

Navajo Ceremonial System

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There is no word or phrase in the Navajo language that can be translated as 'religion' in the sense of that term in European languages. However, this word is the most convenient label for Navajo beliefs concerning the dynamics of the universe and their techniques for controlling them when rational means fail, and for their belief in what may be called the "supernatural," although Navajos do not place such matters in a separate category of experience. It is a tribute to what has been called the Navajos' "genius for adaptability" that they have been able to preserve practically intact their traditional cultural inventory of these beliefs and practices in the face of long and vigorous pressure from European culture and the enormous number of acculturative changes in the last few decades. Their religion, or ceremonial system to use a more accurate term, was adhered to by the majority of Navajos in 1972.

When the Peyote religion of the Native American Church first appeared among the Navajo it was opposed by many medicine men (although Peyotists were never antagonistic to traditional Navajo religion), and until the 1960s it seemed to some observers that its influence might cause a decline in the traditional ceremonial system. However, this did not happen. By the 1970s the Native American Church was seen by most Navajo people as simply another chantway, *'azee'ji* or Medicine Way. Members of the NAC were active in traditional ceremonialism, and a good number of traditional Navajo medicine men had also become Roadmen in the Native American Church (Gary Witherspoon, communication to editors 1974).

A survey conducted by Chi'ao (1971:91-94) in 1965 among 284 Navajo students in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools found that although the majority of Navajo young people believed that sickness and misfortune were caused by supernatural agencies and would like to learn more about their ceremonialism, few were inclined to study to become practitioners of it. Much of the reason for this is the long time required for learning and participating in ceremonials; therefore, Chi'ao suggested that one solution to the problem of lagging recruitment of practitioners is to shorten and simplify the ceremonials and to use some learning aids such as taking notes of ceremonial songs or using tape recorders.

Ceremonialism is the system the Navajos have developed to cope with the uncertainties and dangers of

their universe. They regard the universe as an orderly, all-inclusive, unitary system of interrelated elements. The tiniest object, being, or power, even minute insects; the most stupendous, the great mountains that bound the Navajo country and the thunder and lightning that crash above them; and man himself—all have their place and significant function in the universal continuum. Being all-inclusive, the universe contains evil as well as good, not as abstract ethical concepts but as complementary components of it—the controlled, harmonious, orderly, and the uncontrolled, unharmonious, disorderly portions of every unit or complex in it. Every human being, no matter how good in life, has an evil component that becomes a dangerous ghost after death, which may harm the living if not controlled. Evil and danger come from disturbance of the normal order, harmony, or balance among the elements of the universe and absence of control, which depends upon knowledge (Reichard 1950, 1:5-7). There are numerous things or powers in the universe that are indifferent or good when under control and in harmony with man but that may be potentially evil when uncontrolled. Some, such as ghosts of the dead or certain animals like snakes, coyote, or bear, or natural phenomena such as lightning or whirlwinds, have greater potentiality for evil than others, but they may be controlled and even made to help in restoring the normal order of things upon the application of sufficient knowledge. Other elements are predominantly good unless related to excessive activity. Improper contact with inherently dangerous powers (even if indirect, unintentional, or unconscious), the breaching of traditional restrictions on human behavior in relation to the supernatural (taboos), or excesses in gambling, sexual activity, or even harmless pursuits such as weaving, may lead to disturbance of the normal harmony or balance among elements in the universe and to the price man pays for it usually manifested as illness. Moreover, such improper behavior on the part of a parent of an unborn child, especially the mother, may affect the child by causing it to suffer sickness later in its life. That is why women are barred from witnessing or participating in certain aspects of ceremonial procedure, such as the making of drypaintings. Such a theory of evil is based on contagion rather than sin. Murder is potentially dangerous not because of the deed itself but because of contact

with the dead. Excesses are not considered sins but are thought of as symptoms of disease amenable to ritual cure. The principle of reciprocity governs human relations with the many elements in the universe, including other humans. Thus injury for injury, sickness for misbehavior, and favor for favor to set things right are the circumstances to be expected in this dangerous world.

The Ceremonial System

The knowledge and correct performance of traditional orderly procedures, that is, ritual, are the means for bringing the dangerous under control, exorcising ghosts, restoring harmony in the relations of an individual or a group with the world, and rendering a sick person immune to renewed contamination by the same supernatural factors. Various procedures sometimes called "white magic" are employed in this ritual—compulsion by repetition, the principle of like cures like, identification of participants with supernatural beings. Ceremonials governed by this ritual are permeated with colorful symbolism expressed in the word imagery of songs, prayers, and myths; in the sound of the music accompanying them; in the behavior of participants; in material paraphernalia and drypaintings with their symbols of color, sex, and direction.

The Holy People, supernatural beings attracted to the ceremonial by invocatory prayers and offerings, judge the correctness and completeness of the performance and if satisfied they are compelled by the ethic of reciprocity to come and "set things right"—to cure the patient, to restore universal harmony. Prayers and offerings in Navajo ceremonials are not for the purpose of glorifying or thanking the holy ones but are invocatory and compulsive, to attract and obligate them.

Although the chief aim of Navajo ceremonialism stated philosophically is the restoration of universal harmony once it has been disturbed, the practical-minded Navajo if questioned would say that ceremonials are carried out, first, to restore and maintain health; second, to obtain increase of wealth, the well-being of home, flocks, and fields, the security of himself and his relatives; and perhaps third, to acquire certain ceremonial property, such as the white shell or turquoise bead token to wear as protection from lightning and snakes. Unspoken benefits would be the prestige value of giving costly ceremonials and the opportunity for social gatherings. A Navajo might sum it all up in a single Navajo word, *hózhó*, a term that has no single equivalent in English. This term, often translated as 'it is pleasant, beautiful, or blessed', covers everything that a Navajo thinks is good or favorable to man, as opposed to that which is evil, unfavorable, or doubtful. It expresses for the Navajo what the words beauty, perfection, harmony, goodness, normality, success,

well-being, blessedness, order, and ideal do for English speakers. It is the central idea in Navajo religious thinking and their basic value concept (see Reichard 1944:32-33, 1950, 1:318; Wyman 1950:346, 1957:15, 1959:16, 1970a:7-8). Adding the enclitic *-jí* 'in the direction of, side, manner, way' results in the name of a rite designed to bring about the conditions expressed by the word *hózhójí*, which is translated as 'Blessing-way'.

The majority of Navajo ceremonials are primarily for curing disease, actual or anticipated; thus every performance is given for an individual patient, with occasionally one or two copatients, relatives or children of the patient, who is called 'the one sung over'. Even in a Blessingway rite that is not specifically concerned with curing but is performed for other purposes there is usually one sung over or a 'patient'. No doubt the Navajo's predisposition to worry over health (it is his "type worry"), exacerbated by the prevalence of actual disease, caused him to combine his religious and medical practices. Thus his ceremonialism differs markedly from that of his neighbors, the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, whose ceremonials thoroughly integrated with their social organization are primarily for bringing rain and fertility with curing only secondary. Moreover, Pueblo ceremonials are conducted by organized priesthoods, religious societies, or other groups, and are carried out in an annual round according to a set religious calendar. Their focus is the common good and the individual is subordinated. The Navajo have no organized priesthoods or religious societies, but their ceremonials are conducted by trained specialists called *hataalii* 'singers' (figs. 1-2), because the singing that accompanies every important act in the ritual is held to be the one essential element of the ceremonial. In fact the name for a performance of one of the largest group of ceremonials, the chantways, is *hataál* 'sing' or 'singing'. Moreover, Navajo ceremonialism touches their social organization in only a few rather minor ways, and it is not integrated with any sort of calendar, except for a few seasonal restrictions; rather, ceremonials are held whenever they are needed. Thus Navajo practice is more individualistic than that of the Pueblo, although along with the cure of an individual patient there may come blessings that extend to the family, the local community, even to the whole tribe, such as rain in time of drought. According to Reichard (1945:206), "between the Pueblo and Navaho there is no difference of purpose, but only a difference of emphasis," and "they differ in their interpretation of what well-being consists of and how it is to be achieved."

Curing ceremonials often do cure the patient, especially when the ailment being treated is largely of psychosomatic origin. A few of the procedures in Navajo ceremonials may have actual organic effects, but above



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Fig. 1. Ceremonial singers Hastin Gani (left), of Beautiful Valley, Ariz., and Red Moustache of Kinlichee, Ariz. Both hold rawhide rattles, traditionally used in chantways. Baskets in foreground hold some of their ceremonial equipment, such as the otter fur collar (to be used by either singer or patient in chantways, such as the Shootingway). Hastin Gani, whose specialty was the Beauty Chant (Reichard 1950:xvi), died in 1948 or 1949. Photograph by Gladys A. Reichard (whom Red Moustache had instructed in the Big Star and Endurance Chants) (Reichard 1950), 1930s or 1940s.

all the ceremonials constitute a powerful system of suggestive psychotherapy, which relieves psychosomatic ills and enables the patient to bear organic troubles with more fortitude. The prestige and authority of the singer, the mysticism of the performance itself, the rallying of relatives and friends to aid in his cure—all contribute to his feeling of well-being. Moreover, the psychotherapy extends to all the spectators, while the ceremonial reaffirms the basic tenets of their faith and, by providing a fixed point in an existence of bewildering change, gives them comfort, societal security, and something to hold to in an unstable world (Kluckhohn 1942).

Singers learn ceremonials by studying with older experts often for long periods of time. The apprentice ratifies his knowledge by payment to his teacher. A singer specializes in one or two or at most a half-dozen complete chants, because each one is a vast complex requiring accurate knowledge of hundreds of songs, long prayers, plant medicines, material properties, symbolic drypaintings, and ritual acts. Some singers have claimed to know as many as eight ceremonials, but some of these were doubtless brief procedures. Besides his specialties a singer may know how to perform portions of several others. Women seldom become singers, probably because of fear of prenatal contagion, for there is no rule against it and there have been a few highly respected female practitioners.



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Fig. 2. Frank Mitchell of Chinle, Ariz., a noted Blessingway singer, with his mountain soil bundle (upright in basket). It consists of 4 small packages each containing earth from one of the sacred mountains, placed around a mirage stone and a perfect white shell, which "resembles Mother Earth" and into which valued substances such as corn pollen have been placed, all wrapped in buckskin from an "unwounded" (ritually suffocated) deer (Mitchell 1978:203-204). Photograph by Charlotte Johnson Frisbie, at Chinle, May 1965.

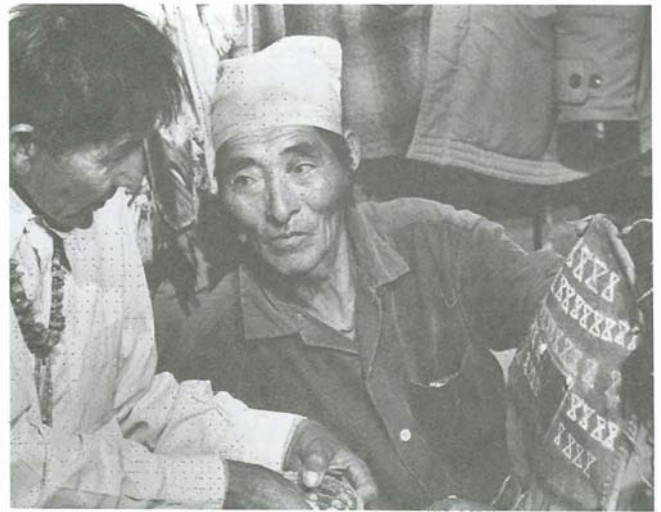
Sometimes certain individuals, not always or even often singers, are accused or suspected of malevolently misusing certain types of ritual knowledge to harm others, that is, of practicing witchcraft. Troubles thought to have been caused by witches are especially difficult to deal with, sometimes being refractory to ceremonial treatment and requiring special techniques such as the sucking cure (see Haile 1950). Therefore, the witch is hated and feared, and this fear persists even among Navajos who have ceased to believe in the efficacy of the ceremonials (Kluckhohn 1944:33). Chi'ao (1971:91) in his study of Navajo students found that the majority of them feared witches and the older they were the greater their fear.

The Holy People

Each ceremonial has special relations with certain groups of supernatural beings, but of course there is

top, William R. Heick Photography, Mill Valley, Calif.; Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York; a, 22/9162; b, 22/9164; c, 22/9167.

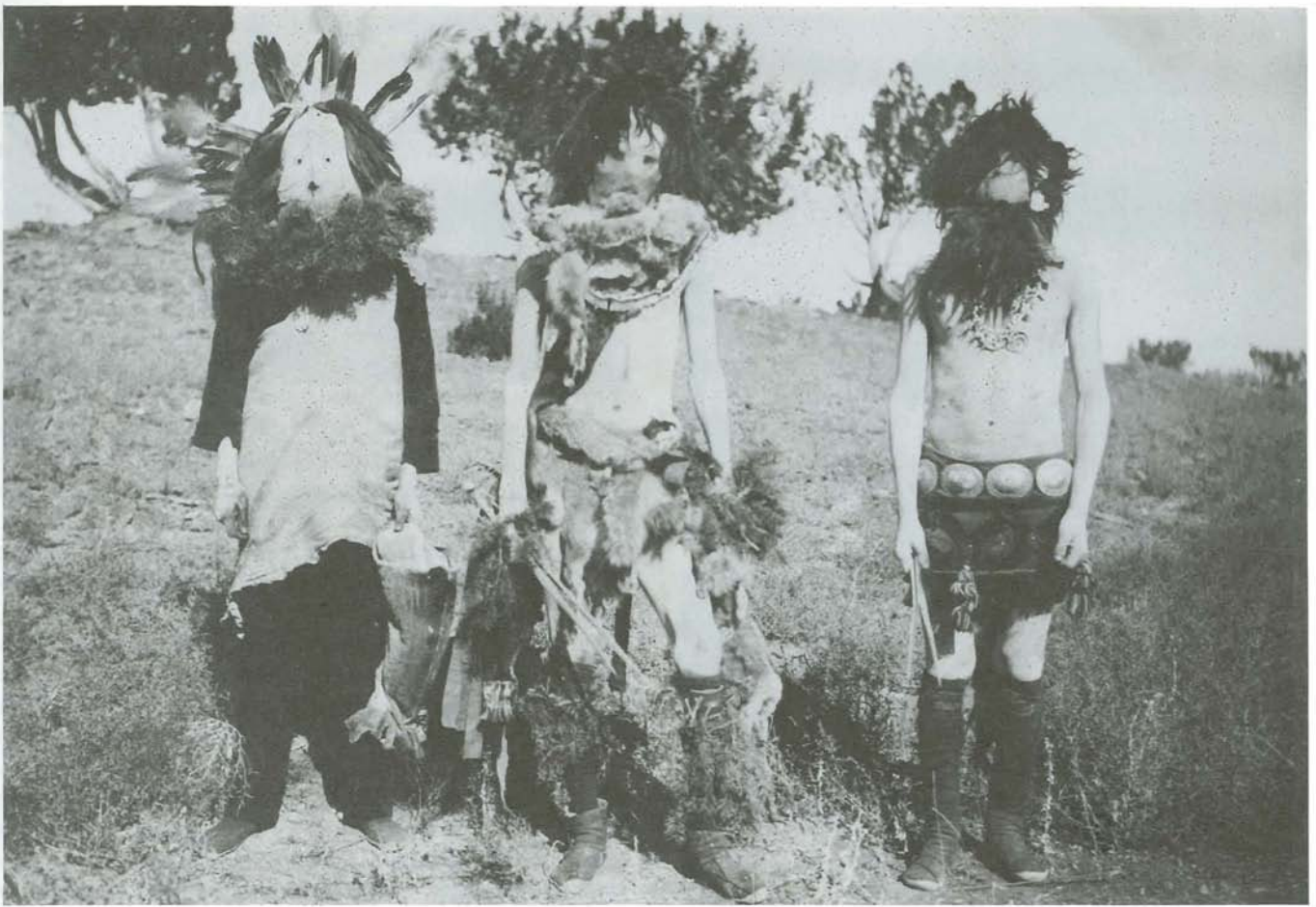
Fig. 3. Yeibichai masks. top, Consultation over a mask being repainted for use in a Nightway. The mask is that of one of the Slayer Twins, Born for Water (*Tó Bájtschint*), which is painted red, except for a triangular white-bordered black section at the middle (into which the eye-holes and mouth have been cut) and a series of white queue symbols (see Matthews 1902:22–24). These symbols, said to represent the scalps of enemies taken in war, also appear on the rattle stick used in the Enemyway and as representations of scalps also refer to the traditional Navajo way of wearing the hair. This 9-day Nightway was filmed and recorded by the Amer. Ind. Films Group; unedited footage and tapes are in the Lowie Mus., Amer. Ind. Films Coll., Berkeley, Calif. Photograph by William R. Heick, Dec. 1963. bottom, Masks worn for ceremonies such as the Night Chant, which required up to 24 masked dancers (Matthews 1902). The buckskin masks are decorated to represent specific gods. a, Male God, *Haashch' ééh Bika'*, has a mouth made from a gourd surrounded by kit fox hair. b, Female God, *Haashch' ééh Ba'áád*, is characterized by the ear flaps with notched edges on either side of the face. Men do dress as females, but especially in public exhibitions women will serve as Female God impersonators. c, The mask of Born for Water's brother, Monster Slayer, *Naayéé' Neizgháni*, with olivella shells attached to the eye and mouth openings. For more detailed description of masks and their trimmings when worn see Haile (1947a). Traditionally masks were to be made only of unwounded buckskin but imitations were made for other than ceremonial purposes (Franciscan Fathers 1910:393). c, Length about 38.1 cm, rest to same scale. All collected by Stewart Culin, Cottonwood Pass, Ariz., 1903.



protect a departing or returning soldier, strengthen a neophyte singer, and consecrate a marriage (Wyman 1970a:3–9). The *kinaaldá*, the girl's adolescence rite, is a Blessingway rite (fig. 5) (Frisbie 1967), as is the rain ceremony, the obsolete salt-gathering rites, and probably the obsolescent hunting rites (Gameway, *Dini'ee*). The Navajos regard Blessingway as the backbone of their religion and give it historical precedence over all other ceremonials. Although set apart from the chantways it is said to control all of them. Every chant, and even the Enemyway rite, includes a Blessingway song near the end to correct possible errors and insure the effectiveness of the performance.

Although not for curing, a person who is sung over represents the group to be benefited. The rite is comparatively short and simple lasting only two nights, from sundown of one day to dawn of the second day after that. (Navajos reckon time by nights, that is, from sundown to sundown, instead of by days.) After consecration of the hogan with cornmeal, there are a few prayers and songs and perhaps a long litany while the one sung over holds the mountain soil bundle in front of his chest on the first evening. The next day there is a ritual bath in the forenoon, sometimes drypaintings made of variously colored cornmeal, pulverized flower petals, and pollens strewn on a buckskin or a cloth substitute spread on the ground, with more songs and prayers. The final night is taken up with all-night singing, and the cere-

monial closes with the dawn procedures (Wyman 1970a:104–106). The only essential piece of equipment for performing a Blessingway rite is the mountain soil bundle, a buckskin bundle containing little buckskin packages of pinches of soil from the summits of the sacred mountains and certain stone objects. Also one or more pairs of talking prayersticks are in most if not all Blessingway singers' pouches. These are usually made of two cylinders of aragonite (mirage stone) tied



Smithsonian, NAA.

Fig. 4. Talking God (*Haashch'éełti'i*) at left, with the Gray God (*Haashch'éełbáhl*), center, and Female God (*Haashch'éełh Ba'áád*). These three yei impersonators are among those known as begging gods or food solicitors, who are sent out to solicit gifts of food, tobacco, or other items, on the sixth or subsequent days of a Night Chant (Matthews 1902:126–127). Talking God's whitened buckskin mask, which includes outlined circular holes for eyes and mouth, a distinctive band of yellow at the base, and a representation of a double-eared stalk of corn in the center, is worn with a fringe of hair, a spruce collar, and a fan-like head ornament of eagle plumes (Matthews 1902:9–10). The impersonator is draped in a buckskin and carries a deerskin pouch filled with pollen. Talking God, the leader of the yeis, appears elsewhere in the Night Chant and in other chantways. Photograph by Simeon Schwemberger, about 1905.

together (Wyman 1970a:16–24, 27). Small sacks of pollen are also present.

No herb medicines are administered in Blessingway sites, but pollen is eaten along with prayer, and the rite makes much of this substance. Usually it is corn pollen shaken from the tassel but the pollen of certain wild plants, such as cattail flag, may be used. Pollen is personified as Corn Pollen Boy (*Táádtín 'Ashkii*) and his companion, Corn Beetle-Girl, symbols of fertility, happiness, and life itself (Wyman and Bailey 1964:29, 131–132, 142–144; Wyman 1970a:30–32). Pollen is applied to everything for consecration and sanctification—patient, hogan, paraphernalia, drypaintings, spectators. Pollen prayer consists of taking a pinch from a sack, putting some in the mouth and on the top of the head, and sprinkling the remainder or a fresh pinch upward while muttering a brief prayer. Ceremonies are often

closed with communal pollen prayer in which a sack of pollen is passed to all the spectators, beginning south of the door of the hogan and so on to south, west, and north (sunwise), each one partaking as above.

The Enemyway rite, one of the mostly obsolescent group of ancient war ceremonials (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:7, 33), which was used to protect warriors from the ghosts of slain enemies, has been preserved and no doubt elaborated as a cure for sickness thought to be caused by ghosts of non-Navajos. It is now classed with the other Ghostway (Evilway) ceremonials. It differs from other song ceremonials in that it lasts three or five nights, portions of it are conducted in different places, it is not in charge of a single singer but has more than one leader, and it is not restricted to four repetitions (see Haile 1938).

The chantways used for curing or preventing illness



William R. Heick Photography, Mill Valley, Calif.

Fig. 5. Marie Shirley during the fourth night of her second *kinaaldá* at which her grandfather, Frank Mitchell, officiated (see Frisbie 1967:29–66). The silver and turquoise bracelets (4 on the right arm, 3 on the left), turquoise necklaces, ceremonial sash, and concho belt (belonging to Mitchell), were taken from a ceremonial basket during successive days of the *kinaaldá* as part of the ritual dressing. Other ceremonies in the *kinaaldá* include ritual hair combing and tying, molding (which involves symbolically pressing the girl's body into a woman's shape), the running of races, ritual corngrinding, and various blessings (see Frisbie 1967:71–88). Photograph by William R. Heick (in connection with filming by the Amer. Ind. Films Group), at Chinle, Ariz., June 1963.

are by far the largest group of song ceremonials. Formerly there were some 24 chantway systems, but only about eight were well known and frequently performed in the 1970s. At least six are extinct (Hailway, Mothway, Dogway, Ravenway, Awlway, Earthway), and three or four are obsolescent if not extinct (Waterway, Excessway, Coyoteway, Big Godway). Navajos may differentiate chants according to the ritual governing them, male and female branches (a distinction probably depending on the sex of the protagonist of the myth and marked by comparatively slight differences in procedure), and a few other considerations, so that from 40 to 50 names for song ceremonials are used by them.

A chantway is dominated by one of three rituals or patterns of behavior governing procedure: Holyway, Evilway, and Lifeway. Most chantways are performed

according to Holyway ritual, theoretically directed by the Holy People, and are concerned with the attraction of good and the restoration of the patient. This in turn is subject to one of two subrituals, Peacefulway characterized by a preponderance of procedures to attract good and summon the Holy People, and Injuryway (Angryway, Fightingway, Weaponway), which has exorcistic emphasis. Any Holyway ceremonial is to be regarded as Peacefulway unless the contrary is stated. Injuryway is employed when the patient has been or is thought to have been subjected to direct attack by the etiological factors involved, struck by lightning, bitten by a snake, mauled by a bear, and so on. Such ceremonials are called red-inside because the red parts of red and blue elements in sandpaintings and on prayersticks are placed opposite to their normal outside positions.

Evilway (Ghostway; literally Uglyway, see Haile 1938a:650) ritual is characterized by techniques for exorcising native ghosts and chasing away evil influences, such as big hoop ceremonies (fig. 6); garment or cincture ceremonies (fig. 7); overshooting; blackening the patient; and lightning-herb, ash-blowing, and brushing procedures (Wyman 1965:31–42, 58–62). Evilway chants are used to treat disease traced to contact with Navajo ghosts and to combat the effects of witchcraft. The Enemyway rite for dealing with alien ghost sickness is associated with them. In 1972, Shootingway, Red Antway, Big Starway, and Hand-Tremblingway were known to be performed according to this ritual, and there was an exclusively and probably fundamental Evilway ceremonial called Upward-reachingway (Wyman and Bailey 1943). In fact, Big Starway is usually, if not always, an Evilway chant, and Hand-Trembling Evilway is more common than the Holyway form. Symptoms of ghost sickness or bewitchment may be bad dreams, insomnia, fainting, nervousness, mental disturbances, feelings of suffocation, loss of appetite, loss of weight, or other alarming disturbances. Sinister unknown influences, perhaps never to be known, may be removed by Evilway ritual.

Finally, Shootingway, and formerly Hand-Tremblingway, may be conducted according to Lifeway ritual, which is specific for treating injuries resulting from accidents. Besides, there is a fundamental Lifeway chant called Flintway. Such chants are simpler than the others, lasting only two nights although their duration may not be fixed, a ceremonial being continued as long as needed. The distinctive feature of Lifeway ritual is painting the patient red, the color of flesh and blood, symbolizing return to life and health (Haile 1943; Wyman and Bailey 1945).

It may never be known if all the chantways were once conducted according to all three rituals. In the 1970s Shootingway was the only one that employed all three, the choice depending on the purpose involved. There



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Fig. 6. Big Hoop ceremony, one of the exorcising techniques used in Evilway ritual. The patient, a young boy, is under the white cloth (replacing the buckskin representing Coyote's hide that is normally worn and shed during this ceremony). Painted hoops (in red, blue, yellow, and black) are being held by 4 men as the patient's grandmother (left, obscuring the view of the fourth man) assists the patient through the hoops and into the ceremonial hogan. See Wyman (1965:31, 46-47, 58-59) for description of ceremony, shown here on the fifth morning of a Red Antway Holyway. Photograph by Kenneth Foster, Valley Store, Ariz., June 17, 1963.

is some evidence that certain rituals for some chants are only recently extinct. Actually all Holyway chants contain both invocatory and exorcistic elements. Nearly all Holyway chants have or had two-night and five-night forms, and some, perhaps most of them, had nine-night forms. Several still do, and they are achieved by spacing the components (ceremonies) found in the five-night form over a longer period rather than by adding new procedures. Since two of the three principal ceremonies of the first four days of a nine-night performance, unraveling and the sweat-emetic, have an exorcistic flavor, while only one, the offering ceremony, is invocatory, and since all the main ceremonies of the last five days are invocatory, it may be that the first part was derived from an earlier, mainly exorcistic pattern of ritual behavior and that the second part was attached to it later. Perhaps the elements of the first part were brought along by the early Athapaskans in their southward migrations and the second was derived from the drypainting practices of the Pueblo Indians after the arrival of the Athapaskans in the Southwest. Whether these two parts were first fitted together into a five-night ceremonial that was later expanded into a nine-night form or condensed into a two-night form, or whether they were first attached to each other linearly in a nine-night form that was condensed later is a moot point. Evilway ritual, then, may have come about by the elaboration of the first, predominantly exorcistic portion. There are, of course, still other possible explanations (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:10; Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940:106; Wyman and Bailey 1943:45; Wyman 1957:12).



Wheelwright Mus., Santa Fe., N. Mex.: 60/1370-1399.

Fig. 7. Patient wrapped in garment of Douglas fir for the garment ceremony of a Nightway. The patient is divested of her evergreen garment by impersonators of the Slayer Twins. As described by Matthews (1902:82-85), the garment ceremony occurred on the evening of the second day of the Nightway, and the patient normally wears a yucca mask (differentiated according to whether the patient is male or female). Photograph by Kenneth E. Foster, Totso Trading Post (Lukachukai, Ariz.), 1963.

The Holyway Chantways

The Navajo think of certain ceremonials as "going together" or as partner chants, making such associations because of interrelations in the origin myths of the chants, efficacy against the same etiological factors, procedures peculiar to the group, and so on. Although all Navajos in all regions do not group the ceremonials in exactly the same way, there is enough uniformity in the statements of informants to derive therefrom a native classification that is generally valid for most members of the tribe (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:5-7; Reichard 1950, 1:322-323; Kluckhohn 1960:69-70). Thus the Holyway chant complexes may be placed in seven subgroups (table 1). Only six of the chantways were performed frequently in 1972—Shootingway, Mountainway, Nightway, Navajo and Chiricahua Windways, and Hand-Tremblingway. Red Antway, Big Starway (Evilway ritual), Beautyway, and Plumeway are known and may be performed as complete chants but much less often than the other six, and Eagleway and Beadway are very uncommon, perhaps obsolescent. Singers sometimes know a few songs but not the entire repertory from the obsolescent or extinct ones.

Excerpts or a single or a few procedures from a chantway lasting only a portion of a day or night may be carried out, often as a test performance, and if the patient seems to be benefited the whole ceremonial may be given for him. Theoretically a chant that has cured

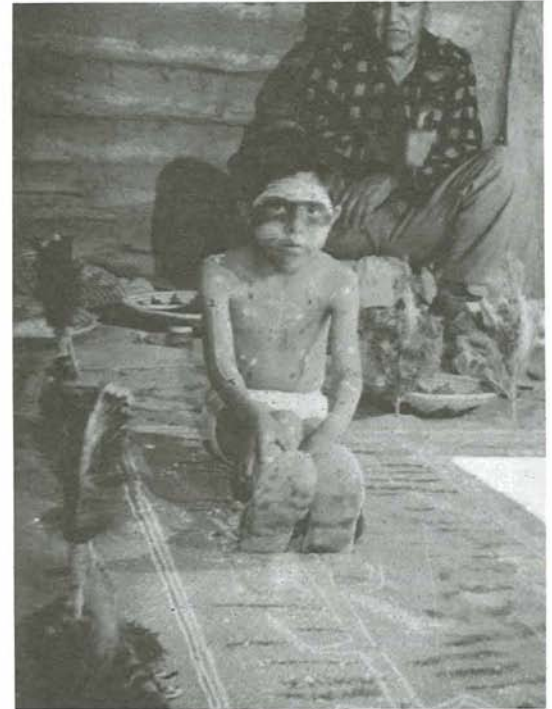
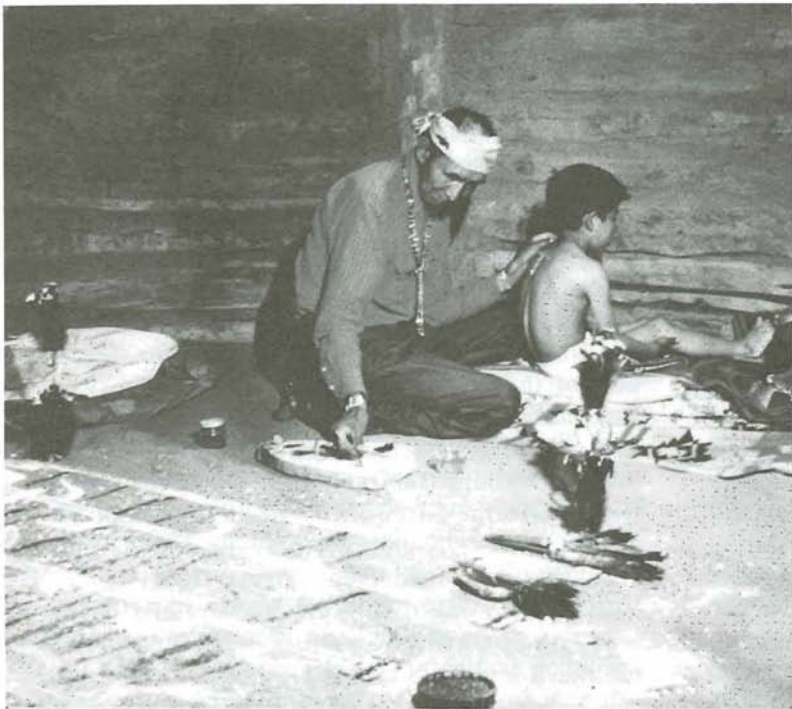
a person should be given for him a total of four times, usually in alternate five-night and two-night forms. However, repetition of performances may be strung over a period of many years or may be dispensed with entirely.

Each chant is concerned with particular factors that are thought to cause the disease or diseases for which it is believed to be an efficacious cure. In fact the ceremonial is directed toward appeasing or exorcising such factors rather than toward treating the physical symptoms of the illness itself. There are a multitude of things with which improper contact is believed to cause sickness (fig. 8). Among them are numerous animals with snakes, bear, porcupine, weasel, deer, coyote, eagle, and ants figuring prominently; cactus plants; natural phenomena with lightning (Thunder) and winds predominating; ceremonials themselves or actually the Holy People associated with them who may be present while the performance is in progress; and ghosts of dead people, both Navajo and alien, against which Evilway ritual is employed. Besides, the machinations of witches, incest, and excessive activity of any kind may cause illness. Improper contact may occur while hunting, trapping, killing, eating, mishandling, or being injured by an animal, using things it has been in contact with, such

as firewood, stones, and the like; burning cactus for firewood, especially for cooking; being struck by whirlwinds or by lightning, or seeing or eating animals killed by it, or having anything to do with objects affected by it; mistakes or neglect in ceremonial procedure, or transgressions of ceremonial restrictions; improper burial of the dead, using their possessions, or any sort of contact with them or their belongings; or even dreaming of any of these things.

The association of these etiological factors with specific diseases or disease categories is extremely loose. In fact almost any human ailment may be attributed to any one of them, although certain ones are thought to be more likely to cause certain symptoms than others. When an illness has been traced to a certain factor or group of factors the chant most closely associated with them, through its origin myth or its symbolism, is indicated as a cure.

In the Shooting Chant subgroup the recently extinct Hailway and the obsolescent Waterway (Haile 1979) were used for persons injured by water, frost, or snow and hail; for resuscitation from drowning; for frostbite; and for lameness or muscle soreness. The Shootingways, which have more ramifications in regard to rituals, subrituals, phases, branches, and etiological fac-



Leland C. Wyman, Sonderborg, Denmark.

Fig. 8. Red Ant Holyway (Peacefulway subritual), held for a patient who had improper contact with ants. On the eighth and last afternoon of this ceremony, conducted by singer *Deeshchü'nii ni' Nééz Biye* 'Son of the late Tall Red Streak Clansman', a sandpainting representing Blue Corn People was made, and various procedures, including those shown here, followed (see Wyman 1965:48-49). left, Patient being painted by an assistant who has just applied a yellow Thunder design to his back. Part of the sandpainting, which has been sprinkled with cornmeal, is visible in left foreground. right, Patient, fully painted (principally with designs representing thunder, black clouds, and lightning), seated on one of the Blue Corn People in the sandpainting. Bundle prayersticks (at left) and spruce uprights (behind patient at right) are part of the sandpainting set-up. Photographs by Charlotte Johnson Frisbie, Valley Store, Ariz., June 20, 1963.

tors than any other chantway, were among the most popular and most frequently performed song ceremonials in the 1970s. They have preserved more of the elements of a chantway complex and have more sandpaintings associated with them than any other ceremonial (Newcomb and Reichard 1937; Reichard 1939, 1950; Wyman 1970). They are used to alleviate troubles attributed to the effects of thunder and lightning or to their cognate earthly symbols, snakes and arrows. Chest and lung troubles and gastrointestinal diseases are often ascribed to these factors, but most any ailment may be traced to them if convenient. Red Antway is good for diseases coming from ants, horned toads (fig. 9), and secondarily from lightning and bears. These are primarily genitourinary troubles, but gastrointestinal distress, skin diseases, sore throat, or rheumatism may be treated by the chant. Urinating on an anthill or disturbing one in any way, or inadvertently swallowing an ant in food or drink, or being bitten by one, may be sources of ant infection (Wyman 1965:25–27). Big Starway, although probably once concerned with heavenly bodies, is now done according to Evilway ritual and used to treat any illness thought to be caused by native ghosts or by witches (Wheelwright 1956:106–110). There is presumptive evidence that the Windways and also Flintway, the fundamental Lifeway chant, may belong in the Shooting Chant subgroup instead of comprising separate ones (Wyman 1962:48, 51, 66, 1970:4).

In the Mountain Chant subgroup there are, of course, the Mountainways themselves (Matthews 1887; Haile 1946; Wyman 1975) and the closely related Beautyway (Wyman 1957), and two obsolescent or extinct chant-



William R. Heick Photography, Mill Valley, Calif.

Fig. 9. Blue horned toad and anthill sandpainting from a Red Ant Holyway. In contrast to the Corn People sandpainting painted for this same chantway, sandpaintings of horned toads and anthills, Ant People, and Horned Toad People are generally confined to the Red Antway (Wyman 1965:233). This rendering (in blue with a trail in blue and red from the toad's mouth to the entrance of the anthill) was made for the sweat-emetic ceremony on the morning of the second day. Beside it is a basket of herbs and a sweat-emetic hoop (through which the patient is to vomit) placed over a basin made of sand. The sweat-emetic ceremony was performed on 4 successive mornings, with a similar painting of a horned toad with bow and arrow and lightning arrows, each day rendered in a different color. Photograph by William R. Heick, at Valley Store, Ariz., June 14, 1963. Filmed and recorded by the Amer. Ind. Films Group.

ways, Excessway and Mothway (Haile 1978; Luckert 1978). The etiological factors that Mountainway deals with are animals that live in the mountains, first and foremost the bear, porcupines, weasels, squirrels and chipmunks, badgers, skunks, and wild turkeys. Bear disease seems to be firmly associated with two groups of illnesses, arthritis and mental disturbances. Porcupine disease may be manifested as gastrointestinal trouble or kidney and bladder disturbances. Killing squirrels may lead to nasal discomfort or coughing. Itching, pimples, and skin diseases may be traced to killing or eating a turkey; deafness and eye troubles, to the mountain sheep. There are other associations of sickness with animals, but primarily Mountainway may be considered a cure for bear disease. Beautyway, which could be considered to be Mountainway's sister chant, is above all concerned with snakes of every description as etiological factors; in fact it is so firmly associated with snake infection that English-speaking Navajos sometimes call it "the snake chant." Lizards, certain water creatures such as frogs, toads, and possibly weasels might be included among Beautyway's etiological factors. Among the diseases sometimes traced to snake infection are rheumatism, sore throat, stomach trouble, kidney and bladder trouble, and skin diseases or sores, in short almost any human misery. Care must be exercised in diagnosis because snakes are also important etiological

Table 1. Holyway Chantways Subgroups

Shooting Chant	Wind Chant (<i>Nítch'ijí</i>)
Hailway (<i>Ñlóee</i>) ^a	Navajo Windway (<i>Diné</i>)
Waterway (<i>Tóee</i>) ^a	<i>Binítch'ijí</i>
Shootingway (<i>Na'at'oyee</i>)	Chiricahua Windway
Red Antway (<i>Wóláchí'ijí</i>)	(<i>Chíshí Binítch'ijí</i>)
Big Starway (<i>Sq'tsohjí</i>)	Hand-Trembling Chant
Flintway (<i>Béshee</i>) ^(?)	Hand-Tremblingway
Mountain Chant	(<i>N'dilnihjí</i>)
Mountainway (<i>Dzitk'ijí</i>)	Eagle Trapping
Beautyway (<i>Hoozhónee</i>)	Eagleway (<i>'Atsáájí</i>) ^a
Excessway (<i>'Ajílee</i>) ^a	Beadway (<i>Yoo'ee</i>) ^a
Mothway (<i>'lich'ghjí</i>) ^a	Of uncertain affiliation
God-Impersonators	Awlway (<i>Tsahaa</i>) ^a
(<i>Yé'ii Hólóní</i>)	Earthway (<i>Ni'jí</i>) ^a
Nightway (<i>T'í'éé'jí</i>)	Reared-in-Earthway (<i>Ni'</i>)
Big Godway	<i>Honeeyáájí</i> ^(?) ^a
(<i>Haashch'éétsohee</i>) ^a	
Plumeway (<i>'Ats'osee</i>)	
Coyoteway (<i>Mq'iijí</i>) ^a	
Dogway (<i>Éééchaq'ijí</i>) ^a	
Ravenway (<i>Gáagiijí</i>) ^a	

^a Extinct, obsolescent, or extremely rare.

factors for Shootingway and for Navajo Windway. Here is an instance where an appropriate choice among the three chantways might be determined by an experimental trial of excerpted ceremonies. The extinct or decidedly obsolescent Excessway was doubtless closely related to the extinct Mothway, and both may have been associated with Coyoteway (Wyman and Bailey 1964:32–33, 148). These chants were cures for the effects of breaking ceremonial restrictions, all sorts of recklessness including sexual excesses, incest, and sexual irregularities of any kind. Contact with moths or butterflies may cause insanity, a desire to jump into the fire like a moth, or an impulse to commit clan incest. Witches are said to apply a powder containing setae from the wings of a moth or butterfly to the body of a victim to cause insanity. The text of a myth of Excessway recorded by Haile and two English versions have been published (Pepper 1908; Kluckhohn 1944:21–24, 96–108; Haile 1978), but little is known about Mothway. The Gameway version of Excessway was recorded by Luckert (1978).

The God-Impersonators subgroup (those that have impersonators of the supernaturals) is so called because in nine-night performances masked impersonators of the group of Holy People known as the Yeis appear as dancers in the public exhibition of the final night. The subgroup includes the well-known and popular Nightways and the closely related Big Godway (which may be only a branch of Nightway and not an independent ceremonial), Plumeway, the obsolescent Coyoteway, and two extinct chants, Dogway and Ravenway. The Night Chant, along with the Mountain Chant, is one of the Navajo ceremonials best known to non-Navajos, because of the spectacular dances of the final night, the peculiar, stirring singing that accompanies them, public performance of these dances outside of ceremonial practice (as in the Intertribal Indian Ceremonial at Gallup, New Mexico), and the fact that some of the first substantial descriptions of a Navajo ceremonial were devoted to this chant (J. Stevenson 1891; Matthews 1902; Tozzer 1909). The Yeis themselves are etiological factors and the chant is considered to be an efficacious cure for all sorts of head ailments, including eye and ear diseases and mental disturbances, but like all chants it may be used for other illnesses if they are attributed to the proper etiological sources. The myth of Big Godway is the story of the Stricken Twins, crippled and blind, and the chant is used for stiffness, paralysis, and blindness. Because the leader of the Yeis is Talking God, who is also called maternal grandfather or great-uncle of the Yeis (*Yé'ii Bicheii* 'Grandfather-of-the-gods'), the anglicization of this alternate name of his as Yeibichai is loosely applied not only to him but also to all the masked impersonators (Haile 1947a), to their dance, and to the Night Chant itself. Plumeway, also called Downway or the Feather Chant, like Night-

way represents the Yeis in its sandpaintings and its dances, although in the 1970s it was rarely performed. Also like Nightway it is used for diseases of the head or other ailments, such as rheumatism, but when these are attributed to infection from game animals, especially deer, such troubles may be called "deer disease." Game and hunting and the origins of agriculture are stressed in the myth, and deer and other game animals and domesticated plants are featured in the sandpaintings. Coyoteway is obsolescent and comparatively little was known about it (Wheelwright 1956:91–111, 150–157) until Luckert (1979) recorded it in 1974 (fig. 10). Apparently it was used for the same group of troubles as Excessway and Mothway—the results of sexual aberrations such as incest—for it seems to have been related to the moth-incest-insanity complex. A more orthodox Navajo pattern emerges, in tune with the hunter tradition, from the Gameway version of Excessway (Luckert 1978). Even less is known about Dogway and Ravenway, for they are certainly extinct. Some informants have held that Ravenway was related to Coyoteway, was used in cases of incest, and involved blackening the patient and ash blowing, which are Evilway procedures (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940:188; Wyman 1951:44).

The diseases alleged to be benefited by performances of either Navajo or Chiricahua Windway and the causal factors concerned are mostly the same. Among these factors winds of all kinds, but especially whirlwinds, come first. Snakes are usually mentioned next and sometimes their cognate lightning (Thunder). Cactus is the third most frequently invoked factor, and Sun and Moon have been mentioned for Chiricahua Windway. All these are represented in the sandpaintings of the Windways. A long list of ailments may be ascribed to these factors (see Wyman 1962:20–22), but stomach trouble due to snake infection, eye trouble and itching due to cactus infection, and heart and lung diseases are often mentioned. Navajo Windway is subject to more or less elaboration. It has male and female branches, a male branch performed according to Injuryway subritual, which is called Striped Windway and, rarely, nine-night forms, which may include the With-many-sandpaintings phase, in which as many as 12 sandpaintings may be made in a single performance, or the Chant-with-the-house phase, which features a Rainbow's House, a painted wooden reredos like the Sun's House screen of male Shootingway, which is set up at the back of the hogan during the last four days when sandpaintings are made (Wyman 1962:23–26; Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940:111–139). Chiricahua Windway, one of the briefest but also one of the most popular of Navajo chants, seems to be of comparatively recent origin, probably from the period of the captivity at Fort Sumner, 1864–1868, or perhaps a few years earlier (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940:140–154; Wyman 1962:214ff.). Apparently an Apache ceremonial was transformed



U. of Ariz. Press, Tucson and Mus. of Northern Ariz. Press, Flagstaff.
 Fig. 10. Eighth day of a Coyoteway. After the completion of a sandpainting inside the ceremonial hogan and the preparation outside of gear to be worn or carried by the yei impersonators, 3 impersonators with Talking God in the lead approach the ceremonial hogan from which the patient (at left) emerges to be blessed. Talking God, in mask with radiating eagle plumes, is followed by two "Coyote Girls," in this case impersonated by a man and woman, each wearing the blue mask of Female God. The first of these 2, Blue Coyote Carrier, carries the representational stuffed Blue Coyote (*Mq'ü Doot'izht*, i.e. 'kit fox') that completes his identity, while the second, Female God, carries a feather-festooned wedding basket containing white and yellow ears of corn. The fourth figure, with cowboy hat, is a prompter. Photograph by Karl Luckert, Black Mesa area, Jan. 1974.

into a typical Navajo chantway by borrowing from the older native Windway. It seems that there is or was a five-night form, but in the 1970s the two-night form prevailed. Chiricahua Windway features usually rather small sandpaintings of the Sun and Moon, and the manufacture, application to the patient, and disposal of a rather complicated cactus prayerstick offering. The myths stress hunting episodes. Its simplicity, brevity, and the concomitant economy in sponsoring a performance undoubtedly account for its widespread practice.

Hand-Tremblingway, which appears to have no partner chants, is said by some Navajo to date from earliest mythological times, but others have said that it too was learned from the Apache like Chiricahua Windway and in fact is related to the latter chant. Its characteristics do indicate that it is a relatively late composition from Chiricahua-Mescalero ceremonials, hand-trembling divination rites, and the Navajo Big Starway (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:28; Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940:169–183; Wyman 1962:214–216). The Gila Monster is prominent in the songs and prayers of the chant and along with stars and Big Flies is featured in the sandpaintings. Hand-Tremblingway may be used to treat any illness coming from practicing or overpractic-

ing hand-trembling divination or star-gazing, such as nervousness or mental upsets, paralysis of the arms, impaired vision, or chest disease.

The Eagle Trapping subgroup contains two chants, Eagleway and Beadway. There is some difference of opinion among Navajos as to whether Eagleway and perhaps Beadway also should be grouped with the Gameway hunting rites or with the Holyway chants. Possibly they were once hunting rites that developed into chantways as the hunting rites became obsolescent. The close link between Gameway hunting and Gameway healing in general supports this inference (cf. Luckert 1975, 1978). Both Eagleway and Beadway are specific for eagle infection, which may be manifested as head ailments such as earache, itching, boils and sores, or sore throat. The myth and the sandpaintings of Beadway together present about the best example of the paintings as narrative illustrations of the story (Reichard 1939). Usually sandpaintings are seldom frankly narrative but simply serve as reminders of the cardinal episodes of the myths. However, the sandpaintings of Beadway illustrate quite well the adventures of the hero, Scavenger, with the Pueblo Indians and the Eagle and Hawk People.

Finally, a group of extinct ceremonials of uncertain affiliation contains Awlway, Earthway, and possibly a third called Reared-in-Earthway. These have been extinct for many years, perhaps since the mid-nineteenth century, so only a few disconnected scraps of information about them and a few sandpaintings alleged to have been used in them are known.

Some of the chants have male and female branches (*bikq'jil* and *ba'áádjil*). Perhaps most of them did at one time have them, but no evidence remains for the existence of the two branches for the majority of them. The ones known to have or have had male and female branches are Shootingway, Red Antway, Mountainway, Excessway, Beautyway, and Navajo Windway. Male and female branches are not distinguished according to the sex of the person being treated, for either one may be sung over a man or a woman. Haile thought that the distinction depended upon the sex of the protagonist of the myth of the chant. There has been no systematic study of the differences in practice of the two branches. Probably they are comparatively slight, resting mainly in the songs and prayers.

Besides the song ceremonials there are prayer ceremonials, long prayers being said without singing, lasting four nights (Navajo reckoning). Drypaintings of pollen on buckskin may be made. The prayer ceremonials are mainly associated with Blessingway although some are given in connection with Evilway ceremonials. They may be added to chants at the request of the sponsor and can be given by the singer conducting the chant or by a prayer maker who is called in. Prayer ceremonials are the best protection against witchcraft and the best

cure for its effects. Some are considered powerful in cases of severe injury.

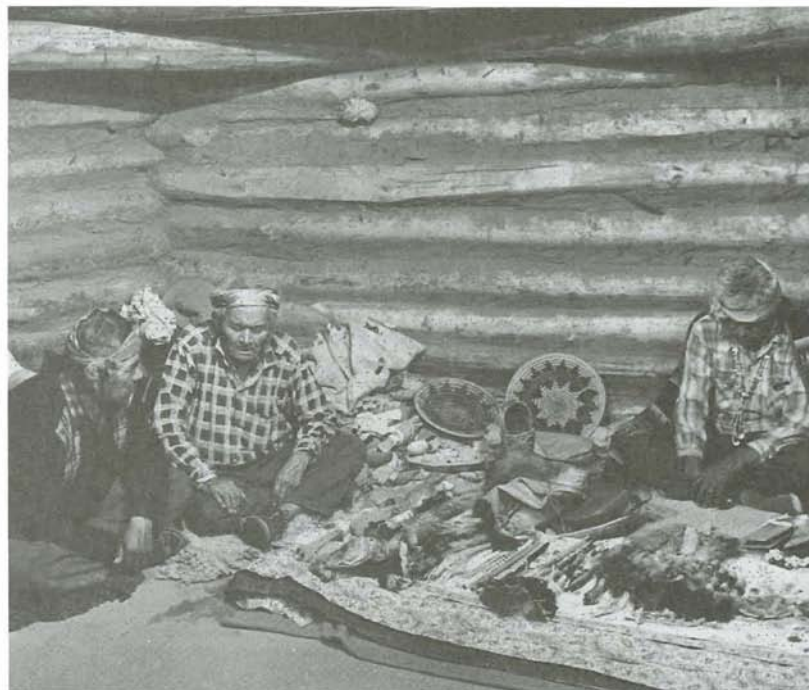
Ceremonial Procedure

When anthropologists began to study the Navajo ceremonial system many were dismayed by its apparently stupendous complexity. In fact, however, a Navajo chant is a framework into which are fitted more or less discrete units, some of which are fixed and are used over and over again in different chants, sometimes with slight modifications, and others that may be inserted or omitted in accord with the practice of the singer, the wishes of the patient or his family, the nature of the illness, or other circumstances. Within a unit there may also be acts and procedures that are similarly manipulated. Thus the intricacy of Navajo ceremonialism is not quite so overpowering once it is understood. Following Haile Navajo specialists have used the term 'ceremony' for these units, each of which fulfills a specific function, as distinct from 'ceremonial', which refers to a complex of ceremonies that has a name and origin legend and is conducted according to a particular set of rules or ritual. One or a few ceremonies may be used as test excerpts.

Theoretically a ceremonial should be carried out only in the traditional, roughly circular hogan or Navajo house, which has a door opening to the east, the direction whence comes good, and a smoke hole in the center of the roof for the egress of evil. The family hogan is emptied and swept for a chant, but sometimes a large hogan is built to accommodate the large sand-paintings and many spectators in one of the nine-night winter chants, such as Nightway. Blessingway is preoccupied with the hogan and every Blessingway rite must begin with the hogan songs (Wyman 1970a:10-16).

Ceremonial Equipment

'Bundle' and 'pouch' are renderings of the same Navajo word (*jish*) and have been used interchangeably by English-speaking Navajos and by writers. However, 'bundle' more precisely refers to all the concrete objects that a singer uses in carrying out a ceremonial and that he usually keeps in a buckskin bag or even a commercial sugar or flour sack, while 'pouch' signifies a package of equipment specific for a given ceremonial. Since most of the articles must be made during a ceremonial, often only a single item during a given performance, to obtain a complete outfit entails the sponsoring of many ex-



left, Wheelwright Mus., Santa Fe, N. Mex.: 49/153. right, William R. Heck Photography, Mill Valley, Calif.

Fig. 11. Ceremonial equipment. right, Singer Tonnie Zonnie Yazzie of Naschitti (in plaid shirt at center), with layout of ceremonial equipment during a Mountain Chant, just before the messengers or '*ak'áán ndeinilii* 'flour sprinklers' (shown in Link 1968:53) are sent out. Photograph by William R. Heck (in conjunction with filming by the Amer. Ind. Films Group), at Totso Trading Post, Lukachukai, Ariz., Oct. 1963. Baskets, calico and other spreads, and buckskin (at back) would have been provided by patient (seated at right). left, Talking prayersticks, usually included in a ceremonial layout. The male mirage stone (right) and the female haze stone, with several prayer stones and images, are bound together with a leather thong on a bed of multicolored fabrics and feathers. Length about 17.0 cm; collected by Mary Wheelwright in the 1920s.

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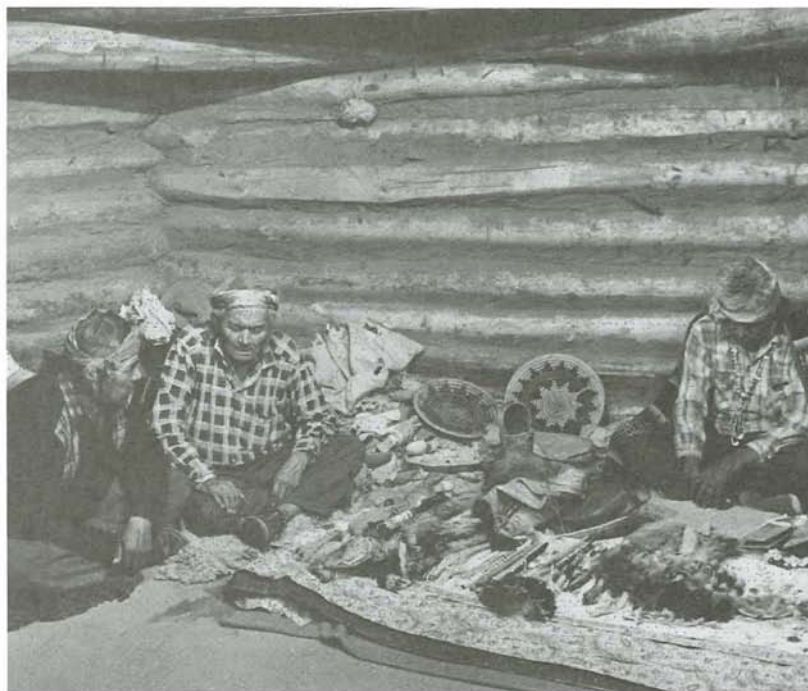
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pensive ceremonies; hence, a bundle is valued highly. Upon the death of a singer his bundle may be buried with him or it may be inherited by his or his sister's children or some other relative who knows how to use it.

A singer's bundle (Wyman 1972) contains many items of nonspecific equipment that may be used in various ceremonies, some perhaps in all ceremonies (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940:22-48). Among these are gourd, rawhide, or deer or bison hoof rattles; a bull-roarer, a flat stick pointed at one end, with a buckskin thong attached to the other, which is whirled to make a sound like thunder and thus intimidate evil; medicine stoppers, small feathered wands used to protect, stir, taste, sprinkle, and apply medicines; smooth canes or digging sticks, to remove medicines from sacks; talking prayersticks (fig. 11) of wood or stone; tie-ons (chant tokens, head feather bundles), little bundles of fluffy eagle plumes one of which is tied to the patient's forelock on the last day of a chant to facilitate recognition by supernaturals and humans; a brush of eagle quill feathers used for asperging, protecting medicines, and exorcising evil; a fur collar, a badge of recognition for singer or patient (Shootingway requires one of otter or beaver skin), with an attached eagle wing bone whistle to signal, summon, and attract the Holy People; a fire drill handle, tip, and fireboard (hearth); woolen unraveling strings with eagle plume feathers tied to the ends; medicine cups of abalone or turtle shell; prehistoric arrowheads, spearpoints, knives, drills, and the like, which have exorcistic properties and are used to cut ceremonial materials (flints); a stone club, Monster Slayer's weapon; materials for jewel (bits of turquoise, abalone and white shell, and jet), reed ("cigarette"), and cut wooden prayerstick offerings; interesting or oddly shaped stones, concretions, or fossils, and small cylinders or animal figurines made of banded or white aragonite; quartz crystals; and many small sacks of paints, cornmeal, pollens, and herbal medicines.

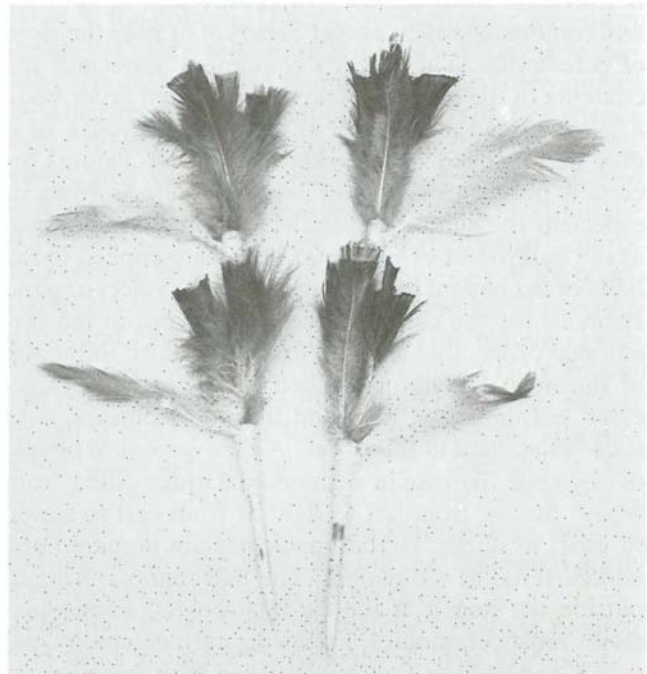
Equipment for Evilway ritual, besides many of the above items, consists of a pair of miniature bows; shoulder bands (bandoliers) and wristlets of hide or the skin of an unwounded deer (Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn 1971:210) with attached flints, animal claws, and eagle talons, worn by impersonators of the Slayer Twins during garment or cincture and overshooting ceremonies, and by the patient in blackening ceremonies; and mountain lion, wildcat, wolf, or bear claws, used to split yucca leaves.

The pouch contains variously shaped wooden objects, painted and decorated with feathers, which may be called bundle prayersticks (as opposed to temporary prayerstick offerings). These are specific for a given ceremonial. For instance, the bundle prayersticks of male Shootingway include four wide boards, paddle-shaped wooden objects painted with designs; four

plumed wands (held-to-water-sticks), wooden shafts with turkey tail feathers and little wooden hoops attached to them; and five arrows, earthly imitations of the jewel arrows of the Sun, made of wood or big reeds, fletched with various feathers, and decorated with jewel beads and pendants. The pouch of Navajo Windway contains a number of painted and feathered sticks shaped like snakes.

Certain items of equipment are made during a ceremonial, such as the drumstick of yucca leaves used to beat a basket to accompany singing, or the arrows used in overshooting. Such articles are usually taken apart and disposed of at the end of the ceremonial.

Among the medicines, usually herbal, needed for a chant are the infusion specific (*zaa'niit* 'objects are put into mouths'), a preparation specific for a given chant; the chant lotion (*kéitoh* 'foot lotion'), a cold infusion of fragrant herbs such as mints, for external application; the fumigant, containing herbs, cornmeal, sulphur, and birds' feathers, which is sprinkled on glowing coals and the fumes inhaled, usually as the concluding act of a ceremony; the emetic, made of freshly gathered herbs with some ingredients from the bundle added; and other preparations used for specific purposes (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940:48-57). A special infusion of twigs from a tree that has been struck by lightning and of herbs



Wheelwright Mus., Santa Fe., N. Mex.:49/185.

Fig. 12. Plumed wands, set up as guardians around sandpaintings and other sacred areas, are constructed in a prescribed manner (Matthews 1893:233-236). These are female wands made of a willow stick with turkey and eagle feathers bound on with cotton string. Length about 35.5 cm. Formerly owned by medicine man Hosteen Klah, acquired after his death in 1937.

gathered around it is used in Evilway ceremonials. A ball of pollen and other dry ingredients made by the singer and given to the patient during a sandpainting ceremony represents the Agate or Turquoise Man who stands within a person for life (inner form) and makes him invincible. For the performance of a chantway of the God-Impersonator type, various painted deerskin masks representing different gods are called for (Haile 1947a).

Equipment provided by the sponsor or patient includes baskets, buckskin or a white cloth substitute, lengths of calico for spreads, and materials for sandpaintings.

Holyway Ceremonies

A typical Holyway chant consists of about 12 ceremonies, quasi-independent complexes of acts set off by pauses of activity. Accompanying these there are certain procedures that occur throughout all chants. Most important is the singing, usually accompanied by a rattle, led by the singer but joined by all (usually men) who know how. Singing accompanies nearly every act and in Navajo thought it is the one indispensable part of any ceremonial; without it there can be no cure, indeed no chantway. A few songs, if nothing else, may do some good. Knowledge of several hundred songs is required for most chants. Prayers are said at intervals and communal pollen prayer occurs at or near the close of ceremonies. The singer's equipment, especially the contents of the pouch, is laid out in a fixed order upon a calico spread at the west in the hogan (layout), or it may be arranged in a basket (Navajo or Paiute) for certain procedures (basket layout). Objects from it, especially the bundle prayersticks, or other articles such as the bull-roarer or unraveler items, are applied to the body of the patient by the singer while he voices a sound symbolic for the chant (sound symbolism), in the ceremonial order, that is, from the feet upward to the top of the head. Anything applied to the patient—medicines, cornmeal, pollen, sand from drypaintings, bath suds—is applied in this order. All movement of people or objects is likewise in a ceremonial order called "sunwise," that is, from left to right or from east to south, to west, to north. Herbal medicines are prepared and administered to the patient. The bull-roarer is whirled outside the hogan at the cardinal points. Fumigation closes most ceremonies. Following each ceremony materials and objects that have served their purpose are disposed of by trusted helpers in stated directions and situations well away from the hogan, often with meal or pollen prayer. During the ceremonial and for four days thereafter the patient must observe numerous restrictions on behavior, sexual continence (which also applies to the singer), prohibition on bathing thus pre-

serving the body paint, and care in all activities lest he harm someone else, for he is powerful like one of the Holy People and therefore dangerous.

A ceremonial is opened at sundown the first evening by consecration of the hogan. The singer rubs cornmeal on four roof beams in the cardinal directions and places twigs of wavyleaf oak (*Quercus undulata*) above them, with prayers and Blessingway songs. Seeing these the Holy People realize that the hogan is being used for a chant.

Following this after sundown, and on each of the three succeeding evenings in a five or nine-night chant, there may be an unraveling ceremony, lasting about an hour. A stated number (4 to 15) of unravelers are made, bundles of herbs and feathers tied together with a wool string by crochet knots so that when the end is pulled it will unravel and come free. These are applied to the patient's body and unraveled in ceremonial order, symbolizing release from evil, danger, and harm (untying).

A short singing ceremony lasting an hour or so follows unraveling, or occurs after sundown on the first four evenings if unraveling is omitted. The songs may be accompanied by basket drumming, beating an inverted Navajo basket covered with a blanket with a special drumstick of yucca leaves made for the occasion.

Just before dawn on each day that a sandpainting is to be made a setting-out ceremony notifies human and supernatural beings alike of the procedures within the hogan. The singer accompanied by the patient brings out the basket layout, and seated before a small mound of earth about six feet east of the hogan door he sticks the bundle prayersticks upright in the mound in a fixed order. Cornmeal is sprinkled liberally over the mound. Singing and a litany accompany this procedure.

Just after dawn on each of the first four mornings a sweat and emetic ceremony drives evil away through internal and external purification. On the first morning a fire is kindled with a fire drill, and coals from it kindle all fires throughout the chant. Four small sandpaintings, often of snakes, may be made at the cardinal points around the central fireplace, and ritually prepared wooden fire pokers are laid beside them. Another small painting is made northwest of the fire on which the patient's basket of emetic is placed (fig. 9). The patient, singer, and others who wish to participate undress, the men retaining a breechclout and the women a skirt. An enormous fire induces copious sweating. A warm decoction of many kinds of plants is prepared in a pail and dispensed in a basket for the patient, in pans for others. Everyone washes with it, from the feet up, and the patient and others who wish drink some and vomit into a basin of sand, which is later disposed of. A procession around the fire may occur; and finally the singer sprinkles everyone with a cool, fragrant herb lotion by means of the eagle-feather brush. Then all go out to cool off.

After breakfast on the first four days an invocatory offering ceremony attracts the Holy People (fig. 13). Offerings are made for them of jewels (bits of turquoise, shell, and jet), of short lengths of painted reeds stuffed with wild tobacco and other materials ("cigarettes"), and of prayersticks (small cut and painted wooden sticks), or of some of these. The patient holds these while repeating a long prayer, sentence by sentence, after the singer (litany). Then a special, reliable helper deposits them at some distance from the hogan in carefully specified places where the Holy People can find them. If they are correct the Holy People, by reciprocity, are obliged to come and render aid.

In the forenoon of the last day (next to last night, Navajo reckoning) a bath ceremony purifies the patient still further (fig. 14). A platform of sand, often covered with herbs, is made and a basket placed upon it. Water and a piece of yucca root placed in it is whipped into a stiff mound of suds. Designs of pollen and powdered herbs are strewed on the suds, which are then applied to the patient in ceremonial order by the singer. Then the patient kneels, washes his hair, and bathes, assisted by helpers, is dried with cornmeal, and is dressed in clean clothes.

Following the bath or the offering ceremonies the sandpainting (*'iikááh*) is begun. This is a symbolic picture, often large and complicated, of the protagonist of the myth that sanctions and explains the ceremonial or the Holy People he encounters in his mythical adventures, accompanied by many subsidiary symbols. It is made on the floor of the hogan by trickling dry pigments from between the thumb and flexed forefinger on a background of tan-colored sand smoothed out with a weaving batten. The pigments are red, yellow, and white sandstone, charcoal pulverized on a grinding stone, and a few mixtures—charcoal and white sand for a bluish color, red and black for brown, and red and white for pink. Any man who knows how may work on them under the direction of the singer who seldom takes part except to lay down some fundamental lines. Women do not take part or even watch for fear of injury from the powers invoked, although a woman past child-bearing age may grind the pigments. When the Holy People taught the protagonists of the myths how to reproduce their sacred pictures, which they kept rolled up on clouds, they forbade their reproduction in permanent form lest they be soiled or damaged, so the designs that are rigidly prescribed are transmitted in memory from singer to apprentice. A sandpainting may be a foot or less in diameter or one around 20 feet across made in a special large hogan. The average painting made in a family hogan is about six feet in diameter. Depending on its complexity it may be completed by from four to six men in three to five hours.

When the sandpainting is completed in the late forenoon or early afternoon the ceremony begins. The bun-



William R. Heick Photography, Mill Valley, Calif.

Fig. 13. Preparation of reed prayerstick bundle offerings to the Holy People on one of the first 4 mornings of a Nightway. The singer at left is placing a painted reed (cigarette) or wooden stick on one of the 4 bundles being prepared; patient sits at right. In this as in other ceremonies, orientation, sequencing, and color differentiations are all of significance. Photograph by William R. Heick, at Totso Trading Post (Lukachukai, Ariz.), Dec. 1963, in conjunction with the Amer. Ind. Films Group.

dle prayersticks are brought in from the set-out mound and set upright around the painting. Cornmeal is sprinkled on it by singer and patient. Sometime during the singing the patient, stripped to a breechclout if a man and wearing a single skirt if a woman, sits on some figure in the painting (fig. 8). While singing the singer applies his palms moistened with herb medicine to various parts of the painted figures' bodies and then applies the adhering sand to corresponding parts of the patient's body. This identifies the patient with the Holy People represented who have been attracted to the scene to look at their portraits, making him strong and immune to further harm like them. The patient also absorbs their powers from the sands, exchanging evil for good. The singer also applies the bundle prayersticks from the set-up and parts of his own body to the patient in ceremonial order, and since he personifies a Holy Person this reinforces the identification making the patient himself a Holy Person for a time. Thus his acquired power could harm others, hence the necessity for the postceremonial restrictions. Finally the patient leaves the hogan, the singer erases the sandpainting, and the now infectious sand is carried out and deposited north of the hogan where it can do no harm.

On the last day only the patient's body is painted from head to foot with symbolic designs by means of mineral pigments for still further identification with the holy ones (figure painting), the tie-on (chant token) is tied in his hair, and a personal token (a shell bead for women or turquoise bead for men, which the patient may keep) is also tied to his hair (token tying). This is a mark of recognition for the Holy People and a protection from further danger.



William R. Heick Photography. Mill Valley, Calif.

Fig. 14. Bath ceremony from a Nightway. left, Patient (woman at right) watches as an assistant prepares yucca root suds to be used in the bath. Singer (in white headband) is holding gourd rattle used to accompany singing through much of the ceremony; Talking God mask and garb used by yeibichai impersonators in other ceremonies in this chantway are along the wall. right, Assistant helps the patient with the bath by using gourd ladle to pour water from pitched water container. Photographs by William R. Heick, at Totso Trading Post (Lukachukai, Ariz.), Dec. 1963. Filmed and recorded by the Amer. Ind. Films Group.

No one, not even the Navajos, knows how many different drypainting designs are known and used. Moreover, a Navajo count would be very different from a non-Navajo one, since Navajos regard paintings that appear different as the same if they depict the same supernatural beings, whereas a slight, barely noticeable change can make an important ritual difference for them. All Holyway chants, most or perhaps all Evilway chants, and the Blessingway rites are known or are alleged to have employed drypaintings. The number pertaining to a given ceremonial from which a singer may select one for a two-night or four for a five- or nine-night performance varies from scarcely more than the required four for chants such as Hand-Tremblingway and Eagleway to about 100 for Shootingway, although here the Navajo count might be closer to 50. The singer selects one or four of those he knows, according to his or the patient's wishes, the factors supposed to have caused the patient's troubles, or some such consideration. Over 500 different designs have been recorded by White artists and a few Navajos. Perhaps around 1,000 distinguishable designs are known, but this is conjecture. A Navajo estimate would be much smaller.

One familiar with the symbolism of the drypaintings and the ceremonial myths can correlate the two, but few are actually narrative. The statement that the sandpaintings are illustrations to a book of Navajo mythology is, therefore, misleading. Most of them show the Holy People in pairs, quartets, or larger multiples to increase their power, standing around on rainbow-bars, their means of transportation, or on black foundation bars representing the earth, as if waiting for something to happen. To a Navajo the pictures are full of motion symbolically indicated. These Holy People may have

human forms or they may be anthropomorphized animals, plants, natural phenomena, or even material objects. The pairs are called male and female although actually representing distinctions of power. Animals and plants may also be drawn in more or less naturalistic forms, and there are standard abstractions for natural phenomena, heavenly bodies, and mythological creatures. Place is important to a Navajo; and a locality symbol—the center in radial compositions, the foundation bar in linear ones—is conspicuous. The main theme symbols are arranged according to one of three types of composition (fig. 15): linear, with figures in a row or rows; radial, with important symbols cardinally oriented in a Greek cross and with subsidiary symbols in the quadrants in a Saint Andrew's cross, around a center symbolizing the spring, pool, mountain, or dwelling where the commemorated episode took place; and extended center, with a central motif occupying most of the space. Sequences of color have directional, sexual, or other ritual meanings. Finally the entire picture is surrounded by an encircling guardian, usually the red and blue Rainbow deity or garland, open to the east for the entrance of good and the expulsion of evil. Sometimes a pair of small symbols enhances control of this eastern aperture.

Again, the complication of drypainting designs is more apparent than real for a limited number of symbols are combined in numerous ways to produce artistically if not symbolically different designs. Since the normally invisible powers made visible in the symbols of sand are dangerous if mishandled, the designs for safety's sake are now frozen within the limits of ritual prescription. Much has been written about Navajo drypainting and many paintings have been published (Matthews 1887, 1902; Newcomb and Reichard 1937; Rei-

Chard 1939; Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940; Wyman 1952, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1965, 1970, 1970a, 1975; Wheelwright 1946, 1949, 1956; Klah 1942; Foster 1964; Witherspoon 1977; Luckert 1979a; Haile 1979).

On the final night there is an all-night singing culminating in the dawn songs, which are begun when the first faint streak of dawn in the east can be detected. After these the patient may leave the hogan, face the east, and "breathe in the dawn" four times. The ceremonial ends with a final prayer and a Blessingway song to avert ill consequences from any errors in songs, prayers, or procedure during the chant.

Certain optional ceremonies may be added to the ceremonial at extra expense if requested by the patient. The ritual eating of cornmeal mush from a basket commemorates early foodstuff. Ritual consumption of a mixed stew of meat and internal organs of game and domestic animals removes the necessity of later food restrictions or remedies violations of them. The shock rite may be added to most any ceremonial as a test to determine if the treatment being used is the correct one. A special sandpainting may be made for it surrounded by a low bank of earth, or merely a circular ridge of earth, enclosing a space surrounded by spruce tree tops forming a sort of bower in which the patient sits. A man covered with spruce branches, impersonating a bear, springs out from a dark corner as if to terrify the patient. If the patient faints or has a fit after four such appearances it shows that the correct ceremonial has been chosen, and he is then resuscitated by a restoration rite (Wyman and Bailey 1944:332-337; Wyman 1965:45, 56-58).

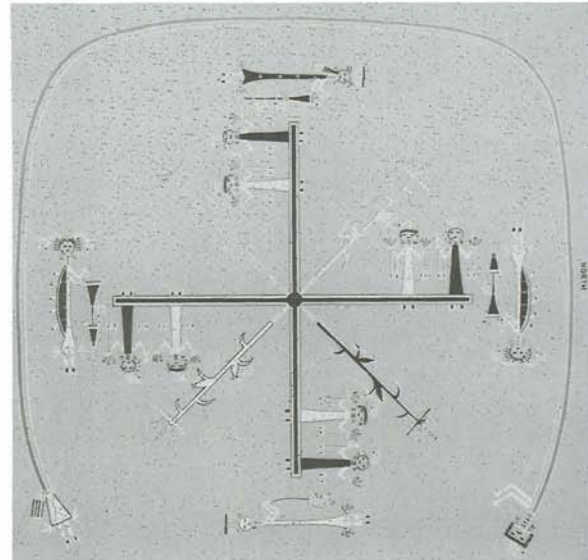
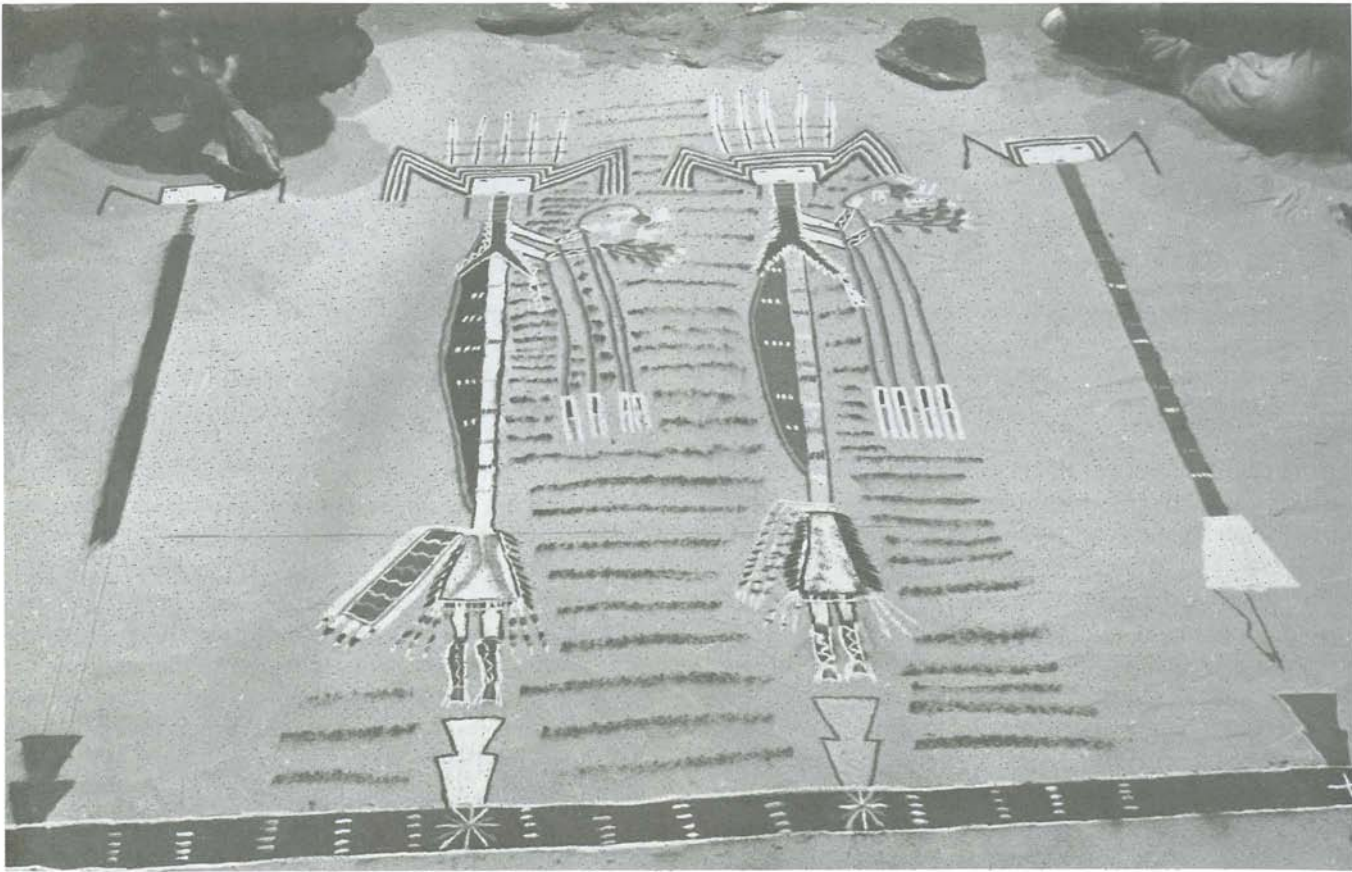
Any Holyway chant includes one or more phases, that is, emphasis upon a given type of ceremony (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:11). Chant-with-sandpaintings (*'Iikááh Bee Hatáál*) would apply to most any performance and With-many-sandpaintings (*'Iikááh tániíí*) is known for Navajo Windway, and so is Chant-with-the-house (*Kin Bee Hatáál*) in which the wooden screen is used. Chant-with-Sun's-house (*Jóhonaa'éi Bighan Bee Hatáál*) is an elaborate form of Shootingway featuring the Sun's House screen, which represents the Sun's home (Wyman 1970:15-18, 35, pl. 7). Chant-with-cut-sticks (prayersticks) (*K'eer'áán Bee Hatáál*) and Chant-with-jewels (*Nt'iz Bee Hatáál*) are phases in which there is special emphasis on these two types of invocatory offerings. In the first a very large number of wooden prayersticks may be prepared and deposited (Haile 1947). The phases best known outside the Navajo community are God-Impersonators (Yeibichai) and the Dark Circle of Branches (*'It Náshjin*). The first, known for chants of the God-Impersonators subgroup but especially for Nightway, presents its masked dancers on the final night, but when the public exhibition cannot be held the chant is called an Interior Chant or Just Visiting Chant. The Dark Circle of Branches, pop-

ularly called the Corral Dance or Fire Dance because this all-night exhibition is carried out in a great circle or corral of evergreen branches and culminates with nearly naked, clay-daubed dancers running about brandishing torches of cedar bark amid showers of sparks, usually occupies the final night of a Mountain Chant, but other ceremonials, especially Shootingway, may have this phase (Matthews 1887; Haile 1946). When Shootingway borrows this phase from Mountainway the performance is called Mountain-Shootingway (Wyman 1970:25-27). In this phase various acts such as dances or magical illusions are performed not only by teams representing the parent chant but also by groups representing various other chantways. The whole is like a sacred vaudeville show. In theory the patient benefits not only from the chant itself but also from every other ceremonial whose specialty has been presented; thus, it is an economical way of obtaining such benefits without sponsoring numerous chants. A chant that includes this phase (and God-Impersonators as well) must last nine nights and any nine-night ceremonial may not be performed before the first killing frost in the fall nor after the first thunderstorm in the spring; that is, it may be given only when rattlesnakes and bears are hibernating and there is no danger from lightning. Only two- or five-night chants may be held in the frostless months. See "Navajo Music," this volume, for illustrations of some of these ceremonies.

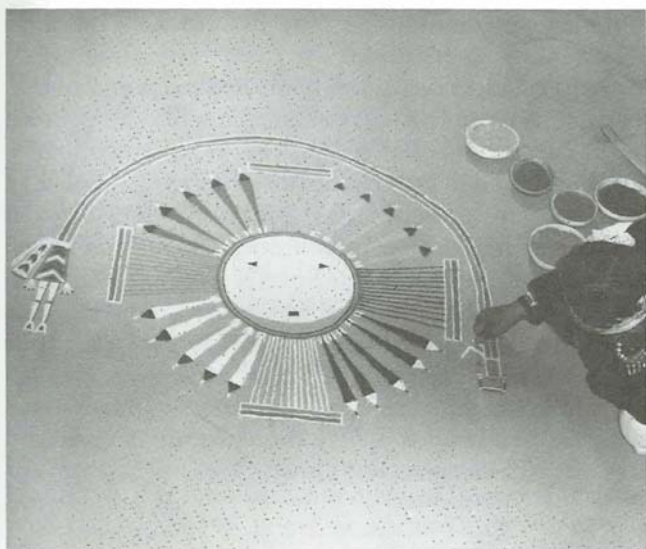
Evilway Ceremonies

Evilway ceremonials are made up of the same kinds of ceremonies as described above for Holyway chants except for setting-out and the usual type of offering ceremony. There may be a ghost's offering of a plume stuck in charcoal or blue glass beads and ashes to appease the ghost or attract it so it may be "shot." Some of the ceremonies may be modified for Evilway ritual. Instead of painting designs on the patient's body (figure-painting) he is entirely covered with red grease paint (reddening) or more often with mixed charcoal burned from all the kinds of plants used in the ceremonial (blackening), and besides tying the chant token two crossed shoulder bands and the wristlets are placed on him. Sandpaintings may be made at night, sometimes on buckskin or cloth, and the patient spends the night on a covering placed over some of the sand.

Certain procedures and ceremonies are especially associated with Evilway ritual. Brushing the patient with the eagle-feather brush or a native grass broom dipped in ashes, or having the patient blow ashes toward the smoke hole from a feather or from a flint, are exorcistic acts that brush or blow away evil and sickness (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940:72-73). The lightning herb infusion may be administered.



top and bottom left. William R. Heick Photography. Mill Valley, Calif.; bottom right. after Matthews 1902:pl. VI: top opposite page. Mus. of Northern Ariz., Flagstaff.
 Fig. 15. Sandpaintings illustrative of 3 compositional types. top, Linear composition. Sandpainting of 4 Holy People or yeis (on black foundation bar representing the earth) being painted for a Nightway. Photograph by William R. Heick, Totso Trading Post (Lukachukai, Ariz.), Dec. 1963. bottom left, Radial composition. Sandpainting (with plumed wand set-up) from same Nightway as above. Photograph by William R. Heick. bottom right, Similar sandpainting (Matthews 1902:121-123, pl. VI), painted on the sixth day of a Nightway. Said to represent the myth of the Whirling Logs (Matthews 1902:121,183-184), the black cross represents the logs crossing one another, with 4 stalks of corn (each of appropriate color) on the shores of the lake. Eight yeis are seated on the logs, one male (black outer figure with characteristic round head) and one female (white inner figure with squared head) on each log, with additional yei figures around the periphery, partially surrounded by an anthropomorphic rainbow. As described by Matthews (1902:121) the painting process takes from 4 to 7 hours. top opposite page, Extended center composition. Sandpainting representing Moon with Rays (used in the Navajo Windway ceremony) being painted by singer John Burnside of Pine Springs, Ariz., at demonstration at the Mus. of Northern Ariz. He is working on the arms of the rainbow. Photograph by Paul V. Long, Aug. 1963.



In the big hoop ceremony (hoop transformation rite) the patient enters the hogan for the sweat-emetec ceremony through a series of four or five big hoops made of flexible branches, the last one of wild rose, which have been set up in front of the hogan door, over a drypainted trail, often of mountains and bear tracks, which leads through the hoops into the hogan. He wears a buckskin or cloth over his head and shoulders, which is pulled off gradually by the singer as he passes through the hoops. This symbolizes the restoration to normality of a mythic hero who had been transformed into a snake or a coyote, when the supernatural beast had magically blown or otherwise placed his hide upon the heroic victim, so the act is exorcistic in nature (Wyman and Bailey 1943:27-32; Haile 1950:66-72, 84-88, 192-196, 201-202; Reichard 1950, 1:161, 182, 2, 649-657; Wyman 1965:40, 58-60, 1966). The big hoop ceremony may be followed immediately by the sweat-emetec or by a prayer ceremony, the liberation prayer or prayer on buckskin.

Overshooting usually followed by cincture or garment ceremonies is performed in the evening, ordinarily four times or only once on the final night. Two men smeared with ashes and charcoal and wearing yucca cinctures, shoulder bands, and wristlets impersonate the Slayer Twins, Monster Slayer and Born for Water. Standing on opposite sides of the patient and holding the miniature bows in one hand they pass two chant arrows especially made for the ceremony of pine branchlets, herbs, and feathers over the patient and finally over the hogan outside while voicing the sound symbolism of the Slayer Twins. Eventually the chant arrows are disassembled and disposed of (Wyman and Bailey 1943:19-26; Reichard 1950, 2:657-666). This ceremony is, of course, exorcistic.

In cincture and fir or plant garment ceremonies, narrow strips of yucca leaves slit with mountain lion claws,

or long garlands of bundles of Douglas fir or other evergreens, and/or various plants tied to long yucca thongs or otherwise put together, or a tentlike structure of Douglas fir boughs and yucca strips (fir hogan) are tied, wrapped, or otherwise placed around or over the patient (fig. 7). The impersonators of the Slayer Twins cut these to pieces with flints and remove them from the patient. These ceremonies, like unraveling, symbolize release from evil and danger, freeing the patient from the tied-in bonds of disease.

In the Enemyway rite directed against alien ghosts and thus Evilway in ritual, a specially decorated staff known as the rattlestick is carried throughout the ceremonial by a female virgin. The singing is accompanied by a pot drum instead of a rattle. This rite is better known (in English) as the Squaw Dance because of a social feature in the evenings in which girls choose their partners for a kind of dance.

Evilway chants are confined to five nights or fewer and are not subject to the rule of repetition four times if they have benefited a patient.

Ceremonial Organization

The component ceremonies of a ceremonial may vary somewhat depending upon its purpose, the subgroup to which it belongs, and the ritual according to which it is performed. Table 2 shows the characteristic organization of the dozen or so standard ceremonies of most Holyway chants. The time of day given is approximate only and varies with circumstances. Some ceremonies, such as consecration of the hogan, the bath, figure painting, token tying, all-night singing, and the dawn procedures occur only once in any chant. Others are performed four times in five- or nine-night ceremonials. Because the sweat-emetec ceremony must be carried out four times if at all, it cannot be included in a two-night chant. Of course the other ceremonies that are done four times in longer chants can be performed only once in the two-night condensation. A nine-night chant is achieved, not by adding new ceremonies, but by moving the short singing, setting-out, and sandpainting ceremonies ahead to the fifth to eighth days, and of course the bath and final night are on the eighth and ninth.

When a Navajo feels that he requires ceremonial aid because of illness, bad dreams, recollection of violated restrictions, fear of witchcraft, or some other reason, a family conference may decide upon the etiological factors and choose a ceremonial and a singer. Failing this a diagnostician, a specialist in divination, usually not a singer and quite often a woman, is employed (Wyman 1936). The technique used in the 1970s was usually hand trembling. The diagnostician, who lays claim to unusual powers, interprets involuntary motions

made by his own hand while he is in a trancelike state. Very occasionally the older techniques of star gazing or listening, interpreting things seen or heard, are used. An intermediary, usually a kinsman of the patient, goes to the home of the chosen singer to make an offer in behalf of the sponsor. Unless there is urgency, the singer usually agrees to come in four days and the intermediary brings the singer's bundle to the patient's home.

The cost of a ceremonial in the 1960s varied from the equivalent of 25 dollars for a two-night performance to several thousand dollars for a nine-night ceremonial when hundreds of spectators must be hospitably fed by the patient and his kinsmen. The singer's money fee, perhaps 10–25 dollars for a five-night chant, must be paid in advance. The singer also keeps all calico spreads, buckskin, and baskets used in the chant.

Mythology

The Navajo ceremonial system, which is transmitted orally from singer to apprentice, is sanctioned and explained in a large body of mythology, likewise transmitted orally from generation to generation. This consists of two major parts, the general origin myth including the story of the Emergence from the underworlds, and the origin legends of the separate ceremonials, which branch off from the origin myth at various points. † The legends usually relate the misadventures of a hero or heroine who through intentional or unintentional misbehavior gets into a series of predicaments

†According to Karl W. Luckert (communication to editors 1981), the Deerway (a hunting rite) and Deerway 'Ajilee (a healing ceremonial involving Deerway mythology) show no evidence of having originally been based on Emergence mythology. In contrast to the Emergence mythos, which by all indications was adopted from the Pueblo Indians, these Deerway traditions appear to be rooted in the Athapaskan hunter stratum (cf. Luckert 1975, 1978, and the editor's introduction in Haile 1981).

requiring supernatural assistance for survival and causing injury or illness calling for ritual restoration. Thus the hero acquires the ceremonial knowledge and power for establishing a chantway and teaches it to his people. In spite of its apparent complexity, Navajo mythology like the ceremonial system has an underlying simplicity, because many of the same mythic motifs are used over and over with specific modifications in the myths of different ceremonials (Spencer 1957; Wyman 1962:29–58). A singer need not know the myths pertaining to his specialty ceremonials, but it is felt that he should and the best singers do. Moreover, ideally, when he relates a myth he should begin with the origin myth and tell it up to where the chant myth branches off from it, but this is not always done.

Toward New Perspectives‡

Leland Wyman's data for this chapter were gathered by him during approximately four decades prior to his writing in 1972. Since that time several new Navajo ceremonial texts have been published, some bilingually (Wyman 1975; Haile 1978, 1979, 1981, 1981a; Luckert 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979a). The foremost aim of all these publications was to present primary materials. Differences among writers and editors can generally be explained as differences in academic perspectives. Henceforth, the study of Navajo ceremonials should be a multidisciplinary effort, with the various academic disciplines emphasizing field observation while maintaining a critical view regarding the ideological history of their respective methodologies.

The linguistic studies of key ontological and ceremonial concepts by Witherspoon (1974, 1975, 1977) and McNeley (1981) help round out the general picture of Navajo religious thought. The structural analysis of

‡This postscript was written in May 1981 by Karl W. Luckert, who also added to Wyman's text a few references to work published since 1972.

Table 2. Ceremonies of Holyway Chants

	<i>Two-night</i>	<i>Five-night</i>	<i>Nine-night</i>	<i>Time of day</i>
Consecration of hogan	1	1	1	At sundown
Unraveling	1	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	Early evening
Short singing	1	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	Evening
Setting-out	1	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	Before dawn
Sweat and emetic	0	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	At dawn
Offering	1	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	Early forenoon
Bath	1	4	8	Forenoon
Sandpainting	1	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	Afternoon
Figure painting and token tying	1	4	8	During sandpainting
All-night singing	2	5	9	Late evening
Dawn procedures	2	5	9	At dawn

Navajo prayer by Gill (1974, 1977), together with the wonderfully complete autobiography of a renowned Navajo singer by Mitchell (1978), add to the understanding of ceremonial practice. Additional work on Shootingway has been published by McAllester (1980), and Frisbie's ongoing research on *jish* is reported in three preliminary essays (Frisbie 1977, 1977a, 1978).

The general psychological and psychoanalytic perspective, earlier brought to Navajo studies so forcefully by Kluckhohn and the Leightons, is now represented by the work of Levy (1963), Sandner (1979), and Bergman (1973). The last became involved in teaching psychoanalysis to medicine men and their apprentices at the Rough Rock training program for medicine men. If indeed the declining interest in learning Navajo chantways is caused by economic needs among the student population, as is claimed, the Rough Rock experiment could become a model for similar efforts among other tribes who wish to revitalize waning ceremonial traditions.

The perspective of a historian of religions differs from the psychological approach. He views Navajo ceremonials not as forerunners or prototypes of modern psychoanalysis but as religious responses to reality in their own right—that is, responses in narrational historical time (Luckert 1979b). By the same token, Navajo Holy People (gods) are conceived to be greater-than-human configurations of reality who are actually encountered in the Navajo environment. Not even the most analytically inclined Navajo singer will think of his gods as personified processes. The distinction between nature and supernature being foreign to Navajo tradition, singers also do not think of their gods as

“supernaturals.” In Navajo ceremonial contexts personal beings, discovered as such and not “personified,” tend to outnumber “elements” or less than human “things.” Navajo ceremonialists are priestly singers who perform chantways and mediate *for* the people, but they sing and pray *to* their gods. Certainly, like priestly practitioners in all religions, Navajo priests can be tempted into adopting more manipulative or more “efficient” techniques. But such a change in attitude invariably undermines their priestly role. Traditionally, Navajo priestly singers who became too assertive were identified as witches and persecuted accordingly.

Perhaps it is misleading to view Navajo ceremonialism as a single “system.” The struggle that many expected to develop between the Native American Church and the traditional Navajo ceremonial “system” failed to occur precisely because there is no such thing as a Navajo ceremonial system. Navajo chantways are systematic, and each ceremonial unit may indeed be called a system. But beyond particular ceremonial systematics, Navajo singers and ethnologists alike (Wyman among them) have been able to produce only variant classifications of chantways. A previously unknown and entirely different classification of Navajo chantways, from the point of view of Upwardmoving Way (*ha'neetnéhee*) singers, appears in a volume by Haile (1981). Moreover Wyman himself may not really have believed in the existence of a singular Navajo ceremonial system. When Navajo chantways were referred to as self-contained mini-religions, each having its own distinct history and soteriology (Luckert 1979a:7), Wyman answered that he was “intrigued by [the] appellation” (personal communication to Luckert 1975).