DANCING IN THE SOUTHWEST
A Cultural Look at the Hopi Niman,
Santo Domingo Corn, and White Mountain Apache Sunrise Dances

An Honors Thesis (ID 499)

by

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Various aspects of our everyday life make up what anthropologists refer to as culture. The language we speak, the clothes we wear, the religion we believe in, the work patterns we follow, the entertainment we partake in and the way in which we choose to celebrate special occasions are but a number of factors which make up culture. Around the world, and even within our nation's borders, there are a variety of cultural differences. Anthropologists are the foremost students of cross-cultural variation. To obtain their data in order to reach conclusions, the anthropologist has often moved in and lived with the subjects of his cultural research. In this way the researcher can rely on his own impressions besides the information based on the native's point of view.

This past summer, I had the opportunity to experience this type of first hand knowledge that has become necessary to the cultural researcher. By participating in an anthropological field study in the Southwest, I became interested in a number of Indian ceremonies. Observation of a number of ceremonies was readily accessible and through conversations with participants and Native Americans in the audiences, I developed what I feel are well-informed observations. Therefore, it is the purpose of this paper to relay my observations to you, the reader, concerning the history,
significance, meaning, and importance of the Hopi Niman Dance, the Santo Domingo Corn Dance, and the White Mountain Apache Sunrise Dance.

Wherever I felt it necessary, I included the writings of other outsiders who through the years have offered their impressions of these rituals. With first hand information from Native American participants coupled with my own observations and those of others who have witnessed the ceremonies over the years, it is my hope that this paper will give the reader a better insight and a clearer meaning to a part of the American Indian culture through the dance.
As you drive into the southwestern states of our nation, you should notice not only a geographical change in the physical appearance of the land, but also a cultural change among the people who occupy this area. Three different cultures inhabit this land. Three cultures co-exist within these states and three cultures try to live harmoniously together, calling Arizona and New Mexico their home. The most recent arrival of these cultures, the "Anglo," sent their frontiersman into the area to blaze new trails and to conquer new lands, all in the name of "Manifest Destiny."

Prior to these "invaders," was a group of Spanish explorers who happened upon this land in the 1500's. Their main purpose was to find the "Seven Cities of Cibola" (cities of gold). Upon their arrival, they met the third cultural group, the Native American. So instead of returning to their mother country with the riches of the New World, the Spanish set about claiming the land for Spain and building missions to "civilize" these new "barbarians" that they had stumbled across. The outcome of this action was bad for the latter group. Some of these Indians were Christianized, but as the Spanish and Anglos would soon find out, in most cases these groups of Native Americans were very civilized. As a result, some four centuries later, the states of Arizona and
New Mexico find themselves with, for the most part, a peaceful co-existence of three distinct cultures living and sharing together the same land. One of these groups of native people is the Hopi Indians of Arizona, whose name translated means "People of Peace."

The Hopi ancestors, "climbed upward through four underground chambers called kivas," and traveled across the Southwest since 500 A.D. before finally settling down in an area on the edge of the Painted Desert near Black Mesa. They are of the Shoshonean Uto-Aztecan language stock. Their adobe houses occupy three mesas and the area surrounding these mesas. Their settlement patterns reminded the Spanish of towns, so they, along with others like them, were generically labeled "Pueblo," which is the Spanish word for town. Around 1125 A.D., the Hopi settled into the town of Oraibi, thus making Oraibi "... the oldest continuously occupied settlement in what is now the United States." Oraibi soon became the unofficial capital of the Hopi, and was the only village on Third Mesa until 1906. At that time discension among the villagers climaxed to a point where a schism took place and Old Oraibi, a traditional village, and New Oraibi, a more modernistic Hopi village were established. Later on further splits were made and the villages of Hotevilla and Bakabi were founded. As the tribe grew, they expanded their lands eastward to include Second Mesa and its villages of Shipaulovi, Mishongovi, and Shungopovi. Further to the east
are the villages of Hano, Sichomovi, and Walpi, collectively known as First Mesa.

Basically, the Hopi are farmers and sheepherders, with farms and pastures on the grounds below the mesas. Their basic staple crop is corn, although they do supplement the corn crop with beans, melons, and squash. Looking at their fields would make most white farmers cringe. However, the Hopi accepts his fate of poor soil and little moisture because he:

... acknowledges the harshness and beauty with equal acceptance. Armed with no more than an ancient planting stick he has nurtured his tribal life through a dozen centuries. And clad in the armor of an invincible faith, he has developed a ceremonialism that is complex, abstract, and powerful as any ever known. It is a cabolistic maze. It is simple as prayer. It brings moisture.

It is this ceremonialism, this deep-seated feeling of a balance in nature, that is constant through the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest, so that in their minds "everything alive is significant; everything significant is alive." This philosophy has kept these Indians, especially the Hopi, farming and herding even though it may reap poor benefits by Anglo standards. It is this belief and their strong need of water in any form, that has become the root of the Hopi and other Pueblo groups' religion, the kachina cult. This cult is premised on the concept "... that all things in the world have two forms, the visible object and a spirit counterpart. Kachinas are the spirit essence of everything in the real world."
The kachina, to the Hopi, is not a god; rather it helps them to "... communicate with [their] concept of the Creator which is both male and female--Father-Sun, Mother-Earth." It is believed by the Hopi that these kachinas live in the San Francisco Peaks near Flagstaff, Arizona, when they are not on the earth. According to Hopi legend, the kachinas come down from the mountains following the winter solstice. To prepare for their arrivals, the Hopi will re-open their kivas (sacred prayer centers that are underground in the village) in a ceremony known as the POWAMU. This ceremony will help to establish the creation pattern for the rest of the Hopi year. Upon the arrival of the kachinas in the kivas, they will begin the process of "... exorcising the cold wind of winter, cleansing the fields for spring planting, obtaining crop omens from beans, initiating children (every four years), and curing the people of rheumatism." From this point on, until the end of the Niman (Home-Going) Dance in July, the kachinas will remain with the Hopi, watching over the people and their fields.

Immediately following the summer solstice on June 21, plans are begun for the Niman ceremony. There is no set date for Niman, however the only stipulation is that it "... must be over before July 15 for any delay means that the corn will not mature early enough." In 1960, Niman was late. "Hence, there had been no rain since May 11, the corn was small and stunted in growth, and it was feared it would not mature at all." However, this sixteen-day event went on as scheduled
this past summer, and it was my privilege to be present at
the Hopi villages of Walpi and Shungopovi when Niman took
place.

We arrived at the Hopi Reservation two days before the
Niman Ceremony was to take place. On the Thursday prior to
the Saturday of the dance, I ventured up to the First Mesa
Villages. At the village of Sichomovi, the people were busy
making preparations for the Niman. Even though their village
was not hosting the dance, some of the residents were partici-
pants. Therefore, numerous tasks had to be fulfilled. As
I passed by one house an adult sheep was being slaughtered.
The meat from this animal would be made into a stew and used
to feed the eagles that had been captured that spring, the
kachinas, and finally the family and friends of the slaughterer.
The other parts of the animal would be used throughout the
year as no waste is permitted by the Hopi. Meanwhile, the
women of both Sichomovi and Walpi were busy making "piki,"
a thin bread which is also given to the kachinas after each
performance. The men who would be participating in the dance,
the impersonators of the kachina spirits, were busy making
kachina dolls "tiku" for the girls who are unmarried and
infant boys. For the boys, these same men were making toy
bows:

... marked with segments of different colors. The
middle section is white, representing the perfect
pattern of the First World. On each side are a seg-
ment painted blue, symbolizing the Second World; a
yellow segment symbolizing the Third World; and a
red segment, extending to the tips of the bow
symbolizing the Fourth World. Black dots on these color marking represent the life experience of mankind on the successive worlds, and the boy is told that the red means blood which will be shed if man does not learn to live peacefully with his fellows.

The older already initiated boys receive a plain bow from the kachinas because it symbolizes that they know right from wrong, and should be able to decide for themselves which way to chose in the present Fourth World. The dolls that are received by the girls, and the bows mentioned above are not "a plaything for children, but [as in the dolls, are] an effigy or small part of the kachina it represents. It bears a portion of the kachina spirits' power just as a child bears resemblance to its parents."  

The following day we returned to Walpi where a young Hopi, who was going to participate in the actual dance, explained to us the procedures of the dance and which kachinas would be dancing. The Hemis (far away) Kachina, which is usually and most often seen at Niman, would once again be the kachina for this particular dance. Often they are referred to as the "...most beautiful and best known of all Hopi kachinas." The Hemis are "one of the most appropriate kachinas for this farewell as it is the first kachina to bring mature corn to the people, indicating that the corn crop is assured." As we ventured out to the very tip of Walpi, there was a stick planted in the ground with "pathos" (feather from a sacred eagle) tied around it. In front of this stick, and facing the San Francisco Peaks,
was a box with many feathers and some food in it, put there by villagers as an offering to the kachina spirits. As I walked by the kiva, a low, almost moaning sound could be heard. I then realized that it was the men partaking in the Niman Ritual praying, singing, and making final preparations for the public ceremony. Taking a final look around, I noticed eagles tied to platforms on the tops of some houses so they could not fly away. I found out that each spring every clan goes to the sacred hunting grounds to capture these birds, while they are young, to use specifically in this ceremony. As adult birds, they are smothered the day after Niman to release their eagle spirits so that they may travel with the kachinas carrying the messages of the Hopi with them. Their "invisible powers [will] aid man on his long Road of Life."\textsuperscript{16} Before the burial of the eagle, its feathers are removed so that they can be used as pathos throughout the year. Another peculiar event that I managed to witness, was a mud-slinging war between inlaws. Niman is the first ceremony that a Hopi bride from the previous year is able to attend. The mud-slinging is simply a game between the family of the bride and the family of the groom.

The day for the Niman Ceremony finally arrived and we arose at 4:30 a.m. in order to get to Walpi before sunrise, and the arrival of the Hemis Kachinas, and the Hemis Manas. Sunrise came and went without the kachinas. However, around 8:00 a low, deep gutteral chant began to sound from the ledge beneath us. Looking out, you could see the brightly decorated
and painted kachinas climbing up the side of the mountain. They entered the plaza with their large tabilitas rising above the crowd and coming into sight first. These tabilitas are symbolically decorated with symbols relating to the continued fertility of plant, animal, and human life. Soon all of the kachinas and their manas had been led into the plaza by a man wearing a single eagle feather in his hair, everyday clothing (the Powama chief), and the Kachina Father. The kachinas then received a sprinkling of corn meal while the Kachina Father talked to them. Then, breaking the silence, the leader of the kachina dancers shook his rattle and on cue the dance had begun. The chanting of the prayers and the foot-stomping were done in perfect rhythm. Each kachina turned in incomplete circles first to the right and then to the left. Then the leader would step up the pace, and eventually slow it down to a complete stop, to enable the kachina Manas to obtain their kneeling positions in front of the Hemis Kachinas. These Manas were portrayed by men, but are models of the traditional Hopi Virgins with their hair done up in whorls on the sides of their heads. The Manas, with a hollow goard in front of them and a deer scapula in their hands, started up a new rhythm in which the Hemis danced to with renewed vigor and a livelier pace. At the end of this segment, the priest went up to the kachinas and sprinkled more corn meal on them. Upon the conclusion of this sprinkling, the group of dancers moved on to the next plaza where the same exact sequence was repeated. At the
third and final plaza, the dance was repeated for the last time that morning. However, with the conclusion of this sequence, a procession of men and women entered the plaza from the kiva. The men were in ordinary clothes and the women wore white shawls around their shoulders. All had a single feather in their hair and were carrying a sac of corn meal. They walked around the line of dancers a number of times sprinkling them and talking to them. The women would place the meal in the dancer's hand unlike the men who sprinkled the meal on the dancer's shoulders. The last two men in line had a ceremonial pipe, a water bowl, and an eagle feather. The man with the pipe blew smoke on the kachinas "suggestive of clouds." The man with the water bowl sprinkled the water on the kachinas and then, proceeding to go to the top of the kiva, he dipped his feather in the water and sprinkled it to the four corners of the earth. With the last sprinkle, he turned facing the San Francisco Peaks, sprinkled the water, and then descended into the kiva followed by the women and men who had emerged with him. The kachinas, on the other hand, made their way back through the plazas and down to the ledge from where they first appeared, to wait and relax until their next appearance in the afternoon.

It was also during this morning ceremony that the kachinas who had been carrying the stalks of corn from the first harvest, the melons, the kachina dolls, and the bows would seek out the recipients of these gifts in the crowd. The women would receive the baskets of fruit and vegetables, and
the children the melons and toys. The Niman Ceremony to the Hopi children is like Christmas to the American child. The excitement and joy on the faces of the children who believe that these dancers who bear the gifts are actual kachina spirits, is the same expression we find on the faces of our young children after Santa Claus arrives.

The afternoon and evening sequences follow the same pattern as the one in the morning, except that no gifts are given out. During the last appearance, the Hopi brides of the past year appear in their wedding robes. At this time, all of the children who had been initiated also make their appearance. At the end of this dance, the Kachina Father comes forward once again to bless the kachinas with corn meal and water and "asks them to carry back to the creative impulse a request for a blessing on the Hopis, on all mankind, and on each animal and all plant life upon the earth." At the conclusion of this prayer, the Kachina Father sends the kachinas off. They start their descent down the mountainside toward the San Francisco Peaks, disappearing until the following spring's Powamu Ceremony. Before the kachinas leave the village, the men and boys from the tribe rush forward and rip boughs of spruce from the clothing the kachinas wear in order to plant them in their fields for it will bring rain.

The Niman Ceremony is filled with symbolism. Just what that symbolism represents has remained a secret for a long time. However, the best explanation for Niman is in its cosmological concept as Frank Waters describes it in his Book of the Hopi:
The dancers first enter the plaza in single file from the east and line up on the north side facing west. As they dance, the end of the line slowly curves west and south, but is broken before a circle is formed, just as the pure pattern of life was broken and the First World destroyed. The dancers then move to the west side, the line moves to the south, and is broken as was the pattern of life in the Second World. Moving to the south side and curving east the dancers repeat the procedure at this third position representing the Third World. There is no fourth position, for life is still in progress on this Fourth World. The same cosmology is again reflected in the structure of the song. It is divided into five sections. . . . The first section corresponds to the First World's perfect pattern of creation so great emphasis is given it. The Kachina Father encourages the kachinas to sing louder and dance harder in order to uplift the thoughts of the people to this perfect world. . . . The second section recounts how man had to emerge to the Second World because of his disregard for the laws. The third section reminds its listeners. . . . of the Third World, which is. . . . full of rival rulers, strife and war. . . . The fourth section the song well's louder. . . . and the dancing feet stomp more powerfully. . . . The fifth section. . . mankind too is at the 'bottom.' Hence the kachinas, who are struggling to maintain this Fourth World in proper balance, work hard to lift up the performance and the thoughts of the people watching it. 17

It seems to me that this explanation of the Niman is quite logical. After all, the Hopis strive to maintain a balance in nature. Since the arrival of the white man, the Hopi's struggle has become greater. It seems as if prior to contact the Hopi had control of their "balance." Since contact, shortages, because of the lack of concern by some frontiersmen to this balance and some corruption of the native, have increased. The land, in some cases, had been pushed beyond its capabilities and now yields very little or nothing at all. With time, some of the Hopi Indians have forgotten about their past, their roots, and their religion. They too have
begun to waste the gifts of nature, thus disrupting the balance themselves. In order to keep their Fourth World existing, they must keep the "balance." The quickening but laboring steps of the kachina dancers represent how difficult this task actually is and how hard it will be in the future unless man heeds to nature's warning call immediately.

As for the traditionalists, they see the destruction of the Fourth World coming closer. "As caretakers of the universe, the traditionalists viewed the White Man's way of life... as the principal threat to the delicate balance they were trying to maintain." It is also believed by these traditionalists, that when the Fourth World comes to an end, only the good Hopis would survive. This is just another reason why Niman and its strong symbolization of what happens when the balance is upset and of the difficulty of maintaining the balance, is so important to the Hopi.
In the year 1540, a group of Spanish explorers, under the leadership of Coronado, came upon an area along the Rio Grande in New Mexico, and called it Santo Domingo. This time, the Spanish had invaded the tract of land occupied by the Keresan speaking Peublo Indians who today are known as the Santo Domingo.

The Santo Domingo creation myth is similar to other Pueblo groups especially in relation to the other Keres speaking tribes. According to the myth, they come from an inner earth located in the north. Later on, such groups as the Santo Domingo traveled southward from their place called Shipap and divided into the various Pueblo tribes.

Around 1581 "... the party of Captain Chamiscado and Father Rodriguez were the next to visit the Keres of the Rio Grande." Shortly thereafter in 1591 the village was destroyed by a flood (Arroyo de Galisteo) and so the tribe moved four miles to the west. It was also in this year that the village received its name from Gapar Castano de Sosa. Once the Spanish had become fully established in the area, they sent for their missionaries and Fray Juan de Escadona who built the first church on the reservation. Around 1605, another flood swept the area and once again the Pueblo had to move. This move was short lived however, because of
another flood. This time the Indians moved to higher grounds and settled a village called Kiwa, the name the Santo Domingo call their village today.

Not all was a bed of roses in this Pueblo after contact. In 1680, the Pueblo Indians of the area rose up together and killed the priests who were living with the Santo Domingo. Later they, along with the other Pueblos, deserted their villages and fled to Potrero Viejo and did not return until 1683. In 1696, another flare up occurred and once again the missionaries were murdered. Eventually the stronghold confederacy of these Pueblo Indians was broken by the Spanish resulting in a relatively quiet 18th century for the tribe. By 1807, and after a visit by Zebulon Pike, sources state that the Santo Domingo had become Christianized with their patron saint being Saint Dominic. What actually happened was that:

...in their adaptiveness and their ability to select the beneficial aspects of Spanish culture [they rejected] the detrimental. ... the Spanish missionaries demanded that the Puebloans observe special days of the Catholic liturgical calendar. ... The Keresans (Santo Domingo) had their own calendrical sequence for religious ceremonies. ... The Keresans found that the Catholic calendar, like their own, was geared to a seasonal cycle with a few minor revisions they were able to hold their...observances on the days the missionaries (thought) important.

Therefore on the feast of Saint Dominic, August 4, the people of Santo Domingo celebrate the feast of the saint in the morning and hold their Green Corn Ceremony directly following the Catholic ceremony.

Like their Pueblo neighbors in Arizona (the Hopi), everything in the world "... is made up, not only of the
things that the Indian sees, hears, touches, and smells, but of the things he thinks, feels, and believes about this world." The Santo Domingo are farmers and as is common among the majority of farmers in the Southwest, moisture is a much needed element. The people of Santo Domingo begin praying for rain in March when the irrigation ditches are opened ceremoniously. The sacred retreats of the tribal members begin at this point and continue until the feast of Saint Dominic, "... kashat (white) pashk (feast)" occurs. For with the Santo Domingo "not a hill of beans is raised, not a deer caught, not one enemy repulsed, nor a sick child cured without the participation and aid of the forces of the cosmos. And the whole cosmos so moves that the Domingo people may live." 

On August 3, 1981, I arrived at the Santo Domingo Pueblo in hopes of capturing the relationship of the Catholic Church's role in this Native American Ceremony. At dawn on August 4, Mass was to begin. However, this year's celebration of the saint's feast was to be different. A concelebrated Mass with bishops from across the country, was to take place. At dawn the Mass inside the small church began. This Mass was closed to the public because the baptisms of the infants, and the recognition by the church of the tribal marriages were taking place. This latter practice is not unlike the Hopi practice of recognizing the marriages of their brides at Niman. The rituals going on inside of the church "... are absolutely foreign to the main dance."
They are a concession to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church."26 "They sit side by side; that is all; they do not touch."27

After the Mass, there was a procession through the village. With the bells of the church ringing and men carrying the effigy of Saint Dominic, the muskets were fired, the drums were played, and the bugles were blown throughout the village until the saint is placed in his shrine for the day next to the kiva. The saint was guarded throughout the day by men from the tribe in order to keep the evil spirits away. His shrine was decorated with spruce boughs and Navajo rugs. The women of the tribe brought bread, fruits, vegetables, stews, and other food gifts to place in front of the saint. It is usually at this point that the dance begins, however, because of the large number of bishops present, a second Mass was held in the plaza. Although the two ceremonies are not related, one could tell that the Mass was Catholic in doctrine, but had been adapted for this Native American ceremony. The vestments of the priests were decorated with Native Art designs and a priest from the plains wore the headress native to that area. The sermon itself was geared towards a harmony with each other, and most importantly with our environment and Mother Earth which is of great importance to the people of Santo Domingo.

As soon as this Mass had ended, the villagers began to clear the plaza and ready it for the beginning of the Corn
Dance. About an hour later, the Koshare emerged from the kiva of the Squash or Summertime People. They opened up the dance with an historical dramatization of the Pueblo people. The Koshare:

... represent the Ancients, the spirits or shades of the ancestors of the people, those who still exercise a protecting influence through their mediatory office with the gods... The Koshare first encircle in their march both halves of the Pueblo; thus in symbolic movement throwing the protective influence of the Ancients around the whole people.

It is the Koshare's job to remind the people of how the Navajo, Apache, and Commanche used to raid their crops and how their ancestors did battle with these enemies and won. Upon the conclusion of this drama, the Koshare returns to the kiva and "... summon the dancers whose duty is to call on the gods for help in bringing the crop to maturity and protecting it." Out of the kivas and up the spruce ladders came the entire Squash clan. The ladder reminds the dancers that they had all:

... climbed the tree itself on the day of creation up to the surface to find their peculiar methods of living on this tricky earth, until death transports us again to the depths of the underworld, and to bliss eternal... to herald the human emergence.

As the dancers emerged, I could not help but notice the immense lines of dancers that were being formed. This would not be like the Hopi's Niman in which only certain men from the tribe would imitate the kachinas. It seemed as if every man, woman, and child able to walk, danced this kachina dance. Two lines began to form, men in one with the women forming another facing the men. Their costumes were
quite simple. The women wore a dark dress leaving their left shoulders and both arms bare and nothing on their feet so as to feel close to Mother-Earth. The women's hair hung straight down and their heads were adorned with tabilitas. In their hands they carry a sprig of spruce. The men wore white kilts with moccasins on their feet. Their hair also hung straight, however instead of having tabilitas on their heads, they had parrot feathers. If the men belonged to the turquoise kiva, then their bodies were painted blue. The other men had their bodies painted pink representing the squash kiva. In their hands, they carried a rattle and a spruce sprig. A turtle shell rattle was also tied to their calves.

Accompanying the dancers was a chorus of the older tribal members and a drummer. The black and white bodies of the Koshare wove in and out of the lines to make sure that the dance was being performed to perfection. The "... entire ritual must be performed without a flaw (and prevent) offenses that would instantly render the day sterile." Therefore, it was not an uncommon sight to see one of the Koshares going over to help one of the dancers fix their costume without breaking the rhythm of the dance.

While standing there watching the dance, I could see why some people may think that these dances are redundant. The low chanting songs, the stamping of the feet, and the general movements are causes for this feeling. However, this dance is unique as all dances are unique in that the meaning is
different, thus, the movements differ. Niman is primarily a rain dance, the Santo Domingo Corn Dance is not. Instead "It asks for an abundant harvest, survival for Santo Domingo, and a blessing on every beating heart in the world."\textsuperscript{32} Hence, the quick-stamping feet of the men does not ask for rain but "... calls the sleeping powers awake... [while the women ask with] their bare feet shuffling in the dust, close to earth that they, and all life, may gain from it the principal of fertility."\textsuperscript{33}

About one half hour after they had begun, the Squash people, who had made their way through the village, retreated back to their kiva while the Turquoise people entered the plaza to begin the exact same dance. They began by forming four circles which turned to the right symbolizing that "... winter follows summer, and summer again winter, with a constant compulsive reiteration of each group adhering to the same dance pattern."\textsuperscript{34} At the end of the Turquoise dance, both groups returned to their kiva and waited until late afternoon to dance again and finish up the ceremony. It is at this point in time that the Santo Domingo, who are usually a very private people, open their homes to everyone attending the dance to come and eat with them. On this day, "All the people of Santo Domingo act as hosts."\textsuperscript{35}

After lunch both kivas came out to dance throughout the afternoon. As dusk approached, the man carrying the flag pole symbolic of the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl and the war god Huitzilopochtli, lowered the staff so that every Indian
"... whether of the village or from elsewhere, managed to pass under it and receive a blessing." 36 Soon afterwards, the Turquoise People presented the last dance which concluded at sundown. With its end the people of Santo Domingo left, satisfied that "... there will be not only a bounty of the field, but of the heart in continuing the faith that Santo Domingo will survive and increase." 37

As I look back on the events that took place that day, I can remember some people stating that they were disappointed in the dance; that it was not as good as Niman at Walpi. I tend to disagree. Both dances are of major importance to both tribes for their own reasons and, in the same right, both dances were equally impressive. For an entire community to have as much discipline as was shown by the Santo Domingo is amazing. Everything and everyone was perfect right down to the two-year old children dancing. It seems that in our society it would be next to impossible to get a youngster to perform like that. However, within the Santo Domingo it is stressed at a very early age the importance of perfection in this dance. Everything comes back to the balance of nature.

Another impressive feature of this dance was that something as sacred to the Anglo as Christianity can be portrayed as solemnly and as beautiful, by a cultural group who rebelled against its constituents. Lacking the confines and some of the material "necessities" of a Catholic Church, this Mass, in its simplicity was very meaningful. It was
amazing to find out that two distinct cultural entities could exist side by side yet not disturb one another. Since the early 1600's the Santo Domingo has been co-existing with Christianity, and yet their native religions and culture have prevailed. The Corn Dance is thought to be "... the most perfect survival of ancient religious ceremonials among the eastern pueblo."38 This portrayal of the Corn Dance is the epitome of all of the Pueblo Corn Dances, and it is for this reason that the Corn Dance is so powerful and sacred to those who participate, and so awesome and lovely to those who watch and want to understand.
WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE SUNRISE DANCE

So far the dances discussed in this paper have dealt with Pueblo Indians and their relationship to the kachina cult. The next dance comes from an Athapaskin-speaking culture related to tribes in Alaska and Canada. This group in particular is found in east-central Arizona near the city of Whiteriver. They are known as the Western Apache but more specifically, the White Mountain Apache. The majority of these people work at a sawmill on the reservation while a minority of people farm and herd.

Exactly where the Apache came from and what their exact route was to the Southwest, is unknown. It is believed that they arrived in the Southwest somewhere "... between 1000 A.D. and 1500."39 Prior to entering the Southwest, it is believed that their migratory paths took them across Alaska, Canada and the Plains. While on the Plains, the Apache broke up into smaller groups and were either forced out of the area by enemy tribes, or decided to leave on their own accord. Their new homelands "... combined high timbered mountains with bush valleys and nearby desert areas."40 What resulted was that each of these small bands chose "some of the most spectacular mountain country in North America."41 Because of these moves the Apache, as a collective group, split up into seven groups based on cultural and linguistic differences.
As for white contact, the United States Army, and prior to that the new pioneers, would not soon forget the Apache. For it was the Apache that became the notorious warriors of the new frontier. Their uncanny ability of reading trails and pathfinding enabled them to remain unseen among their predators, the Anglo. It was not until 1887 that the Apache were finally overcome and put on reservations. Since that time there have been distinct changes within their culture. However, not to the point that the Apache does not "think of himself as an Indian."42 Once again religion plays an important part of the Western Apache's life. "At the heart of Western Apache religion are the alliances that obtain between men and supernatural 'powers.' Because powers develop qualities—one is tempted to say personalities—that are highly individualistic, each Apache who 'owns' one is likely to portray it as unique."43 This power is of the type that a young Western Apache girl can obtain from Changing Woman (the creator of the tribe) when she has a Sunrise Dance or nai' es.

At one point in time every Western Apache girl crossing over the threshold into womanhood had a Sunrise Dance. It was her opportunity to receive and accept the powers of Changing Woman to benefit her tribe, and most importantly herself. Changing Woman is the most important female deity in the Western Apache religion. She and her two sons created all that is good in life, and it is Changing Woman who never grows old.
When a White Mountain Apache girl starts to show signs of physical maturity her parents start discussing whether or not to have the Sunrise Dance. But, because of the expense and a white cultural influx, only a few girls are able to have the Dance today. With the cost being so high, the entire family, including the kinsmen, are expected to contribute in order to defray the cost. All of these things must be settled before the girl in question has her first menstrual period, and once they are, the parents of the girl will proceed with the requirements. First of all, the girl who is to have the ceremony must be willing to go through this most sacred of all Apache Dances. If for some reason the girl wants to forego the ceremony, then the plans for it are dropped immediately. The next step towards completion of the ceremony is for the pubescent girl's parents to make a selection of a group of elders to help in deciding the location of the dance, the date, and who the father will get as a sponsor for his daughter. As far as date is concerned, the ceremony will take place in either June, July, or August even if the girl's period occurred earlier in the year. This is because these months are months of good weather and all of those Apache children away at boarding school are home at this time. The location of the Sunrise Dance is a little more difficult to decide upon. Certain restrictions are set on this area. It must "include an abundant source of water close at hand; proximity to a large supply of wood; and ample space for temporary dwellings."
The final and most difficult preparation of the three decisions, is the obtaining of a sponsor for the pubescent girl. This woman is usually older, therefore more knowledgeable than the girl. Most important of all factors considered, is that this woman cannot be related to the girl either by blood, through a clan and/or any related clan to that of the girl's father. A great amount of responsibility, including financial, is placed on this woman. Therefore, she has to be good, strong, friendly, hard-working, and preferably have gone through the Sunrise Dance herself. Another plus for the girl is that if her sponsor has had a number of children.

After all the Sunrise Dance is concerned with bestowing fertility on the pubescent girl. Once the committee and the parents have decided upon a sponsor, the father of the girl involved will go over to the house of the sponsor and at dawn will take "an eagle feather . . . and place it on her foot saying, 'Would you prepare a dance for my daughter.'" If the prospective sponsor picks up the feather then she will become the Godmother for the young girl. The Godmother will then help the girl before, during, and after the ceremony. She "ritually dresses, massages and feeds the girl; advises her, looks after her when she is not in the custody of the singer, and . . . supervises the ritual runs to the east which the girl makes at certain points in the ceremony." The sponsor's husband becomes the Godfather to the young girl upon his wife's acceptance. On the day before the ceremony is to begin, the Godmother will bring over food for
the girl's family, and, on the day after the ceremony, the
girl's family returns this favor thus securing the ever­
lasting bond that "all that I have may be considered yours."47

After the godparents have been selected a medicine man
(shaman) must be hired, along with making the arrangements
for the appearance of the Gans Dancers. The shaman, along
with a group of men, some interested in learning how to become
a shaman, conduct the ceremony. The main medicine man will
lead the chants and bring the powers of Changing Woman to
the young girl. The Gans Dancers on the other hand, come
out at night. Known as the Mountain Spirits, these dancers
used to make appearances before the Apache went off to war or
to protect individual bands from disease. Today their appear-
ances have been limited to the Sunrise Dance. The Gans
descend from the mountains each of the four nights during the
rite. Their purpose is to "bless the encampment and drive
away any evil which may disrupt the proceedings ... [they]
also possess the powers to cure and treat patients by blowing
away the sickness."48

By the time that I arrived at the White Mountain Apache
Reservation, the details for the dance that I was about to
see had already been set. A major problem had occurred a few
days prior to our arrival. The pubescent girl's original
choice of a sponsor had been struck with tragedy in her
family. The family pulled out thinking that the gods were
angry at them and that this anger might spread to the girl's
family too. Therefore, a new sponsor was chosen for the girl
and the dance went on as scheduled. The day before the dance was to begin, one of the male relatives of the girl made a cane for her out of a straight stick somewhere between thirty and fifty inches in length. The bark is stripped off and a handle is made by bending the stick and attaching a thong to it to hold the stick in place:

Next the medicine man covers the cane with a mixture of yellow ochre and water... he ties two eagle feathers to the rawhide thong and to the base of one feather a turquoise bead is attached; to the other, two small feathers taken from a species of oriole. The eagle feathers symbolize protection against power-caused illnesses. The oriole feathers are symbolic of a good disposition.

After the cane has been taken care of, the men attend a sweatbath and watch as the shaman prepares the materials needed for the dance.

Away from the girl's camp, but somewhere near the danceground, between four and nine temporary buildings had been erected. These buildings (wikiups) housed the pubescent girl and her family, the sponsor and her family, and the medicine man. It will also provide a shelter to prepare the food in a storage area. It was in this camp that the girl and her Godmother stayed the night before the dance. The Godmother dressed her in a buckskin and pinned an eagle feather on her head assuring the girl that she would live a long life. The abalone shell that was on her forehead was the symbol of Changing Woman. That night the girl followed the Gans Dancers that had become her protection. I was unable to watch this part of the ceremony, however I was up at sunrise to catch the four-hour endurance test (dance).
The dance did not begin on time, but around 7 a.m. the girl came out to start her dance. It is unwise for the dance to begin if everyone involved is not ready. The chance of causing evil is greater if mistakes are made because of hastiness. The girl stepped out onto a pile of four blankets which had boxes of food in front of it. Behind her was a tipi made out of four different branches from four different trees (The pima pole represents the east; Black Walnut, the North; cedar, the west; and the oak, the south). This structure was constructed just before the girl began to dance. Her costume weighed close to twenty pounds with most of the weight coming from the buckskin. This article of clothing was decorated by the girl, her family, and her sponsor. However, before the final touches are added to the costume, the medicine man paints (blesses) it with yellow ochre and water.

When the girl stepped forward to dance, the shaman and the drummers positioned themselves behind her and started the first phase. It is customary for the girl to have a relative dance alongside of her in this sequence but this girl chose to have her best friend share in this moment. Together they faced east first, in order to greet Changing Woman and garner her powers of "longevity and the physical capabilities of someone perpetually young." For four days (two days prior and two days during the dance), the girl had the powers of Changing Woman, and with this phase, the dance had begun. Out in the center of the arena, the
young girl danced with her walking cane by herself. A steady up and down step, with neither foot leaving the ground entirely, comprised the dance. The girl kept up this pace while the powers of Changing Woman slowly entered her body. After an hour, the medicine man stopped singing, completing this first phase. During the break, the girl was offered a drink. This relatively simple feat became quite complicated because she had to drink with a straight drinking tube provided for her by the medicine man. If she were to drink without the cattail plant tube "she would develop unsightly facial hair."51 It was at this time that I also noticed that the girl was using some sort of apparatus to scratch herself. The buckskin becomes hot and uncomfortable and an itch may develop. To tend to this problem a special scratching stick, covered with ochre, was used so that "her complexion would [not] be marred."52

After the five minute break, the girl resumed her dancing and the beginning of another phase. This time she knelt, and by her side her Godmother had replaced her best friend. Her hands were placed at shoulder level while she swayed back and forth thus recreating the position in which Changing Woman was impregnated by the sun. This is also the position that Changing Woman took when she had her first menstrual period. The sponsor's role in this phase is to give the girl encouragement and moral support so that the girl may be able to remain strong throughout the dance. About an hour later, the girl and her sponsor entered into
Phase III in which the girl took a prone position on the buckskin. While the girl's arms and legs remained at her side her Godmother knelt beside her and started to rub her entire body. With this, the Godmother was making the girl:

... soft so she can be put into different shapes ... the right shape and Changing Woman's power in the girl makes her grow up ... in that same shape ... she will grow up strong and hard and never get tired. Godmother rubs her legs so she will never have trouble walking a long way ... She rubs her back so that when she gets to be really old ... she won't bend over ... Her shoulders ... so she can carry wood and water and groceries a long way.

By this time a large crowd had gathered to watch and dance in an outside line dance, therefore participating and receiving some of the benefits of Changing Woman. Phase IV began when the girl rose. The shaman then took her cane and set it away from her in the east. When the time came the girl ran to the cane four times symbolizing the stages in life. The next phase, Phase V, was also a running stage, however this time the girl ran to the four cardinal directions with the villagers trailing after her. Once again, this dance was unique. After the first run, the townspeople went up and grabbed the food that had been in front of the girl. It is customary to wait until after the second run to do this. Another peculiarity also took place at this time. The Godmother had a bad back and was unable to continue so her sister replaced her.

When the running was completed, the medicine man blessed the girl and then poured candy and money over her head. This
assured the White Mountain Apache that they would always have plenty to eat. The girl was then sprinkled with corn pollen, first by the shaman and then by some of the members of the sponsor's family. If the individual had any pollen left in his or her hand they would then place it on their own body. At the completion of this rite, the girl was brought to the people to drive the evil spirits away, because she is now Changing Woman. By touching and blowing, the evil was gone. The girl returned to the buckskin when she had touched everyone who wanted the healing. She then threw off the blankets to the cardinal points thus assuring her that she would always have warmth and cleanliness in the camp. With this, the ceremony came to an end until the appearance of the Gans Dancers that night.

The following day is what is ritually known as the Painting Ceremony. Again we arose early in order to see it in its entirety. By the time we arrived, the girl had resumed her dancing. This time however, the phases were shorter and a man, whom she had chosen, was the leader. He danced with an eagle feather in each hand so that when the time came he could paint the girl. About two hours later, the girl was being painted with "a mixture of pollen, corn meal, and ground up stones of four colors." Every part of the girl's body was painted so as to protect her on all four sides. When the painting was finished the girl ran through the tipi assuring her that she would always have a home to live in. As she completed her run, the men took the tipi
down and the dance was done. The girl then went up to the man who had painted her, her Godmother, and the shaman, and embraced them, thanking them for fulfilling her dance.

The most impressive aspect of this dance was the girl's endurance. The temperatures during the two-day ceremony were close to 90°F, her costume was heavy, but most of all the girl had fasted for four days prior to the dance. One of the tribal members told us that it is not uncommon for the girl to pass out in the middle of the dance. If this happens they simply wait until she has been revived and continue on. The eagle feathers placed on the buckskin help her with endurance as they make her light on her feet and quick when running. However, after viewing this dance, I feel that external forces, such as faith, allow these girls to continue on without total physical collapse. Another outstanding characteristic of the entire ceremony is that even though this is an individual event, the entire community contributes to its success. On the morning of the first part of the dance, we were invited over to the temporary camp where some of the members of our group were able to help with the food preparation. Soon other people from all over the camp showed up to help in one way or another. Even though just one girl dances all those around her can benefit from her actions. It seemed as if everyone was anxious to take part and receive the powers of Changing Woman that the girl was radiating out.

The Sunrise Dance is also a learning experience for the tribal children. It acts as a strengthening agent for their
cultural traditions. While talking with one little boy, I was able to find out more about the Gans Dancers' effect on him. He was afraid of the Gans because they will chase him when evil is near. Nevertheless, that night I saw him approach the Gans and subsequently be chased by them. When I asked why he did such a thing he said it's good to be chased because it makes you good and strong. The Sunrise Dance is a different Dance. Its purpose is to mark physical maturity of a young woman, however it also strengthens her ties and her family's to their culture thus creating a strong hold on their tribe's heritage.
What I have discussed in these previous pages is how important ceremonialism and religion is to three cultural groups. Why is the native religion so important to a group of people who have been forced to acculturate and accept the Anglo way? It is my belief that these people are using these ceremonies to try and regain some ground that they have lost in the past. In some cases it is their only link to the past. Ceremonies such as Niman, Sunrise, and the Corn Dance are these links; therefore great amounts of time and care are put into preparing them. I have also learned from doing this paper and from my observations, that these dances are very sacred. From the time that a child is old enough to realize what is going on, the dance is heavily stressed. After all, it is a portrayal of their creation, their life and their culture.

Even though these dances were all unique, certain similarities could be noticed. All shared equal importance within its own culture group and all, in one form or another, were rituals in praise of their creator. It is of major importance to pay their gods homage and these dances are ways of expressing this thanks.

Since being able to observe these dances I have thought a great deal about them and about the Indians who put them on. It has made me take a closer look at my religion and my
heritage, and it has made me realize the importance of it to me. These dances have also made me realize that the American Indian culture is strong and thriving in the Southwest.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Because of the sacredness of these dances, the natives at Hopi and Santo Domingo did not allow us to bring our cameras or note pads onto the reservations. Therefore, the pictures of dances have been provided by my sisters, Nancy and Linda. I would like to thank them for taking the time to reproduce these images from poor photocopies and my memory.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this paper to my aunt, Johanna Celella. Although she is no longer here, it was she that made my trip to the Southwest possible. It was with her determination that we planned my trip together. Ten months before the trip was to begin, Aunt Jo succumbed to a short battle with cancer. On my way home from the airport the day of her funeral, I was told that money had been put aside by Aunt Jo, so that I could go on the trip to learn and enjoy. As the time grew closer for me to leave in July, I nearly backed out, but my memories of my aunt and her eagerness for me to go kept me in there. Thank you, Aunt Jo, for giving me an experience that I will never forget. I love you!
FOOTNOTES

4 Ibid., p. 304.
7 Waters, p. 308.
9 Ibid., p. 244.
10 Wright, Hopi Kachinas, p. 6.
12 Wright, Hopi Kachinas, p. 6.
14 Wright, Hopi Kachinas, p. 88.
16 Ibid., pp. 244, 255, 256.


22. Ibid., p. 18.

23. Ibid., p. 29.


25. White, p. 33.


27. Ferguson, p. 57.


29. Ferguson, p. 58.


31. Ibid., p. 58.

32. Ibid., p. 56.

33. Ferguson, p. 59.


36. Sinclair, p. 60.

37. Ibid., p. 61.


40. Ibid., p. 11.

41. Ibid., p. 11.

43 Ibid., p. xii.

44 Ibid., p. 55.

45 Nita Quintero, "Coming of Age the Apache Way," *National Geographic*, February 1980, p. 263.


47 Basso, p. 63.


49 Basso, pp. 62-63.

50 Ibid., p. 65.

51 Mails, p. 74.

52 Ibid.

53 Basso, p. 66.

54 Quintero, p. 269.
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