, with cupped hands, palms up, symbolically draws the sun into his mouth. On the other hand, breathing in, as exemplified by acceptance—for instance, of an offering—may be merely a ritualistic act, not a rite at all.

A chant (*xatá'l*) cannot be infallibly defined: it is a particular organization that includes many things, not all the same and not always even having the same value. The short and

often mixed affairs that last for only a night or a few hours, or that may go on intermittently for days, are more properly a succession of rites or cures. Chapter 6 demonstrates the futility of defining chants by the diseases they purport to cure. Father Berard has picked upon the presence or absence of the rattle as a differentiating feature.⁴ The Bead Chant is called *yoe' xatá'l*, yet no rattle is required for it. The chant is rather a combination of many symbols and the knowledge of what they signify. The information itself, even without the performance, may be referred to as *xatá'l*. The heroine of the Endurance Chant was possessed of power that enabled her to ward off evil, such as Coyote's temptation. Her power is referred to by the same verb-stem in 'chant' and 'chanter' and seems to mean 'power in the form of a charm to ward off danger' or 'lore that gives power because it is systematic' (cp. Chapter 17). Matthews introduced the word 'chant' because of the prevalence of song and intoning in the prayers, and since his day the word has taken on a special meaning for Navaho students that we may as well accept. A synonym would be 'a charm' in the sense of 'any action, process, or thing believed to have (magic) power.'

The problem of defining a chant is in part linguistic. In the chant names, two suffixes, *-e'* and *-djí*, have been treated as if they had some deep ritualistic symbolism and translated 'side, manner, way.' Literally, *-e'* is added to a word having an inclusive meaning; it may denote 'customs, ways, manners, tradition, mores, culture'; for example, *nakaih-e'*, 'Mexican ways, all the elements included in Mexican culture.' The suffix is relative; it qualifies by setting off Mexican from other customs, Navaho or American, for instance.

With a meaning hardly less restricted, depending on the situation but contrasting different aspects, is the suffix *-djí*: 'ana'djí, 'enemy side,' implies that there is a non-enemy or

friendly side. If one compares one phase of Mexican ways with another and the one not mentioned is understood, one may say *silverwork*-djí, 'concerning silverwork,' as against *weaving*-djí, 'concerning weaving.' Similarly, if one contrasts Mexican and Navaho customs, one may say *nakai*-djí, not *nakaih-e*, but one does not properly add -djí if more than one contrasting idea is implied.

-djí, which indicates pairing, explains, therefore, such a chant name as na'a'toe' baka'djí xótcó'ódjí xatá'l, 'concerning-shooting male-(there is also female) evil-(there is also holy) group-of-charm-symbols.' Since no comprehension of Navaho ceremonials is possible without understanding male and female, Evil and Holy divisions, it seems sufficient to translate the name Male Shooting Chant Evil.

The explanation of the meaning of -e' disposes also of Father Berard's implied question about na'gé'e'; he finds difficulty in the inconsistency that na'gé'e' is a legend of the emergence period but is not necessarily a rite. Doubtless a story 'concerning monsters' does not have to be assembled in such a way as to be a chant or ceremony, although it may be. Probably it will be found to be closely related to Stephen's emergence legend.⁵

In an attempt to clarify the confusion about an indispensable pair of words—xójó'djí and xótcó'ódjí—I summarize meanings I have heard:

xójó'djí 1. 'Good as opposed to evil, favorable to man as opposed to unfavorable, doubtful.' 2. Derivation of 1. by extension, 'that which attracts or is to be ritualistically attracted' as opposed to 'that which is to be exorcised.' 3. Of an organized complex, 'various rites based upon the basic myth of instruction,' perhaps even 'organized into ceremony' (*Vigil*, Concordance C).

xótcó'ódjí 1. 'Evil, bad, that which is to be avoided

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unfavorable to man, out of harmony.' 2. Derivation of 1. by extension, 'that which is to be driven away, exorcised.' 3. Of an organized complex, 'instruction, rites, and ceremonies whose main purpose is exorcism.'

xójó'djí and xótcó'ódjí have both general and specific meanings whose interrelationship may readily cause misunderstanding. diyinkeho (diyinkehdi) means 'according to that which is holy, that which ritual has changed from neutral (natural) to holy' (cp. Chapter 7). What is natural is also good (xójó); therefore xójó'djí and diyinkeho are opposed to xótcó'ódjí. My informants contrasted diyinkeho with xótcó'ódjí when referring to organization, but xójó'djí with xótcó'ódjí when contrasting good and evil, and details within the ceremonial complex. For instance, they made the main distinctions of Chart XVIII, then contrasted Red Inside phase ('i'te'ltci'djí), which is xótcó'ódjí—that is, exorcistic—with xójó'djí, which represents the normal, the usual.

Since Navaho ceremonial lore consists of a large number of parts, any one of which is in a sense as important as any other, no ceremony is minor, for if a less elaborate charm is necessary to a cure, it would be wasteful to sing a long, involved chant, like giving a blood transfusion for a slight scratch. The independent as well as the interlocking purpose of every ceremonial item is so vital that to assign one element, or one combination of acts, a greater or higher value than another is like considering a cogwheel more important than any of its cogs.

The explanation of Charts XVIII and XIX is based upon the following dogma as I find it from my analysis of different branches of a single chant, and comparison with available portions of other ceremonies.

Navaho religion, dogma, ritual, and practice must be looked at as an aggregate of diverse ideas, including every

possible phase of nature, deity, and supernatural power, of human perception, behavior, emotion, culture, and imagination formulated in myth.

From this congeries, which actually takes all time, space, existence, and sentience for its province, certain elements have been chosen for co-ordinating a single system or order. The selected items may be in one case material, perceptual, and emotional; in another, perceptual or natural only; but whatever they are, they comprise an integrated whole.

All things in the universe, materialistic and abstract, are viewed in terms of their effect on man. If he knows about them and can control them, they are good; if not, they are evil. Some things under only partial control are good when susceptible to that control; otherwise they are bad. Therefore, the fundamental subdivisions—good and evil—which are not absolute, overlap.

The good in all things must be attracted; hence ceremonial control invokes good in Blessing rites or ‘chants-according-to-holiness.’

The evil remaining outside ritualistic control must be driven off; hence the ‘evil-chasing ceremonies’ with emphasis on exorcism, but from which attraction of good is by no means absent.

Each ceremony is a complex, made up of many kinds of symbols, and is inclusive rather than exclusive, since there is no predictable limit to the items that may be selected.

Each subdivision of a ceremony, which I term ‘branch’ or ‘phase,’ is characterized by features that from our viewpoint are fortuitous and therefore not susceptible to scientific systematization.

Rites, which are further subdivisions of ceremony, may refer to a series of mythological events or dramatize a single episode.

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Ritualistic acts are the ultimate elements of which the larger divisions are composed. Their significance may sometimes be ascertained, but should not be expected to be the same whenever the act is performed. Each symbol has numerous interpretations, but the more we learn about it, the clearer it becomes that differences are not so much conflicting as associational and therefore, in the Navaho view, harmonious.

The scheme I have determined is as rational as an analysis of rationalization can be. Its simplicity is designed to allow flexibility. Chart XVIII shows how the various forms, branches, and phases of the Shooting Chant—the only one for which we have determining material—are set up.

Doubtless all Navaho ceremonies may be included in the classification; few except the Shooting chants are assigned with confidence. I am least sure in placing the male and female divisions in the same category as ceremony and chant, the reason being that I do not have any actual basis for differentiating male and female chants.⁶ RP and all my informants who sang the male chant said, "The female is quite different. If you know one, you do not bother with the other," implying that the other was inferior. Although Female Shooting chanters lived in the Ganado region, the female chant was sung less often than the male, perhaps because of the dominance of the male chant or the superciliousness of its singers.

I was told that the myth is very different from that of the male chant, having to do primarily with the birth and rearing of The Twins. It is primarily on the basis of this information that I put the female and male chants in the same category rather than in subdivisions of the same chant, which they may, of course, turn out to be.⁷ I would call them variants if the myth proves to be a more detailed development of some part of the male chant myth, or if the chant includes the same

CHART XVIII

CLASSIFICATION OF CEREMONIES

Good (emphasis on transformation from neutral to sanctified, on attraction of good)

- Rites of instruction
 - xóǵ'ǵǵí
 - House blessing (T)*
 - Girl's adolescence ceremony (T, I)*
 - Wedding (T)
 - Rain Ceremony (T)
 - Rites for subsistence and increase (T)
 - Agriculture
 - Hunting (related to and derived from other chants)
 - Purification rites (T, I)
 - Vigil
 - Life (emergency) rites (partly xóǵ'ǵǵí and parts of other chants) (I)
 - Flint Chant
 - kase'
 - Life forms of other chants
 - Life Shooting Chant
- War Prophylactic: Where-the-two-came-to-their-father (I, T)
- Chants According-to-holiness (diǵink'eho) (I)
 - Night Chant (winter only)**
 - Male Beauty Chant (winter only)**
 - Feather Chant
 - Bead Chant (winter only)**
 - Male Shooting Chant:
 - Branches:
 - Sun's House with phases:
 - xóǵ'ǵǵí
 - Red Inside
 - Dotted
 - Thunder Lies
 - Dark-circle-of-branches (Fire Dance, Corral Dance)
 - Sandpainting
 - Prayerstick
 - Hail Chant
 - Water Chant
 - Wind chants
 - Navaho Wind Chant
 - Navaho Many Sandpaintings Chant
 - Female Wind Chant
 - Male Mountain Chant
 - Female Mountain Chant
 - Eagle Chant (related to Bead Chant)
 - Female Shooting Chant
 - Female Beauty Chant
 - Red Ant Chant (JS says this may be a holy chant)
 - Hand Trembling Chant

CHART XVIII—*Continued*

CLASSIFICATION OF CEREMONIES

Comprehensive

Prayer chants (sodizin, perhaps part of xójó'djǐ)
Dark-circle-of-branches, Male Shooting, and Mountain
chants (perhaps others also)

Rites of instruction (probably na'γé''e') (T, I)
Hunting (T)
War (T)
Trade (T)
Gambling (I)
Excess (I)
Traveling which recalls ignorance of underworlds
(T, I)

War Ceremony

Evil (emphasis on
exorcism)

Male Shooting Chant Evil
Female Shooting Chant Evil
Endurance Chant
Upward Reaching (this and the preceding may be different
branches of the same chant, xadjí'nái, xa'ne'lné'he')
Big Star Chant
Mountain Chant Evil (probably Male and Female)
Red Ant Chant
Hand Trembling Chant Evil
Wind chants Evil
Striped Wind Chant
de'zla' (1. plan, purpose, intent, usually evil. 2. arrow,
weapon)
xa'cké (Scolding, War)
Flint

Chiricahua Wind Chant (Wyman thinks this is indepen-
dent of the system of Wind Chants above)

*T, emphasis on tribal welfare; I, emphasis on individual welfare. Both overlap.

**That is, the full form, a nine-night chant, is sung in winter only, although excerpts, or trial forms, may be sung whenever needed (Wyman-Kluckhohn, pp. 30-31; Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 106).

ritualistic properties with the same or even different interpretations. I interpret 'different' as including 'additional.' Matthews' account is of the Female Mountain Chant, but, since there is no information about the male chant, there is no basis upon which I can distinguish the two.

Branch and phase of the Male Shooting Chant Holy are modifications of the same story and the same general procedure, with emphasis on a different symbolic theme—in one case the Sun's House; in another, the temporary talking prayersticks; in another, the prayers; and in still another, the Dark-circle-of-branches. Each causes some modification of other details which must be carefully learned and practiced by the chanter, but not differences of initial pattern or of myth, variations in interpretation being slight.

Ordinarily red of the rainbow of the sandpaintings is on the outside, blue on the inside. Transposing the colors in the paintings and a few other changes constitute a phase, called 'Red Inside' (*'i'te'ltei'dji*).⁸ The phase counteracts the effects of extreme natural danger. Similarly, Dotted and Thunder Lies phases have slight differences in the songs, paintings, prayersticks, and prayers, but they drive out evil effects within the limitations of the Holy chants (Chapters 7, 20).⁹

Certain details of the Male Shooting Chant Holy and the Hail Chant correspond so closely that one seems, in certain respects, to be a branch or subdivision of the other. However, since their myths and interpretation are quite different, and since each has outstanding features, they must be considered as distinct.

Under the category 'rites of instruction' I include ritual that concerns general knowledge for tribal welfare. There is a long origin myth with which every chanter should be familiar, since it includes the fundamental rites for group well-being, a

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myth sometimes referred to as a chant, as are also some of the rites based on it. Such rites include the Blessing rite, frequently performed to correct or prevent mistakes, to remove the contamination of contact with the dead; House Blessing, Girl's Adolescence rite, wedding rite, Rain Ceremony, rites of restoration and installation. According to Wheelwright, there was a rite in which One-who-follows-the-other was especially featured. She notes that xójjó'djí is the "most universally understandable of all Navaho ceremonies," that it concerns the blessing of man's trail from life to death.¹⁰

My informants state that ideally chanters should learn the entire xójjó'djí lore before they take up the study of a particular chant (xatá'l). Gray Eyes, tǎ'h, RP, and others conformed to this requirement. In enumerating the chants they know, chanters often fail to mention the Blessing instruction, taking it for granted that the singers have mastered the essential background; some whose fundamental knowledge is sketchy list the Blessing rite and recorders put it down as a 'chant.'

On the other hand, some men never become chanters though they specialize in short rites, learning parts of the basic lore, which includes the more simple, sometimes very rare, rites. I predict that when the myth called xójjó'djí with its proper explanation is published in full, a great many of the scattered bits of information now extant, as well as the rites called 'minor ceremonies,' will fall neatly into place within it. The myth of instruction will explain why the great chanters are called upon for 'little sings.' All are part of the chanter's stock-in-trade, which he learned before he came to the more specialized xatá'l. Conservative chanters deplore the ignorance and carelessness of today's youth who tend to neglect the Blessing background.

Of the evil ceremonies there are two kinds: the War

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Ceremony ('ana'djǐ), directed primarily against evil due to ghosts of foreigners, and the Evil form of the chants (xatá'l), which dissipates internal evils, primarily sorcery and local ghosts. I have found exorcism directed more often against intangible and undefined evils, such as unappeasable animals—Coyote, Bear, Ant—than against individuals.¹¹

The War Ceremony seems to be in a class by itself. Made up of details quite comparable with those of the other ceremonies, it has additional elements such as the mock battle and give-away; moreover, the entire organization is distinctive. Nevertheless, it fits very well into the general scheme given here.

The Evil chants are held together by similar mythological episodes and rites; the material, though not adequate, indicates that their organization is comparable. There is some reason to consider the Male Shooting Chant Evil a branch of the Holy form. RP, when dictating the story of the sandpaintings to Sam Day, included the episode of Holy Boy marrying Big Snake's daughter and the change into a coyote to explain a sandpainting I saw in the Male Shooting Chant Evil.¹² JS considers the two stories quite different, though the same bundle serves for both, if the chanter knows the Holy as well as the Evil form (cp. Introduction). Whether they are separate chants or parts of one cannot be settled from the evidence in hand, and we must remember that RP tended to draw things together, whereas JS inclines to see each detail for itself.¹³

The Shooting Chant bundles have five bundle arrows, but in no performance I saw was the fifth, the down-feathered arrow, used. RP explained: "This [the fifth] is used in the Evil Chant if the patient has been wounded."¹⁴ Probably a distinction in the diagnosis would make the fifth arrow

imperative and cause such modifications as to make it a phase of the Evil chant.

'Emergency' describes a group of ceremonies whose organization seems more amorphous than the Holy and Evil chants. After considering Wyman's suggestions and reasons (personally communicated), I have accepted his catchphrase 'Life chants' for this group. They are composed of rites similar to those of the better-organized chants; among them some are distinctive and there seems to be freer choice of what must and what may be included. As long as some indispensable rites are performed at intervals, the period during which they are sung may be greatly prolonged and varied, depending upon the patient's condition. JS considers the following, all of which he knows, distinct: Flint (bé'ce'), Shaft (kase'), and Male Flint Life (bé'c bikā' 'i'ná'djǐ). Each probably represents a different selection of the available materials. RP considered bé'ce' and kase' the same, but the Male Shooting Chant Life branch different. I have noted Father Berard's failure to distinguish two subdivisions of the Flint Chant;¹⁵ here may lie the difference between bé'ce' and kase'.

The Wyman-Bailey account of the Flint Chant appeared after I had come to these conclusions, and I have since had a long discussion with Wyman.¹⁶ Their approach and data seem to corroborate my previous predictions, although we are still doubtful about the interpretation of Father Berard's versions A and B.

Wyman has recorded that his Upward-reaching-way and my Endurance Chant are based upon three tales.¹⁷ I have listed these as separate chants, for I think that they, too, although they have the same name, may differ somewhat depending upon which of the tales—Emergence, The-return-of-the-two, and Changing-bear-maiden—is the basis of the

sing. I have considered also the possibility that all three may prove to be episodes or parts of a single myth, the performances differing according to which is chosen.¹⁸ I have a good detailed text of the Changing-bear-maiden tale, with some explanation of the ritual, but I have not witnessed a performance. The chanter who dictated the text said it was the 'same' as the Big Star Chant which I saw.

My scheme and explanation include the ceremonies for which some comparative material exists. The Night Chant, some of the Wind chants, and, possibly, the Mountain Chant, all of which have numerous subdivisions, belong to the category 'good.' I would not even venture a guess as to their subdivisions, although Matthews indicates that the Night Chant has several and Frane Newcomb has found that the Mountain Chant has branches, possibly phases also.¹⁹

I hazard several other guesses to be discarded or adopted when and if an analysis based on story, observation, organization, and interpretation becomes available. One is that the story of na'gé'e', referred to by Father Berard,²⁰ is not the story of a chant, but of instructions about the prehistoric monsters, the tale of evil corresponding to the story of man's trail from the lowest to the present world. To some extent Father Berard's material corroborates the guess: the legend (of na'gé'e') is a complete unit in itself, but may be one of the origin legends on the assumption that Monster Way furnishes the concluding episodes of the origin legend.²¹ The statement is not particularly clear, but should be read with the Emergence myth, which comprises the teachings of xójó'djí, in mind.

At the end of the Night Chant myth the following explanation occurs: "And now [that which] is called Monster Chant, its blessing way had long ago been sung for [the people], they say. When the monsters had been killed,

Horned Toad Boy had sung it for them, they say. 'This [blessing way] will lie on all of [the chants], as far out as the chants extend. At the tip of all of them it will lie, [on] blessing way rites also,' Horned Toad said, they say."²²

Before interpreting the passage, I would change the translation to read 'monster lore' for 'Monster Chant,' since the suffix -e' may mean 'concerning' and not necessarily 'chant.' The last sentence I would translate: "At the conclusion [summarizing point] of all the chants this one will be. It will be the significant point of them all. It is not xójó'djí, that is, it is not Blessing Way, but Monster Way."²³ With these emendations, Blessing Way may properly be understood to belong to monster lore, which should be its opposite, so that any commemoration of the dark past may conclude with blessing.²⁴ Details of the instruction may, of course, be so organized as to form rites, as they are in the Blessing teachings. I would have supposed that the War Prophylactic Ceremony derived from this material, but Jeff King emphasizes its relation to Blessing Way (probably xójó'djí)²⁵—an example of classification by emphasis rather than by content.

I should expect the Feather and Eagle chants to be in the Evil division. They may, however, as easily belong to the Holy side, since the Feather Chant has god impersonators and other close affiliations with the Night Chant. In many respects the Eagle Chant resembles the Bead Chant and, since it has no evil-chasing connections, the Eagle Chant may be considered to emphasize good. Both probably owe their position on the good side, as well as the exorcistic emphasis, to the stress on hunting.

My 'comprehensive' category takes care of 'prayer ritual' (sodizin). Some medicine men, instead of learning a complete chant, learn the prayers and prayer songs of as many chants as possible, cutting a cross section, as it were, of the entire

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ritual. No example has been recorded of this important type of ceremony.

The Dark Circle or Fire Dance branch of any nine-night chant is another kind of cross section. Many chants have Dark Circle symbols and events, hardly apparent in the ordinary performances, but representing the chant whenever a Dark Circle branch is undertaken (see *Red headdress*, Concordance C).

Although some leeway may be allowed for the fact that in Navaho contradiction is more apparent than real, the inconsistencies in the record of the Flint Chant should have been explained. Several times the recorder and his informants say that Flint Chant is in a class by itself, that it is not concerned with ordinary curing, with evil-chasing, with the cutting of invocatory prayersticks, or with the administration of medicine on sandpaintings.²⁶ On the other hand, Flint Chant is said to be the same as *kase'* and *'i'ná'djí* (Life Way). JS told me that Flint Way (*bé'ce'*) is a word of the Holy People; Life Way, a word by which the Earth People denote the same thing.

The Male Shooting Chant Holy has a life phase that RP included as follows: "At this point of the story of the Buffalo, a separate chant branches off, called 'the prayer for life.' It is sung in cases of serious injury and the medicines are the same as those Holy Man used when he restored Buffalo-who-never-dies."²⁷

Father Berard's informants almost certainly meant that the purpose, emphasis, and function of these chants are the same. An analysis of the text ritual leads to the following suggestions. Apparently the two versions, A and B, the second of which Father Berard more or less scorns, are actually accounts of two forms of the Flint Chant, showing differences at least comparable to branches, if not wider disparity. In

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version B the offering to Gila Monster is a prayerstick (ke'tá'n); in version A, a tobacco pouch. This one item alone should have been a key to further inquiry and analysis. If it was not enough for a clue, differences in the songs, in the use of the pouch, in the restoration rite, in the act of the Flint or Branch Corral, and in the appearance in version A of pink (disqs, misleadingly translated 'sparkling') where version B uniformly has yellow (in prayers and songs, for instance) should have suggested the need for further inquiry.²⁸

Instead of following through the meaning of these differences, the recorder says, "Basing our estimate on these merits we have selected version A as the better text for our study of the Flintway." "The introduction of this group [of deities] is somewhat annoying." "... minor details and useless repetitions are quite frequent in that version [B]." "... he [the informant] apparently loses himself in a sham of repetitions."²⁹ In view of the Navaho interpretation of 'merit,' and the value the informant as well as the whole culture sets upon repetition, it hardly behooves a recorder to permit himself annoyance at his material or to deplore repetitions. Perhaps the informant is not ideal; to me he seems to have contributed much that the other chanter did not.

Let us discount the apparent prejudice of the recorder against his informant of version B and consider the information in the texts. The Flint Chant, *kase'*, and 'life branches' of the other chants stress emergencies judged to be more or less imminent, depending upon who is acting for the injured and the diagnostician, if one is consulted. The choice from a wide range of causes will determine the chant, branch, or details of the rites. For instance, a selection may be made from the application of dust from a buffalo track, tapping with the foot in the restoration rite, use of the stretcher,

stepping over crossed canes, specially requested prayers and song groups.³⁰

The emergency character of the chant is doubtless the main reason for its flexibility and emphasis. The importance of song is demonstrated by the informant's statement that in a serious case one sings even at night and all day, as well as by the interpolation of the vigil songs at intervals if the chant is continued for many days or performed with interruptions. Moreover, chanter and patient should keep awake for five days and nights, fivefold as severe an endurance test as the usual vigil.³¹ The Sun painting is so often a part of emergency chant excerpts that it seems to be characteristic. Laid in pollen, it is a part of the Flint Chant.

The relation between the Flint and Male Shooting chants seems close: the same character, Holy Man, is the hero in both; the members of the Holy family have the same names and are mentioned in the same order in both chants; the bundles are so nearly alike that either may be borrowed for the other chant; rites overlap. Many features recall Hail Chant, especially the seduction of the hero by Winter Thunder's wife and his destruction by Winter Thunder. The restoration rites are comparable with the same rites belonging to every chant or ceremony, all being similar in pattern and purpose, differing only in details. The Flint Chant bundle items may *revive* those struck by lightning, but those of the Hail, Water, Navaho Wind, Male Shooting, or Female Shooting chants *remove the effects* of lightning and hail. This differentiation partly explains the significant functional reasons that determine which chant is to be sung. In the myths of both Male Shooting and Hail chants, they, as well as Water, Wind, and Feather chants, are said to be closely related, and mythical episodes account for the relationship; for example,

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the school of instruction in the Land-beyond-the-sky included novices from all of these chants.³²

Instead, then, of making the Flint, kase', and Life chants the same or identical, we should say that they are quite similar, especially in purpose, but that the Flint Chant and perhaps kase' are emergency chants, whereas the Shooting Chants and others have a branch or phase that corresponds with the Flint, this subdivision being expressed by the term 'life.'

The life phase, influenced as it is by the chants to which it belongs, is probably analogous to the 'ways' described by Hill for hunting.³³ I do not believe that there were separate hunting ceremonies with many names such as he lists—Wolf, Snake, Shooting, and the like—but rather that each hunter abstracted the 'hunting part' of the chant he knew for the party's protection, just as each chanter carries out the rite of his chant to restore persons and animals to consciousness (*Restoration rite*, Concordance C). In other words, each body of lore provided for specific needs outside the chant organization just as it did for emergencies.

Distinguishing Symbols

The intricacies of ceremonial classification, not the least of which is naming, explain why the scattered accounts of Navaho ceremonies seem inconsistent. Once the classification with its subdivisions is realized, it would be helpful to have a sure sign for placing a performance within the scheme. That, however, is impossible, since we do not know the symbolic value of the various items of any except the Shooting Chant. The layman or uninformed person will be able to spot the determining symbols only if they chance to be prominently displayed. He could not, for instance, determine that the number or words of prayers or songs constitute a branch, or

that a repeated performance in which the symbol does not reappear, belongs, say, to the Sun's House or Prayerstick branch. Indeed, an experienced person could classify these chants only by skillful questioning. If we are ever to get a satisfactory classification and differentiation of the ceremonies and their subdivisions, the investigator must not excuse himself from the effort required. Despite the difficulties, much can be learned by intelligent observation and query.

If a performance is the first in a series, the characterizing symbols are likely to be outstanding. The personal or traveling talking prayerstick defined in Chapter 18 will tell little about the chant, but the master or bundle talking prayersticks may be of prime significance. A part of the chanter's bundle property, they can hardly be missed. In such cases they may be called the 'chant' symbols. Generally there is something in addition to the chant symbol to distinguish the chant—the wide boards of the Shooting Chant; wide boards and curved sticks, smooth sticks, *ni'cí'h*, *néji'*, and *ni'ctci'j* of the Hail Chant; the single wide board, curved sticks (crooks), straight and notched snake sticks, and slender sticks of the Navaho Wind Chant. Properties of this sort lie in a basket or on a blanket when not a part of the temporary altar (sandpainting or screen arrangement) or they stand in the sand around a painting.³⁴ In the War Ceremony the rattlestick (master symbol) is in evidence most of the time; in addition, the 'crowbill' seems to be the 'ceremony' symbol; correspondingly, the 'cranebill' is said to be the 'chief and leading pouch part' of the Flint Chant.³⁵ The difficulty in differentiating the master and chant symbols is that sometimes they are the same and sometimes both are among many other items, not all of which have the same significance. Chart XIX (page 348) indicates my interpretation of master, chant,

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branch, and phase symbols, certain for the Shooting and Hail chants, deduced for the others.

In some cases the observer can tell a good deal by the *time* certain rites take place. The first four nights and days of the nine-night Holy chants are primarily days of exorcism, although the prayerstick or offering rites on these days have the preliminary function of invocation. Similarly, the emphasis on the second group of four nights and days and the last night may be devoted to identification with holiness. Since exorcism and invocation are about equally divided on any day of a five-night Holy chant, their differentiation is more difficult. Though the Evil chants last only five nights, the time division within the period and the rites are so different from those of the Holy chants as to be determining.

The branch symbol of the Holy chants will doubtless appear at the beginning of the period calculated to attract good power. In the Sun's House branch the screen is set up on the fifth night; the Dark Circle is indicated by some symbol of the sandpainting of the fifth day and by slight modifications in rites and ritualistic acts. The visitor will hardly be able to detect differences in detail, but he will know by the name, Dark Circle (Fire or Corral Dance), that it is planned for the last night, even if the name of the chant, Mountain or Shooting Chant, is omitted. The uninitiated can tell by the cross in the center of a sandpainting such as those in *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plates XIV, XVI, XVII, and XXIV, that the picture belongs to the Dark Circle branch, but in some pictures there is no cross symbol to represent fire. The novice could help the specialist by finding out the full name of the chant, for the Dark Circle indicates only the subdivision, not the chant itself.

If the Holy chant lasts five nights, the branch symbol will probably be apparent on the first night or day, since in this

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type of performance, each day is divided between exorcism and attraction instead of four nights being devoted to each. The eight pairs of temporary talking prayersticks for my chant were cut and planted even before the hogan consecration. These symbols might easily be overlooked by a casual visitor, for they are small and stand under the lowest part of the hogan walls. JS's chant symbols were dedicated as branch symbols the first night of the five-night sing; the chant symbol being also the branch symbol, the particular character of the prayerstick branch is the inconspicuous emphasis on song and prayer.

Only information from the Navaho on the manufacture of the prayersticks and of course the name, if ascertained, could determine the phase symbol 'red-inside.' The investigator who knows the significance of the position of red and blue of the rainbows can determine the phase by the sandpaintings of the fifth to eighth days.

The chant or branch symbol may be indicated by its position on the roof or over the doorway. Whereas the Sun's House screen at the back of the hogan guards the ceremonial area at night, the beaded bundle (chant symbol) of the Bead Chant and the temporary arrow of the Big Star Chant lie over the door during the night performances. The swastika property of the Hail Chant seems to have been over the door on some nights, over the smokehole or hanging down into the room from it on some days.

The branch symbol need not appear at the successive repetitions of the chant. The Sun's House screen was absent at the repetitions held for MC because her bead broke; there were no talking prayersticks at the two-night repetition of my chant. In such cases inquiry alone can identify the performance.

Unfortunately no simple, infallible rule of thumb can be

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formulated to determine the place of a performance in the ceremonial scheme; all are subject to exceptions and change. No serious investigator should expect casual attendants at the ceremonies to ascertain the classification. He should himself, however, take the trouble to determine the distinguishing symbols of his chant group. General questioning may not always elicit them, because the chanter may consider too many things the 'same' and he may credit the interrogator with knowing a lot more than he really does. Nevertheless, specific queries in particular situations, to be determined by myth or observation of a performance, will often substantiate the essentials. Proper questions can be formulated only by bearing in mind the Navaho classifications and assumptions and by remembering that the answers themselves may skew the categories and assumptions somewhat in one place and brilliantly corroborate them in others.

CHAPTER 20
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The Chanter's Bundle

WHEREAS THE ethnologist is interested in the classification of ceremonies and the interpretation as a whole, the singer is engrossed in the details of the chant he knows; he enlarges the field of his preoccupation only as he obtains new knowledge. He occupies himself, therefore, with the elements from among which he has to choose—deities to invoke with prayersticks, patterns of the prayersticks, songs, rites, ritualistic acts—and their organization into a ceremony. Properties are as important as songs and prayers; they are to be found in his bundle, described by Kluckhohn and Wyman.¹ I record such additional information as I was able to get under *Bundle contents*, Concordance C.

In my experience the chanter's bundle examined at any one time does not necessarily include his entire equipment, but rather that which he happens to select for a performance (cp. *Rite for removing contamination of the dead*, Concordance C). The properties of the Evil chants are simpler in certain respects than those of the Holy chants, but there may be some items of both types included in a bundle on a particular occasion. The chanter has his full equipment at home; whenever he is called, he chooses the parts he deems indispensable. If the people giving the performance decide to add accessory rites not previously bargained for, he may send back for more after the chant has begun. In this respect the bundle is, like most things Navaho, superficially an

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unstable aggregate, from which items are chosen and to which others are constantly added.

In case a man knows the Holy and Evil forms of a ceremony, as did RP and JS, the bundles have in common rattle, arrows, bull-roarers, and bows. The chanter gets a set of each for the form he starts with, then adapts the items to the next form he learns—he has ‘another sing over them,’ adds ‘another bead,’ or perhaps prayers and songs. JS’s bundle properties for the Male Shooting Chant Evil emphasize the Holy side—the first he learned and the one he sings most often—whereas RM’s emphasizes the Evil aspect, since he has specialized rather consistently in this form. Property considerations of this sort are probably the chief determinants of the chanter’s learning stages.

In the sense that the bundle holds weapons against evil, it may be considered a quiver. But it is much more, for it contains items to attract good as well. Consequently, there is much symbolism pertaining to war in the bundle belonging even to the Holy forms of ceremony. Since they were acquired by The Twins’ risking repeated attacks by unknown evils, the bundle talking prayersticks, Sun’s arrows, are major items of the Holy chants. Contrasting with but also complementing them are the tiny bows of the Evil side, for which a temporary disproportionately large arrow is made each time the ceremony is performed.

Kluckhohn and Wyman have published an index of ritualistic ideas,² many of which I have adopted, changing the catchwords only if they seem inappropriate, insufficiently differentiated, or inadequate. Often my data cover different facets of their subjects, or contain new items. The situation is like that of an archaeologist—in all of his classifications he must leave a place for new finds, and even for subdivisions of those he already has.

Several catchwords refer to bundle properties. *ndi'á*, 'those-which-stand-up,' have been noted as including bundle talking prayersticks (Chapter 18). When apparently inactive,* they lie with other bundle items in a basket, an arrangement called 'basket layout'; for certain purposes—unraveling, for instance—they lie on a pile of goods; this arrangement is called a 'spread layout.' When they are a part of the mound altar before the door where a sandpainting is in progress, the reference is to 'setout' or 'setout mound.' When the properties are stuck into the earth around the sandpainting to complete it, the arrangement is called 'set-up.'³ Any of these groupings may be the same in rites performed on successive days, in different rites, or they may vary under the same or different circumstances.

Some bundles are thought to have so much individual power that they are buried with the deceased singer. Others, such as that of the Flint Chant, represent continuous or tribal power, so that when an owner dies, the power he has held in trust survives. The difference between personal and tribal power explains the apparently conflicting statements of Father Berard's informants—that personal medicines should remain the property of the clan and that they should continue to be used for the tribal good, even by a non-clan member.⁴ The correctness of each opinion depends more upon the knowledge of the heir than upon the bundle itself. If he is informed about chant details, he may inherit a chant bundle; if he does not possess the requisite tribal lore, he may get it by instruction. On the other hand, the mental and, therefore, religious achievement of the deceased may be so great that his very possessions hold power for which no one wants to be responsible.

*Actually no bundle property is 'inactive' during the ceremony, since its very presence is thought to exert potency.

Allusions to the contrary notwithstanding, I have yet to find a clear case of clan ownership or inheritance of ceremonies or even of information about them, such matters being a factor of Navaho individualism rather than of socialization. I suspect that the remarks about 'clan' possession are based upon misunderstanding of the words applying to 'clan,' 'group,' 'relative,' some of which sound nearly the same to whites and none of which has been accurately interpreted.

Preparation

Much of the time devoted to any sing is taken up by preparation, which is just as important as the use of the objects, if not more so. Most of the power is not in the item itself, but in what it stands for; it is a product of effort, discrimination, attention, concentration, and care, and therefore is not to be judged by appearance alone. The five-night chant performed for JS to dedicate eight bundle items illustrates not only the materials—from our viewpoint of no value—and acts that give them worth, but also the emotional significance with which they are invested (cp. *Bundle contents: SC, Concordance C*).

Materials must be carefully gathered. After being selected from the proper direction, which must be subsequently ascertainable, parts of a root, bush, or tree must be ritualistically cut, at least symbolically if not completely, with a flint point belonging to the bundle. Care is exercised to preserve the plant and assure its growth, usually by sprinkling pollen on the stump.

Other substances of the most diverse nature are collected. Long hours are spent in arranging them for various rites—prayerstick offerings, hoops, plant garment (Concordance C), and endless other composites. During the manufacture of the

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properties there is good conversation, information is communicated, and the supervising chanter keeps a critical eye on the least detail as each worker proceeds under his direction.

Whenever a long ceremony involving an old chant symbol is undertaken, some time is allotted to 'refreshing' or 'renewing' it, refurbishing with paint or providing fresh green branches or twigs. The day before the Sun's House screen was set up, it was entirely repainted, the booth on which it was to stand was covered with green branches, the birds were strung on wires so they could be made to fly, the snakes' heads were attached to the booth so they could be moved in and out and from side to side as they protruded from the apertures called their houses.⁵ All this preparation was necessary because the screen had not been used for eight years.

The masks of the Night Chant are similarly renewed—they are sung over, live branches form ruffs, new temporary masks are constructed.⁶ Unused power dissipates itself; ritualistic effort restores its potency. A chanter should sometimes go through the whole ceremony to revitalize his power.

Sandpaintings, making the hoops for Evil chants, braiding the bandoleers and wristlets for the last day of the Shooting Chant are other examples of time-consuming preparation. Usually the patient should not 'see things being prepared for him,' but after the main work has been accomplished, he often participates in some concluding detail—he 'paints' the invocatory prayersticks with pollen, holds the strands for the bandoleer-braiding, sprinkles the sandpainting with corn meal. In contrast, the chanter helps with everything done in the chant to review his knowledge until the final touches are put on (Chapter 9).

The family and sponsors are concerned with practical preparations. The chanter requires a designated number of baskets,

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which may be borrowed or purchased. Someone has to furnish the 'spread layout,' usually new yard goods, most often of unbleached muslin, percale, or calico.

Women exert themselves to provide large quantities of food for the expected guests. Meat, flour, baking powder, salt, coffee, and sugar are the staples. Relatives and debtors of the patient or sponsor are called upon to return favors or pay up debts—one gives a sheep, one a goat; an uncle kills a steer; a cousin sends coffee. If corn, squash, potatoes, water-melons, tomatoes, peaches, prairie-dog, or any other luxuries—anything beyond meat, flour, and coffee is a luxury—are available, so much the better. Before the ceremony is announced, the provision of food is a matter of considerable thought. It is proper to have a large number of guests at a sing, an insult to the family if only a few turn up.

Disposal

Just as important as preparation is the disposal of substances and properties, even of left-over materials. Portions of plants remaining after sorting and bunching for unravelers, neck-pieces, hoops, and the like are laid on a blanket, carried out, and discarded according to the chanter's instructions. Remnants should be left where there is little likelihood that they will be touched by domesticated animals. Scattering by wind and rain is 'natural'; the products should be allowed to 'return unmolested to the earth.' When a sandpainting rite is finished, the patient leaves the hogan, the chanter ritualistically knocks down the bundle properties (setup) and gathers them to return to the bundle, the helpers scrape the sand onto a blanket and deposit it outside in a place designated by the singer. If the painting belongs to a Holy chant, all may be emptied in one place without much to-do. If, however, it is a painting of an Evil chant, one portion may be

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placed under the patient's pillow for the night and another scattered in one or more directions outside, each night farther and farther from the hogan (cp. Chapters 7, 9). After a sweat-emetic rite, assistants extinguish the coals left from the fire and carry them out; they deposit the sand basin of the patient outside the hogan, often at the north; the audience follow and dump their sand basins and contents in orderly piles next to the patient's.

The sand of the Hoop Transformation mountains (Concordance C) was deposited a short distance north of the ceremonial hogan in piles corresponding with the respective positions of the mountains it composed. The yucca strips were flung loosely on the piles, the whole giving an effect of studied neglect.

Invocatory objects should be protected until they have attracted the attention of the deities they invoke. Substances nullifying evil power should have freedom to disperse, since dissipation as well as quality is a part of exorcism. Neutral, that is, surplus, remnants have communicated their power to the objects made of them; they should be returned without hindrance to the place of their origin. Plants should not be hurt; good use consists in good treatment.

Rite and Ceremony

The chanter, having determined the aspect of the chant to be sung and selected the properties, must fit all acts, preparations, and dispositions into the time limits of the ceremony fixed by form, branch, and phase. Although Indians never seem to hurry, the singer may feel somewhat rushed, especially if he has been asked to include many accessory rites, or if elaborate sandpaintings have been paid for and there is little assistance. Even though it means working under pressure, a singer takes great satisfaction in being busy, preferring

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a complicated to a simple performance; he feels flattered at the responsibility devolving upon him. Since all rites appearing in the nine-night chant are included in the five-night, though they may be somewhat abbreviated, the shorter ceremony may be more crowded than the longer one.

Some chanters start the sandpaintings early in the morning, disposing of even elaborate ones by noon. RP was not one of these. If he had a lot to do, he began the sweat-emetic about seven, long after dawn in the summer; if not, he waited until about nine. I note considerable difference among chanters in the timing of the same rites; Kluckhohn and Wyman think that the sweat-emetic should take place just after dawn.⁷

When a singer feels pressed, he may telescope acts or rites. For example, the sounding of the bull-roarer, really a part of the bundle application, becomes in the Prayerstick branch of the Shooting Chant a part of the unraveling rite. The important thing is to get everything in and these things go together; the unraveling and the bull-roarer drive away evil, the application of bundle items resists it. The Hoop Transformation rite of the Male Shooting Chant Evil was performed at the south and north on one day, both being combined with the Prayer on buckskin rite; ordinarily these rites take two days. The whole chant lasted, therefore, four instead of five nights (*Hoop transformation rite, treatment with: SCE, Concordance C*).

I was told that for CF a five-night and two-night performance of the Shooting Chant had been combined into one ceremony, as a substitute for the nine-night form, or perhaps a^s a single ceremony, instead of two at different times.

On successive nights, during which unraveling and plant garment rites are performed, more time is spent in each rite

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than on the preceding nights. Such cumulative effect is the Navaho interpretation of climax. Probably no repetition on successive days is exactly like the rites of the preceding days; some details differ, even setting a theme for variation.

Analysis

The most difficult task in analyzing ritualistic material is to sustain a point of view. Too often the investigator is likely to take his from the material he knows best, as if the mere accident of his opportunity to get these rather than other data were a criterion. In stressing the subdivisions of the Shooting Chant I have tried to note many aspects and also to describe comparable performances of similar or differing rites. If an act or property of one seems to be missing, it may be the fault of the observer, or it may be a ritualistic prescription. After numerous repetitions of the same rites, certain lacks may be noted and the cause ascertained. Though we have seen that negation is important, it is usually discovered by chance (Chapter 11). Once, for instance, at a large gathering about the double sandpainting of the Dark Circle branch of the Shooting Chant, an aged white woman wanted to witness the ritual standing up. All activity ceased until she sat down. I had seen dozens of sandpainting treatments, but not until then did I learn that the rites cannot be carried out unless everyone is seated. Up to that time no member of the audience had indicated a desire to stand. For most of the Shooting Chant rites a missing property or act means it was not prescribed; for rites belonging to other ceremonies, I may have missed it, especially when many acts were carried out simultaneously and they belonged to chants whose underlying themes were vague or new to me.

Matthews has presented one analysis of rites and chants, Kluckhohn and Wyman another;⁸ both are chronological.

ORGANIZATION OF RITUAL

Matthews was interested in the properties, what was done, and why. Kluckhohn and Wyman are interested in behavior and participation—who does what, the relationship of one actor to another. I have experimented with other presentations; none seems wholly satisfactory, chiefly because of the nature of the material and the fact that numerous acts may be carried on simultaneously or have apparently different reasons. For instance, in the nine-night performance of any chant the division of events is relatively clear, the time being almost evenly allotted to exorcism and attraction. On the other hand, in the five-night form all the events are there, but so interwoven that they do not stand out clearly in their contrasting functions.

The chronological order of a chant is of great importance, yet it never indicates to me the actual significance of correlated ritualistic ideas. The differences in branch and phase rites of the same chant emphasize the comparison and avoid unnecessary repetition. I have adopted a system that puts similar things together and, by catchwords alphabetically arranged, I have tried to make them easy to find. The difficulty in this as in any system is to determine what belongs together. I have not been able, for example, to divorce 'treatment on sandpainting' from the sandpaintings themselves just because it comes under "T" rather than under "S." I have attempted to obviate this difficulty by repeated cross references. Since my fullest information on Evil forms is the Big Star Chant and, on Holy forms, the Sun's House and Prayerstick branches of the Male Shooting Chant Holy, they are my prototypes, but in many cases, because of the alphabetical order, a description of any part may be found after, rather than before, the features I may be discussing at the moment.

Whenever possible, I have summarized the meaning of a

property or rite, but sometimes meaning is so involved that only the entire myth or large parts of it can adequately explain a simple ritualistic act. I find this arrangement more serviceable than any I have tried, but only because such presentations as those of Matthews, Kluckhohn, and Wyman have already been made, and I am far from satisfied with it. Entries cannot always be kept parallel for various reasons—forms change, details are lacking, some rites are much simpler than others. One chanter describes the first order of events and takes the rest for granted, although in actual practice there may be slight differences in repeated performances; another refers to the first and describes the second, third, or last with care. Most informants assume much greater understanding on the part of the white man than is justified; unfortunately, too many investigators share this false premise.

The organization of ritualistic acts, chants, and ceremonies I have seen is indicated by Charts XIX–XXIII and Concordances A, B, and C (Volume II). I do not include the Hail Chant symbols and order of events because I have never seen a Hail Chant performed.

CHART XIX

MALE SHOOTING CHANT HOLY SYMBOLS

	General	HOLY FORMS			
		SH (9 nights)	DC (9 nights)	SP (5 nights)	P (5 nights)
Symbol					
Master	personal talking prayerstick				
Chant	4 bundle talking prayersticks, 4 wide boards				
Number	4, 5				
Color	b-u-y-w, w-u-y-b				
Sex:					
Male	b-u				
Female	w-y				
Sound	blu . . .				
Negation	Watersnake				
Branch		SH screen	Dark Circle	sandpaintings, songs, prayers	4 pairs temporary talking prayersticks
Phase			Red Inside Dotted guardian Thunder guardian		

Legend: DC—Dark Circle; P—Prayerstick branch; SH—Sun's House branch; SP—Sandpainting branch.

CHART XX

ORDER OF EVENTS: MALE SHOOTING CHANT HOLY—SUN'S HOUSE AND PRAYERSTICK BRANCHES

	Night 1	Day 1	Night 2	Day 2	Night 3	Day 3	Night 4	Day 4	Night 5	Day 5	Night 6	Day 6	Night 7	Day 7	Night 8	Day 8	Night 9
Branch symbol prepared and placed	P				P				SH								SH
Unraveling	P		P		SH		SH								SH		
Bundle application	SH		P		P		P		SH		SH		SH		SH		
Short singing	P		P		P		P				SH		SH				
Bundle setout	P	P		P		P					SH		SH				
Sweat-emetic		P		P		P								SH			
Prayerstick offerings																	
Sandpainting																	
Bath																	
Figure painting																	
Vigil																	

Legend: P—Prayerstick branch; SH—Sun's House branch.

CHART XXI

ORDER OF EVENTS: MALE SHOOTING CHANT HOLY—DARK CIRCLE AND SANDPAINTING BRANCHES

	Night 1	Day 1	Night 2	Day 2	Night 3	Day 3	Night 4	Day 4	Night 5	Day 5	Night 6	Day 6	Night 7	Day 7	Night 8	Day 8	Night 9
Branch symbol prepared and placed.....															DC		DC
Unraveling.....															DC		DC
Short singing.....															DC		DC
Bundle set out.....															DC		DC
Sweat-emetic.....															DC		DC
Sandpainting.....															DC		DC
Bath.....															DC		DC
Figure painting.....															DC		DC
Vigil.....															DC		DC
Vigil with Dark Circle.....															DC		DC

Legend: DC—Dark Circle branch; FD—Fire Dance rehearsal; SP—Sandpainting branch.

RITUAL

CHART XXII

SYMBOLS OF EVIL FORMS: MALE SHOOTING CHANT EVIL AND BIG STAR CHANT

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>BS</i>
Master	personal talking prayerstick	personal talking prayerstick
Chant	bundle bow, temporary arrow	bundle bow, temporary witch-objects
Number	5-7-9-11	5-7-9-12
Color	b-u-y-w	b-u-y-w
Sex:		
Male	b-u	b-y
Female	w-y	u-w
Sound	be'be'yó	be'be'yó

Legend: SE—Male Shooting Chant Evil; BS—Big Star Chant.

ORGANIZATION OF RITUAL

CHART XXIII

ORDER OF EVENTS, EVIL FORMS: MALE SHOOTING CHANT EVIL AND BIG STAR CHANT

	<i>Night 1</i>	<i>Day 1</i>	<i>Night 2</i>	<i>Day 2</i>	<i>Night 3</i>	<i>Day 3</i>	<i>Night 4</i>	<i>Day 4</i>	<i>Night 5</i>
Unraveling.....	SE BS		SE BS		SE BS		SE BS		
Bundle application.....	BS SE		BS SE		BS SE		BS SE		
Plant garment.....	BS		BS		BS		BS		
Sweat-emetic.....		SE BS		SE BS		SE BS		SE BS	
Hoop transformation....		SE BS		SE BS		SE BS		SE BS	
Prayer on painting.....	BS		BS		BS		BS		
Prayer on buckskin.....		SE		SE BS		SE		SE	
Sandpainting.....	BS	SE	BS	SE	BS	SE	BS SE BS	SE SE BS	SE
Bath.....									
Over-shooting.....	BS		BS		BS		BS		SE SE BS SE
Blackening.....									
Vigil.....									

Legend: SE—Male Shooting Chant Evil; BS—Big Star Chant.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Because it seems to me to connote more of the intention and historical affiliations, I am using 'War Ceremony' for 'Enemy Way.' The ceremony suggests a relationship to Plains warfare and ritual.
2. By 'Shooting Chant' I refer to Male Shooting Chant Holy. All other subdivisions are written out in full—for example, 'Female Shooting Chant Holy' or 'Male Shooting Chant Evil.'
3. Personal information from Franc J. Newcomb.

CHAPTER 1

(NAVAHO CATEGORIES)

1. Morgan 1936, pp. 12, 17.
2. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
3. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 19; Goddard, p. 128.
4. Matthews 1902, p. 203.
5. Reichard 1944d, p. 29 and cp. p. 147.
6. Goddard, p. 156.
7. Kluckhohn-Wyman.
8. Wyman-Harris, p. 11; brackets mine, authors' italics omitted.
9. Reichard 1944d, p. 151.
10. Matthews 1897, p. 140. Here and elsewhere I have, insofar as possible, made the Navaho orthography conform with the phonetics of this work.
11. *Ib.*, p. 142.
12. *Ib.*, p. 155; cp. Reichard 1928, Ch. IV.

CHAPTER 2

(WORLD VIEW)

1. Goddard, p. 137; Stephen 1930, p. 103; Reichard 1944d, pp. 91ff.; Wheelwright 1942, pp. 66-7; 1946, pp. 29, 50, 192.
2. Stevenson, p. 275.
3. Matthews 1897, pp. 63-5; Goddard, p. 128.
4. Goddard, p. 137; Wheelwright 1942, pp. 66-7.
5. Matthews 1897, p. 80; cp. Stephen 1930, p. 104.
6. Matthews 1897, p. 80.
7. Matthews 1897, pp. 111, 134; Haile 1938b, p. 101; Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.

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8. Matthews 1897, p. 233, 117n
9. *Ib.*, pp. 76, 78.
10. Stephen ms.
11. Sapir-Hoijer, p. 176.
12. Matthews 1897, p. 79; Goddard, pp. 148-9.
13. Matthews 1897, pp. 70, 79, 222, 60n.
14. Goddard, p. 167; Matthews 1897, pp. 149ff.
15. Goddard, p. 175.
16. Matthews 1897, pp. 116, 234, 128, 9n.
17. Matthews 1897, p. 133; Haile 1938b, pp. 179, 255, 102, 3n.
18. Goddard, p. 127; Matthews 1897, p. 70; Newcomb 1940b, p. 51.
19. Matthews 1897, pp. 175-87; Newcomb 1940b, pp. 57-63.
20. Stevenson, p. 279.
21. Reichard 1939, pp. 34-5, Pl. V-VII.
22. Stevenson, p. 278; Matthews 1897, p. 244-5, 207n.
23. Matthews 1902, p. 193.
24. *Ib.*
25. Stevenson, p. 279.
26. Stephen ms.

CHAPTER 3

(THE NATURE OF MAN)

1. Stephen ms.; Matthews 1897, p. 69.
2. Matthews 1897, pp. 104-5, 137, 148; Goddard, p. 168.
3. Matthews 1897, pp. 140, 159.
4. Stephen ms.
5. Goddard, p. 153; Haile 1938b, p. 91; Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.; Stephen ms.
6. Presumably warmed by Sun.
7. Haile 1938b, p. 79.
8. Stevenson, p. 277.
9. Reichard 1939, p. 70.
10. Haile 1938b, p. 281, 81n; Reichard 1939, p. 34.
11. Matthews 1897, p. 35 (Navaho names have been translated).
12. I discovered this reference some months after formulating the theory of conception.
13. Goddard, pp. 138-9.
14. Matthews 1897, pp. 71-3, 218, 32-3n; Stephen 1930, pp. 79-100.
15. Reichard 1944b.
16. Hill 1938, p. 111.
17. Reichard 1944b, pp. 51-2.
18. Hill 1938, p. 110.
19. Reichard 1928, Ch. IX. The word in Reichard 1944b, p. 51, should be 'aji' instead of 'aji'.
20. Kluckhohn 1944, pp. 79, 123, 125.

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21. Haile 1938b, pp. 25, 49; Hill 1936, p. 18.
22. Matthews 1897, pp. 69, 136-7.
23. Reichard 1944d, pp. 10-1.
24. Haile 1943a, pp. 84, 85.
25. Pollen, Con. B; Pollenpainting, Sandpainting, Con. C; Wheelwright 1942, Set I, 1-4, Set II, 2, Set III, 1-4 and alternates; Oakes-Campbell, p. 37.
26. Hill 1938, p. 106.
27. I knew a woman who was reduced to a mere skeleton with grief at the death of her only daughter. She said she had no reason to live and refused to take part in any activity, yet she was alive some ten years later.
28. Matthews 1897, pp. 77-8; Goddard, p. 36, 138; Oakes-Campbell, p. 12.
29. Stephen ms.
30. Sapir-Hoijer, pp. 430-3.
31. Wyman-Hill-Ósanai, pp. 32-5; cp. Kluckhohn-Leighton, p. 126.
32. Reichard 1943.
33. Goddard, p. 175 (retranslated).
34. *Ib.*, pp. 64, 65, 152.
35. Haile 1938b, p. 318, 69n (phonetics mine).
36. Wyman-Hill-Ósanai, pp. 11-30.

CHAPTER 4

(PANTHEON: CHARACTERISTICS OF SUPERNATURALS)

1. Matthews 1902, p. 30.
2. Reichard 1939, p. 15; cp. The Twins, Con. A.
3. Haile 1943a, pp. 16, 22; Oakes-Campbell, p. 75.
4. Matthews 1902, pp. 218-9 excerpt.
5. Reichard 1944d, p. 7.
6. *Ib.*, p. 13.
7. Cp. Ch. 9; Reichard 1944d, pp. 37ff.
8. *Ib.*, p. 81.
9. *Ib.*, p. 105.
10. Matthews 1902, p. 212.
11. Matthews 1897, pp. 140, 229, 92n.
12. *Ib.*, pp. 170ff. excerpt.
13. Reichard 1944d, p. 95; cp. pp. 79, 81.
14. *Ib.*, p. 147.
15. Matthews 1902, pp. 212ff.
16. Haile 1938b, pp. 97, 101.

CHAPTER 5

(PANTHEON: TYPES OF SUPERNATURALS)

1. Sapir-Hoijer, pp. 131, 163; Stephen 1930, p. 88; Huckel ms.; Reichard 1944d, p. 27; Haile 1938b, pp. 127, 147.

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2. Matthews 1902, pp. 249, 253.
3. Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
4. Matthews 1902, p. 159; Sapir-Hoijer, pp. 140-1.
5. Reichard 1944d, pp. 133-5; Matthews 1887, pp. 410, 417.
6. Matthews 1897, pp. 81, 224, 71n.
7. Oakes-Campbell.
8. *Ib.*
9. Matthews 1897, pp. 130-1; Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
10. Haile 1938b, p. 18.
11. Oakes-Campbell.
12. Wheelwright 1942.
13. Sapir-Hoijer.
14. Wheelwright 1942, Set II, 3.

CHAPTER 6

(THEORY OF DISEASE)

1. Hill 1936b, p. 13; Reichard 1928, p. 145.
2. Reichard 1939, p. 80; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 60; cp. Franciscan Fathers 1910, p. 294.
3. Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
4. Haile 1938b, pp. 193, 255, 108n.
5. *Ib.*
6. Hill 1936, p. 7.
7. Haile 1938b, p. 137.
8. Matthews 1897, p. 247, 224n (Navaho words omitted).
9. Haile 1943a, pp. 8, 52.
10. Haile 1938b, p. 143.
11. Matthews 1902, p. 214.
12. Haile 1938b, p. 195.
13. Matthews 1902, pp. 166, 236, 258.
14. *Ib.*, p. 236.
15. *Ib.*, pp. 209, 314, 53n.
16. Matthews 1897, pp. 198, 205; Reichard 1939, pp. 28-9.
17. Matthews 1902, p. 211.
18. Wyman 1936b, pp. 240-1.
19. Reichard 1928, p. 149.
20. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 175.
21. Hill 1935a; Wyman 1936b, c; Morgan 1931; Tozzer 1909; Newcomb 1938.
22. Morgan 1931, p. 392.
23. Wyman 1936b, p. 238.
24. *Ib.*
25. Cp. Mulholland, pp. 183-202.
26. Reichard 1939, pp. 7ff.; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 14.
27. Tozzer 1909, p. 308.

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CHAPTER 7

(THEORY OF CURING)

1. Haile 1938b, pp. 95-7 excerpt.
2. *Ib.*, p. 111 excerpt.
3. Goddard, p. 156, brackets mine.
4. Haile 1938b, p. 81 excerpt.
5. *Ib.*, p. 93 excerpt.
6. *Ib.*, p. 187 excerpt.
7. Haile 1938b, p. 207 excerpt.
8. *Ib.*, p. 191.
9. Matthews 1887, pp. 406, 410; 1897, p. 69.
10. Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.; Big Star Chant ms.
11. Hill 1936, p. 7; Wyman-Harris, p. 57; cp. Kluckhohn-Leighton, p. 155.
12. Matthews 1902, p. 109; Haile 1938b, pp. 46, 201.
13. Matthews 1897, p. 163.
14. Hill 1936, p. 8; Haile 1938b, p. 40.
15. Reichard 1944d, p. 153.
16. Haile 1938b, p. 315; Hill 1936, p. 12.
17. Goddard, p. 151; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 28; Haile 1938b, p. 105.
18. Matthews 1887, p. 401; cp. Haile 1938b, p. 131.
19. Reichard 1944d, p. 135.
20. Reichard 1939, p. 31.
21. Reichard 1944d, p. 135.
22. Matthews 1902, p. 163.
23. Haile 1938b, p. 117.
24. Reichard 1939, pp. 41, 44; Haile 1938b, p. 215.
25. Reichard 1944d, p. 155.
26. Matthews 1887, p. 417 excerpt.
27. Matthews 1902, p. 212 excerpt.
28. Haile 1938b, pp. 145-9 excerpt.
29. Reichard 1944b, pp. 14-5.
30. Matthews 1902, p. 160.
31. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 63, 113n.
32. *Ib.*, p. 50.
33. Wyman-Harris, p. 56.
34. Matthews 1887, p. 411.
35. Wyman-Harris, p. 54, brackets mine.

CHAPTER 8

(ETHICS)

1. Matthews 1902, pp. 246-56 excerpt.
2. Cp. Matthews 1899, pp. 3, 5.
3. Hill 1943, p. 9.

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4. Matthews 1897, p. 108; Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
5. Goddard, p. 155; Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
6. Reichard 1944d, pp. 43, 143-5; Haile 1938b, p. 109.
7. Matthews 1897, p. 163.
8. Reichard 1939, pp. 34-5; cp. Oakes-Campbell, p. 24.
9. Haile 1938b, p. 71; Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 56; Tozzer 1909, p. 317.
10. Haile 1938b, p. 71.
11. Wyman-Bailey 1945, p. 375; cp. Matthews 1902, pp. 185, 197.
12. Matthews 1902, pp. 212ff. excerpt.
13. Reichard 1944d, p. 7; cp. Haile 1943a, p. 56.
14. Reichard 1944d, p. 5; Haile 1943a, p. 56; Newcomb 1940b, pp. 56ff.; Matthews 1897, pp. 175, 191.
15. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
16. Matthews 1897, pp. 143-4, 240-1, 183n; cp. Haile 1938b, pp. 79-81.
17. Matthews 1897, p. 187.
18. Reichard, Endurance Chant ms; Matthews 1897, pp. 91-103.
19. Kluckhohn 1944, p. 21.
20. Goddard, p. 128; Matthews 1897, pp. 70-2, 77, 220, 50n.
21. Hill, 1935b.
22. Reichard 1944a.

CHAPTER 9

(THE NATURE OF SYMBOLISM)

1. Haile 1938b, p. 317, 52n.
2. Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
3. Matthews 1897, p. 114; Reichard 1939, p. 44; 1944d, pp. 140-3; Haile 1938b, p. 109.
4. Reichard 1939, Pl. XIII, XV, XIX; Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XXI, XXVIII, XXX-XXXIV.
5. Matthews 1902, p. 256.
6. Haile 1938b, pp. 199, 201; Hill 1936, p. 12; Goddard, p. 177.
7. Haile 1938b, pp. 157, 254, 87n.
8. Newcomb-Reichard, pp. 29-30; Haile 1938b, p. 111; Matthews 1897, p. 103; Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
9. Reichard 1934, pp. 203-4.
10. Reichard 1944d, pp. 9, 13, 47, 141; Matthews 1897, pp. 164, 170; 1902, p. 195.
11. Reichard 1934, p. 67.
12. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
13. Reichard 1923, p. 115.
14. Goddard, pp. 134-5; Hill 1938, pp. 14-5; Wheelwright 1942, pp. 65-6. The Gregorian-calendar months are only approximate; the Navaho months include half of each; for example, Navaho November actually means the second half of November and the first half of December.
15. Matthews 1892; 1902, pp. 6, 37, 57, 59, 70.
16. Matthews 1902, p. 120.

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17. Matthews 1897, pp. 171, 193.
18. Painting in Bush Collection, Columbia University.
19. Haile 1938b, p. 83.
20. Matthews 1897, pp. 147-8.
21. Franciscan Fathers 1910, p. 454.
22. Hill 1938, p. 102.
23. Stephen 1930, p. 92.
24. Reichard 1944d, p. 79.
25. Haile 1938b, p. 169.
26. *Ib.*, p. 239.
27. Reichard 1939, Pl. I.
28. Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XIII.
29. Oakes-Campbell, Pl. VI, X, p. 39; XIII, p. 40; XIV, p. 41.
30. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 80; Reichard 1939.
31. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
32. *Ib.*
33. Reichard 1944d, p. 61.
34. *Ib.*, pp. 11, 45.
35. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 86.
36. Haile 1938b, pp. 267-9.
37. Hill 1936, p. 14; Haile 1938b, p. 272.

CHAPTER 10

(SEX, DOMINANCE, AND SIZE)

1. Reichard 1928, pp. 54-5; Hill 1936, pp. 5, 8.
2. Hill 1938, p. 106.
3. *Ib.*, p. 75; Sapir-Hoijer, p. 207.
4. Haile 1938b, pp. 58-9.
5. Stevenson, pp. 235-6.
6. Variation of Reichard 1939, Pl. XVIII; see Sandpainting: SC Dark Circle branch, Con. C.
7. Haile 1938b, pp. 60, 61, 227.
8. *Ib.*, p. 237.
9. *Ib.*, p. 221.
10. *Ib.*, p. 223.
11. *Ib.*, pp. 73, 223; Reichard 1928, p. 118.
12. Matthews 1902, p. 6; Reichard 1939, p. 78.
13. Matthews 1902, p. 56, Pl. II, D.
14. *Ib.*, p. 93.
15. Reichard 1939, frontispiece, Pl. I, III, XV, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIV; Newcomb-Reichard, Fig. 4, 20, Pl. IV, V, VII-IX, XIV-XXXV; Wheelwright 1942, Set II, 7.
16. Matthews 1887, p. 448, Pl. XVII. There are errors in the references of the two

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pictures, Pl. XVI, XVII; the numbers 'second' and 'third' in the titles of the two plates should be interchanged.

17. *Ib.*, p. 450, Pl. XVI (and note 16 above).
18. Wheelwright 1942, p. 82.
19. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 44; Matthews 1887, p. 450; Oakes-Campbell, p. 38 Pl. IV.

CHAPTER 11

(*ALTERNATION, REVERSAL, AND NEGATION*)

1. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 61.
2. Huckel ms.
3. Haile 1938b, pp. 30-1.
4. Matthews 1902, p. 100; cp. Haile 1943a, p. 14.
5. Hill 1938, pp. 98-9, brackets mine.
6. Haile 1938b, pp. 161, 239ff.
7. Matthews 1887, pamphlet published and distributed privately by the Bureau of American Ethnology.
8. The following observations fit the Hopi and Zuni audiences, as well as the Navaho.
9. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 28.
10. Reichard 1944d, p. 41.
11. Here the general restriction against eating fish is made specific for the Shooting Chant.
12. Reichard 1944d, pp. 81-3; Matthews 1902, pp. 106, 189.
13. Reichard 1944d, p. 149; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 29.
14. Reichard 1939, p. 34.
15. Reichard 1944d, p. 137; Haile 1943a, p. 154.
16. Reichard 1939, p. 35.
17. Matthews 1902, p. 212.
18. Matthews 1887, p. 410; Reichard 1939, pp. 80-1.
19. Matthews 1887, p. 407.
20. Matthews 1897, p. 185.
21. *Ib.*, p. 137.

CHAPTER 12

(*COLOR AND PRECIOUS STONES*)

1. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.; Matthews 1897, p. 137; Goddard, pp. 55-7, 153; cp. Oakes-Campbell, p. 39, Pl. VIII; Hill 1938, p. 72.
2. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 28; Goddard, p. 150; Haile 1938b, p. 87; Newcomb 1940b, p. 54; Reichard 1944d, p. 81; Matthews 1897, p. 184; 1902, p. 262.
3. Reichard 1944d, p. 115.
4. *Ib.*, p. 133. I use 'mask' in its technical sense, a ritualistic face cover worn by

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god impersonators. This is in contrast to Franc Newcomb and Mary Wheelwright, who generally refer to facial paintings and do not distinguish paintings and masks.

5. Reichard 1944d, p. 133; Matthews 1902, p. 9.
6. Haile 1938b, p. 197.
7. *Ib.*, p. 101; Reichard 1939, p. 52, Pl. XIV.
8. Huckel ms.; Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XII.
9. Reichard 1934, p. 194; 1939, Pl. XXII; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 21, Fig. 6.
10. Reichard 1944d, pp. 5, 33; Hill 1938, p. 94, 13n.
11. Reichard 1939, pp. 6-7.
12. Matthews 1902, p. 5.
13. *Ib.*, p. 58.
14. Reichard 1939, p. 52, Pl. XIV.
15. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
16. Reichard 1939, Pl. XXII; Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XIX. There is a mistake in Pl. XIX—black should be at the east, blue at the west.
17. Huckel ms.
18. Matthews 1902, pp. 52, 205; Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
19. Matthews 1897, p. 127; Haile 1938b, p. 205.
20. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
21. Matthews 1902, pp. 128-9, Pl. VII; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 63; Pl. XXIII, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII; Reichard 1939, Pl. XIV, XXIII; 1944d, pp. 137, 139.
22. Reichard 1939, Pl. XX; 1944d, p. 76; Matthews 1902, Pl. VI.
23. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
24. *Ib.*
25. Huckel ms.
26. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
27. *Ib.*
28. Matthews 1887, pp. 400, 401, 459, 464.
29. Reichard 1939, Pl. XV; Huckel ms.
30. Matthews 1897, p. 129.
31. Reichard 1944d, pp. 25-7.
32. *Ib.*, p. 41; Matthews 1897, p. 245, 209n; Goddard, p. 156; Haile 1938b, p. 177.
33. Goddard, p. 156.
34. *Ib.*, p. 136.
35. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 52, Fig. 6; Huckel ms.
36. Reichard 1939, frontispiece, p. 59, Fig. 7.
37. Matthews 1897, pp. 67, 68; 1902, pp. 25-6.
38. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
39. Wheelwright 1942, p. 43.
40. Haile 1938b, pp. 113, 123, 137; Matthews 1897, pp. 117, 122.
41. Reichard 1944d, p. 33.
42. Haile 1938b, p. 165.
43. Goddard, pp. 80-1, 159.
44. Wheelwright 1942, p. 109.
45. Reichard 1939, p. 56.

NOTES

46. Matthews 1897, p. 253, 270n.
47. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 32.
48. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
49. Reichard 1939, Pl. XXI.
50. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 43, Pl. XVII.
51. Reichard 1944d, p. 123.
52. Haile 1938b, p. 163.
53. Goddard, p. 163.
54. Kluckhohn 1944, pp. 87-8, 94, 122.
55. Reichard 1939, frontispiece, Fig. 6, 7, 8; Newcomb-Reichard, pp. 47ff., Pl. XXIX-XXXIII.
56. Reichard 1944d, pp. 27, 43-5.
57. Reichard 1939, Pl. XVII-XIX; Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XVII.
58. Reichard 1939, p. 30, Pl. III, IV.
59. Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XXXV.
60. *Ib.*, p. 31; Matthews 1897, pp. 92ff., 126-9.
61. Haile 1938b, pp. 123-5.
62. *Ib.*, p. 133.
63. Hill 1938, p. 101.
64. Reichard 1939, Pl. X-XX, XXII; Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XV, XVI, XXI, XXIV.
65. *Ib.*, p. 35, Fig. 4; Reichard 1939, Pl. XXII.
66. Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XIV; Reichard 1944d, pp. 77, 115; Matthews 1902, p. 122, Pl. VI.
67. Reichard 1939, Pl. XX, XXIV; Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XIV, XXVII, XXXIV.
68. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
69. Huckel ms.
70. Matthews 1902, pp. 128-9, Pl. VII.
71. Reichard 1939, Pl. V, VII.
72. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
73. Reichard 1944d, p. 147.
74. *Ib.*, p. 105.
75. Stephen 1930, p. 102.
76. Haile 1938b, pp. 109, 130-1.
77. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.; Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. VII.
78. Reichard 1944d, p. 106.
79. Wyman-Bailey 1945, p. 374.
80. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 19.
81. Reichard 1944d, p. 147; cp. Stevenson, p. 278.
82. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 31.
83. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 25.
84. Wheelwright 1942, p. 65.
85. Matthews 1897, p. 73.
86. Haile 1938b, p. 314, 14n.
87. Goddard, p. 140.

NOTES

88. *Ib.*, p. 139.
89. Huckel ms.; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 36.
90. Goddard, p. 142; Reichard 1944d, p. 15.
91. Goddard, p. 127.
92. *Ib.*, p. 136.
93. Newcomb-Reichard, pp. 36, 59; Matthews 1897, p. 151.
94. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
95. Goddard, pp. 137, 164, 165.
96. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
97. *Ib.*
98. Matthews 1897, p. 113.
99. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 27.
100. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
101. Matthews 1897, pp. 150-3.
102. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
103. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 28.
104. Haile 1938b, p. 193.
105. Reichard 1939, p. 29.
106. Wheelwright 1942, p. 107.
107. *Ib.*, p. 114.
108. Goddard, p. 134.
109. Haile 1938b, p. 207.
110. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
111. Haile 1938b, p. 265; Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 29.

CHAPTER 13

(COLOR COMBINATIONS)

1. Reichard 1934, facing p. 194; Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. II, A, C.
2. *Ib.*, Pl. X, XXV; Reichard 1939, Pl. XI, XII.
3. See pp. 745-46.
4. Cp. Kluckhohn-Wyman, pp. 138-9.
5. Matthews 1897, pp. 215-6, 18n; Huckel ms.
6. Reichard 1934, facing p. 194.
7. Matthews 1897, pp. 128-9.
8. *Ib.*, p. 76; Goddard, p. 131.
9. Reichard 1944d, p. 105; cp. p. 204, present work.
10. Haile 1938b, p. 101; Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
11. Reichard 1934, facing p. 194; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 21, Fig. 3.
12. Reichard 1939, p. 45, Fig. 3.
13. Newcomb 1930, p. 76; Goddard, p. 132.
14. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
15. Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XXII.
16. *Ib.*, Pl. V, VIII, XXIII, XXV, XXVIII, XXX.
17. Reichard 1939, p. 45, Fig. 3, Pl. XII, XIII.

NOTES

18. Reichard 1944d, p. 43.
19. Matthews 1902, p. 53; Reichard 1944d, p. 59; Goddard, p. 149; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 52, Fig. 6; painting in Bush Collection.
20. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
21. *Ib.*
22. *Ib.*
23. Goddard, pp. 88-9, 161.
24. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
25. Goddard, pp. 149, 162, 163; Matthews 1902, p. 53; Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
26. *Ib.*
27. Reichard 1944d, p. 69.
28. Goddard, p. 136.
29. The centers are, perhaps, not comparable, since *Navajo Medicine Man*, Plate XXIV, has the dark center already described and that at Rough Rock had a small blue (perhaps sparkling) center surrounded by a wide yellow band edged with blue and red.
30. At the time MC was sung over I was not aware of the problem.

CHAPTER 14

(NUMBER)

1. Reichard 1944b.
2. Stephen 1930, p. 103; Kluckhohn-Wyman, Fig. 23, 24.
3. Reichard 1944d, p. 25.
4. *Ib.*, p. 103; Matthews 1897, pp. 113, 223, 70n; Wheelwright 1946, p. 192.
5. Matthews 1897, p. 104.
6. *Ib.*, pp. 74, 93, 95, 110; Haile 1938b, p. 181.
7. *Ib.*, p. 101; Matthews 1897, p. 184; 1902, pp. 203, 246-56; Wheelwright 1946, p. 46.
8. Matthews 1897, p. 136.
9. *Ib.*, p. 104.
10. *Ib.*, p. 83.
11. *Ib.*, p. 140.
12. Matthews 1902, p. 200.
13. *Ib.*, p. 175.
14. Matthews 1897, pp. 92, 149.
15. *Ib.*, p. 239, 166n; Goddard, p. 135.
16. Reichard 1939, Pl. VI, VII.
17. *Ib.*
18. Newcomb 1940b, p. 71; Hill 1938, p. 98.
19. Haile 1938b, pp. 141, 143.
20. *Ib.*, p. 151.
21. Hill 1936, p. 8.
22. Hill 1938, p. 146.

NOTES

23. Goddard, pp. 88, 162.
24. Matthews 1897, p. 249, 240n.
25. *Ib.*, pp. 135-59.
26. *Ib.*, pp. 139, 145, 149-50.
27. *Cp. ib.*, p. 148.
28. Haile 1938b, pp. 203, 205, 207; *cp.* Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 79.
29. *Cp.* Wyman-Bailey 1943a, pp. 27-8.
30. Reichard 1944d, p. 95.
31. Matthews 1897, pp. 127-9.
32. Reichard 1944d, pp. 51, 59, 65.
33. *Ib.*, pp. 48-9, 85; Haile 1938b, pp. 195, 217, 225, 259ff.
34. *Ib.*, p. 107; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 29; Matthews 1897, p. 113.
35. Haile 1938b, p. 193.
36. *Ib.*, p. 207.

CHAPTER 15

(PERCEPTUAL SYMBOLS)

1. Stevenson, p. 275.
2. Matthews 1897, p. 67; Wheelwright 1942, p. 44.
3. *Cp.* Dorsey-Kroeber, p. 16.
4. Matthews 1902, p. 42, Pl. II, B; Reichard 1934, p. 194.
5. Matthews 1902, p. 42.
6. Matthews 1897, p. 213, 11n; 1902, p. 42.
7. Haile 1938b, pp. 176, 194; *cp. ib.* 1943a, p. 46.
8. *Cp.* Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 25; Haile 1943a, p. 46.
9. Haile 1938b, p. 194.
10. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 34.
11. Reichard 1944d, p. 39.
12. Reichard, *Shooting Chant ms.*
13. *Ib.*
14. Haile 1938b, p. 214.
15. *Ib.* 1943a, p. 69.
16. Goddard, p. 127.
17. Matthews 1897, pp. 174-5; Newcomb 1940b, p. 55.
18. Reichard 1939, p. 29.
19. Matthews 1897, p. 164; 1902, p. 228.
20. Reichard, *Shooting Chant ms.*; Matthews 1897, pp. 117, 122.
21. Reichard 1939, p. 30; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 33; Haile 1938b, pp. 113, 123, 137.
22. Matthews 1897, pp. 137, 183; Haile 1938b, p. 83; Newcomb-Reichard, pp. 66-7.
23. Matthews 1902, p. 203.
24. *Ib.*, p. 264; *cp.* Sapir-Hoijer, p. 245.
25. Haile 1938b, p. 97.
26. Perhaps 'something dangerous.'

NOTES

27. Hill 1938, p. 109; Matthews 1897, pp. 187, 189, 249, 235n; 1902, p. 251.
28. Reichard 1939, Fig. 6, 7, 8; Shooting Chant ms.; Huckel ms.
29. Haile 1938b, pp. 87, 89.
30. *Ib.*, p. 129.
31. Matthews 1902, pp. 314-5, 62n.
32. Reichard 1939, p. 29.
33. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 33.
34. Haile 1943a, p. 3.
35. Matthews 1897, p. 89.
36. If the myth is not recorded in Navaho, there is no way of determining the full use of sound, since the sound words are only roughly translated, if at all, and the sound syllables are not reproduced.
37. Haile 1938b, pp. 169, 179, 215, 272; Reichard 1928, p. 132.
38. Hill 1936, pp. 16-7; *cp.* Haile 1938b, p. 169.
39. Haile 1938b, pp. 234-7.
40. Sapir-Hoijer, p. 285.
41. Haile 1938b, pp. 163-75.
42. *Ib.*, p. 110; *cp.* pp. 118-21.
43. Reichard 1944d, p. 75; Endurance Chant ms.; Matthews 1902, p. 205.
44. Matthews 1902, p. 117.
45. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 127.
46. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
47. Haile 1938b, p. 95.
48. *Ib.*, p. 93.
49. *Ib.*, p. 126.
50. Reichard, Big Star Chant ms.
51. Matthews 1897, pp. 93, 227-8, 84n.
52. Haile 1938b, p. 125.
53. Stephen 1930, p. 90.
54. *Ib.*, p. 94.
55. Haile 1938b, p. 250, 3n.
56. Matthews 1897, p. 205; Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
57. Matthews 1897, p. 185.
58. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
59. Reichard 1944d, pp. 19, 81-3; Matthews 1897, p. 183; 1902, pp. 189, 218, 309, 11n; Newcomb 1940b, p. 72.
60. Haile 1938b, p. 85.
61. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 26.
62. Goddard, p. 168.
63. Matthews 1897, p. 233, 119n.
64. Reichard 1939, pp. 30, 34.
65. Matthews 1897, p. 412; Newcomb 1940b, p. 51.
66. Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
67. Reichard 1939, p. 33; 1944d, pp. 60, 91; Matthews 1887, p. 413; Haile 1943a, pp. 49, 229.

NOTES

CHAPTER 16

(WORD, FORMULA, AND MYTH)

1. Reichard 1944b, p. 9; 1944d, p. 135; Goddard, pp. 9, 26, 133-4; Wheelwright 1942, Set II, 6.
2. Reichard 1944b, p. 134, line 12.
3. Haile 1938b, p. 238 excerpt; cp. Opler-Hoijer.
4. Hill 1936, p. 12.
5. Haile 1938b, pp. 153-4, 254, 84n excerpt.
6. *Ib.*, p. 239.
7. Hill 1938, p. 74.
8. Hill 1936, p. 12 excerpt.
9. *Ib.*, p. 13.
10. Reichard 1944d, p. 95.
11. Haile 1938b, p. 99; Matthews 1897, p. 110; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 27.
12. Reichard 1939, p. 27.
13. Matthews 1897, pp. 184, 187.
14. Matthews 1887, pp. 404-5.
15. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
16. Haile 1938b, p. 256.
17. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
18. My translation of this name, as well as of those above, differs from Father Berard's. Mine is based on the analysis of my chant teachers; it fits the grammatical analysis and the context, and was checked by several interpreters I worked with.
19. Reichard 1944d, pp. 87, 101, 135; Haile 1938b, p. 238.
20. Sapir-Hoijer, pp. 257, 523, 225n, order uncertain.
21. Haile 1943a, p. 230; cp. p. 228.
22. Oakes-Campbell, p. 41; Pl. XIII. I have co-ordinated the names with my terminology as nearly as the printed forms allow.
23. Haile 1938b, pp. 288-91.
24. *Ib.*, pp. 78-81.
25. Matthews 1897, p. 144.
26. *Ib.*, p. 86.
27. *Ib.*, pp. 96-7; Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
28. Haile 1938b, p. 158, line 10; Matthews 1902, pp. 162, 250-5, 311, 23n, 315, 69n.
29. Reichard 1944b.

CHAPTER 17

(SONG)

1. Kluckhohn-Spencer, pp. 50-1.
2. No tones are indicated on the words of the songs, since they are musically, not linguistically, determined.
3. Reichard 1948.

NOTES

4. Haile 1938b, pp. 258ff.
5. Haile 1943a, p. 293, 69n excerpt.
6. Reichard 1944b, pp. 11-2.
7. Matthews 1894a, p. 185.
8. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 32; Matthews 1897, pp. 148, 171; 1902, pp. 206, 211; Newcomb 1940b, pp. 52-3.
9. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
10. Matthews 1887, p. 393.
11. Matthews 1897, p. 181.
12. Matthews 1902, pp. 244-5 excerpt.
13. Newcomb-Reichard, p. 26.
14. Matthews 1889.
15. Haile 1938b, pp. 130-1.
16. Goddard, pp. 90-1, 163; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 38.
17. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
18. Goddard, pp. 34, 137.
19. *Ib.*, p. 175.
20. Hill 1938, p. 61 excerpt.
21. *Ib.*, p. 52.
22. Reichard, Big Star Chant ms.
23. Haile 1938b, p. 259, translation mine.
24. *Ib.*, p. 261, translation mine.
25. *Ib.*, p. 272, brackets mine.
26. Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
27. Hill 1938, pp. 61ff. excerpt.
28. Matthews 1907, pp. 26ff.
29. Reichard, Endurance Chant ms.
30. Haile 1938b, p. 291.
31. *Ib.*, pp. 30-1.

CHAPTER 18

(PRAYERSTICKS)

1. Reichard 1923, p. 119; Haile 1938b, pp. 59-60.
2. Matthews 1902, pp. 36ff.; Kluckhohn-Wyman, pp. 88ff.
3. Matthews 1902, p. 39.
4. Reichard 1944d, pp. 58-9; *cp.* pp. 18-9, 43, 52-3, 65, 73; Wheelwright 1946, pp. 154-60.
5. Haile 1938b, pp. 204-5.
6. *Cp.* Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 30, 50n.
7. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
8. Haile 1943a, pp. 39, 272, 319, 300n.
9. Kluckhohn-Wyman, pp. 69, 89.
10. *Ib.*
11. Matthews 1887, p. 452; 1902, p. 313, 50n; Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 27.

NOTES

12. Wheelwright 1942, pp. 41-2, 45.
13. *Ib.*, pp. 49, 67-8, 69.
14. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.; Haile 1938b, p. 215.
15. *Ib.*, p. 83.
16. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.
17. *Ib.*
18. *Ib.*
19. Matthews 1902, pp. 199, 313, 50n.
20. Reichard 1939, pp. 57-8; Shooting Chant ms.
21. Shooting Chant ms.

CHAPTER 19

(CLASSIFICATION OF CEREMONIES)

1. Wyman-Kluckhohn; Haile 1938a; 1938b, pp. 9-27.
2. There is one qualification to this statement. The material from Ramah and Chaco differs considerably from mine, whereas the rest from Mariana Lake through the reservation, even including some from a Tuba City informant, corresponds in detail and, for the most part, in mythological interpretation, the differences being unexplained rather than conflicting.
3. Wyman-Kluckhohn, pp. 30-1, 107n.
4. Haile 1938b, p. 10; 1943a, p. 3.
5. Haile 1938b, p. 15; Stephen 1930.
6. The chant recorded by Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn-Wyman, pp. 155-8) is said to be of Jicarilla Apache derivation. The rites are so similar to those of the Male Shooting Chant in my area as to be non-differentiating, and since there is no myth, there is no interpretation. The fragment of myth given as that of the Female Shooting Chant Evil is quite similar to the main episode of the Male Shooting Chant Evil myth as I recorded it. There is, consequently, no distinction between female and evil. From the account I cannot determine the distinctive symbols upon which my classification has been based.
7. *Cp.* Wyman-Kluckhohn, p. 24.
8. Father Berard translates the word for this 'angry way' (Haile 1938a). I cannot analyze this on any basis. My own form means 'the phase that involves reddening inside,' an interpretation that corresponds with linguistic and ritualistic forms.
9. Newcomb-Reichard, Pl. XVI, XVII, XX, XXIII, XXV-XXVIII.
10. Wheelwright 1942, pp. 165-6.
11. *Cp.* Kluckhohn-Leighton, pp. 176-81.
12. Huckel ms.
13. Reichard 1944a.
14. Huckel ms.
15. Reichard 1944c.
16. Wyman-Bailey 1945.
17. Wyman-Bailey 1943a.

NOTES

18. A cursory reading of a long unpublished myth in Mary Wheelwright's possession seems to corroborate the second alternative.
19. Matthews 1902; personal information from Franc J. Newcomb.
20. Haile 1938b, p. 15.
21. Haile 1943a, p. 34 excerpt.
22. Sapir-Hoijer, p. 257.
23. *łá'* *altso bílátah dasilá'* *do' xójjó'djída*. There is no way of accounting for the suffix *-da* in Sapir's translation. It belongs with the negative frame *do' . . . -da(h)*, instead of being taken with *dasilá* and interpreted as an abbreviation of *do'le'ł*, 'it will be.' *do'*, abbreviated from *do'le'ł*, is common, but I have never found it with the suffix *-da*. It cannot be *-dó'* or *-dó'*, 'also,' since Sapir never makes this kind of error in recording, and these suffixes are used only if there is a series of co-ordinate words.
24. Cp. Ch. 16; Sapir-Hoijer, p. 523, 224n.
25. Oakes-Campbell, p. 56.
26. Haile 1943a, pp. 7, 272.
27. Huckel ms.
28. Haile 1943a, pp. 6, 290, 25n, 292, 44n, 45n, 59n, 294, 90n, 91n, 297, 128n, 306, 37n, 38n, 307, 55n, 56n.
29. *Ib.*, pp. 4, 6, 290, 26an, 307, 56n.
30. *Ib.*, p. 9.
31. *Ib.*, pp. 9, 280.
32. Reichard, Shooting Chant ms.; Wheelwright 1946, p. 5.
33. Hill 1938, pp. 101ff.
34. Reichard 1944d, p. 90; Wheelwright 1946, p. 154, 2A, B; cp. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 115, Pl. III, Fig. 5, 6.
35. Haile 1938b, pp. 41, 59-61; 1943a, pp. 22-3.

CHAPTER 20

(ORGANIZATION OF RITUAL)

1. Kluckhohn-Wyman, pp. 22-48, 115-6, 159-60.
2. *Ib.*
3. *Ib.*, pp. 81, 94, 195.
4. Haile 1943a, p. 20.
5. Reichard 1939, pp. 42-4, Fig. 1; Newcomb-Reichard, p. 59, Pl. XIX.
6. Matthews 1902, p. 155.
7. Kluckhohn-Wyman, p. 82.
8. Matthews 1902; Kluckhohn-Wyman.

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