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Basin Religion and Theology: A Comparative Study of Power (*Puha*)

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THE Great Basin has been the focus of keen anthropological interest for some time, primarily because the efficient simplicity of societies indigenous to the region reveals much about the persistence, stamina, and ingenuity that people need to survive in a strenuous environment. The major concern of Basin studies has been with ecological theory, but these have all but ignored the traditional ideology that was the basis of native lifeways. Aside from some important contributions to general ethnography, cultural ecology in the Basin has dealt with ecology to the virtual exclusion of culture.

Recently, with the possible deployment of the MX missile, the mining of subsurface minerals, and the expansion of energy transmission systems, Basin religious sites have been destroyed or threatened at an alarming rate, much as local food resources were destroyed over a century ago by settlers and livestock (Andrus 1979; Hartigan 1980; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a, 1976b, 1976c). For this reason, an overview of Basin religion and theology has been greatly needed, one which treats the published information in a systematic fashion with the cooperation of native peoples. This study is a preliminary step in this direction.¹

While there are many named groups in the Basin, on the whole it is a homogeneous area within Native America. Except for the

Hokan-speaking Washoe, all historic Basin groups belong to the Numic family of languages within the Uto-Aztecan language stock. Although there is some disagreement, it appears that Numic-speakers fanned out from the vicinity of Death Valley and diversified into three closely related branches (Lamb 1958). Southern Numic includes Kawaiisu, Chemehuevi, about a dozen Southern Paiute (Nuwuvi), and Ute. Central Numic encompasses Panamint, Western Shoshoni (Newe), Gosiute, Northern Shoshoni, and Eastern (Wind River-Comanche) Shoshoni. Western Numic embraces Mono and several Northern Paiute (Numa) bands, distinguished by lake-based economies and the development of salmon fisheries in otherwise arid regions of Oregon and Idaho.

Today, most people live on reservations, often on or near their aboriginal territories or, in the interest of steady employment, they reside in colonies (reserved housing blocks close to ranches, towns, and cities). As was traditional, extensive visiting and travel between areas are the norms, but the need for wages has all but replaced foraging as a factor in the movements of individuals and families, except for some elders (Facilitators 1980).

Previous publications have been primarily concerned with ecology, subsistence strategy, and general ethnography, although fieldworkers collected data on a greater variety of subjects than their publications suggest. Sometimes, researchers were sent into an area to fill out a prior study. Thus, in 1935,

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Kroeber sent Frederick Hulse and Frank Essene to Owens Valley to collect folklore and other information lacking in the work by Steward (1933).

It was Steward who set the tone for Basin research with a "gastronomic orientation" that encouraged a disinterest in culture, ideology, and religion in their own right. The singular exception is the study of shamanism by Willard Park (1938), who also collected valuable information on Northern Paiute ritual and ceremony.

Some recent correctives to this functional view have been supplied by Hultkrantz (1966, 1976), working with data from Wind River Shoshoni. While they are located on the eastern margin of the Basin and adopted a heavy veneer of Plains features, Wind River people seem to have remained faithful to a generalized Basin theology. Nonetheless, Hultkrantz discusses it in terms of a religious ecology based on the subsistence technology, slighting the interaction of symbols with the total environment which lies at the heart of the ideological system.

Aside from Park (1938) and Hultkrantz (1966, 1976), discussions of Basin religion have been limited to unanalyzed treatments of the Circle, Bear, and Cry dances (cf. Fowler 1970), which are variations on the system rather than basic to it.

CULTURE, SOCIETY, AND MATRIX

In all, previous research in the Basin has dealt with society rather than culture. Society consists of manifestations of behavior, subsistence, and institutions. It is the obvious empirical data shared among the social or human sciences, defined by time, place, and events. Culture, by contrast, is the semantic dimension that informs and renders meaningful all the experiences of a human as a member of a society.

While societies differ in terms of their level of integration and complexity, all cul-

tures are equivalent in that *Culture* is a distinctively human adaptation augmented by language and technology. Culture is sometimes used as a cover term for shared ideas or all aspects of a society, but this muddles its clarity. Cultures are basically the same; it is only their reflection and realization in society that differs, congruent with biology, habitat, ecological cycles, and population size.

Only in this manner can the Basin be considered at the lower end of any scale of complexity. While Basin cultures were as elaborate as any others, Basin societies display concern with practicality and efficiency. By ignoring this important distinction, Linton (1940: 117), commenting on the study by Harris (1940), made the absurd comment that "Aboriginal White Knife culture was so simple and amorphous that there was little to be destroyed by European contact."

Because cultures are subject to change over time, yet each seems to maintain some distinctive axiomatic principles, they have sometimes been likened to configurations with a stabilizer that keeps them on a given course. Such a stabilizer has been called an armature, ethos, paideuma, and so forth. Elsewhere, I have called it a Strucon (Miller 1979), an abbreviation for structural configuration, consisting of a reverberating axiomatic tension called an Echo and relationships called a Matrix.

The component relationships form a triad of exclusive, inclusive, and inclusive members. The exclusive/inclusive consist of a dialectical duality, with the exclusive as a special case of the inclusive. Hence, the exclusive is tightly defined, marked, and delimited, while the inclusive is indefinite, unmarked, and open. For example, many cultures regard both female and left as exclusive, in opposition to male and right as inclusive. In this case, females and the left hand are under various restrictions, such as negative evaluations that limit their range of activity or application

(Needham 1973; Miller 1979). Levi-Strauss (1978: 469) has identified these relationships in his sweeping mytho-logic of the Americas as disjunction, conjunction, and mediation.

The inclusive member is the most complex because it shares attributes both of the exclusive and the inclusive and of other members of the class of mediators. In addition to culturally specific attributes, all mediators have in common the image of a permeating nexus (Miller 1979). It is these mediators within a Strucon and culture which weave together all of the other dyads into a consistent whole.

While the Matrix occurs in all cultures, the character of the Echo sets each culture apart. Levi-Strauss has argued for a set of categories which I interpret to be the universal Echo of Human Culture. It consists of Culture as predictable and exclusive, Nature as accidental and inclusive, and Mind, reason and brain, as inclusive. For specific cultures, however, these universals are subject to various combinations of internal developments, historical accidents, and external influences that assert the priority of a particular duality as the Echo. At present, about a dozen possible Echoes have been identified, with those of right/left, man/woman, and animal/plant playing significant roles.

An example of a Matrix in the Basin is provided by color symbolism. Although five is the pattern number and there seem to be five primary colors (white, red, black, yellow, and blue-green-gray), only the first three carry heavy symbolic loads. Powell (1971: 162) reported "Red paint signifies joy," with black "signifying war." Among the Gosiute, boys and girls were painted red at their puberty festivals, and white before embarking on a vision quest (Malouf 1974: 62, 53). Formerly, patients during a shamanic curing were painted white, as they still are among the Duckwater Shoshoni.

Because black was associated with war, a

male activity, and red with both males and females on joyous occasions, they are exclusive and inclusive, respectively. Its association with the sacred and spiritual links white with the inclusive. The associations of the other colors are not as well developed, although yellow sometimes substitutes for black.

In his composite model of the Southern Ute world, Goss (1972: 128) attributes white to the sky, yellow to the Upper Earth, blue-green-gray to the Middle Earth, red to the Lower Earth, and black to the Underworld. Apparently, symbolism varied through the Basin since Northern Paiute assign colors to the cardinal directions and black to the center. This matter is complex enough to deserve further study.

Recognizing the distinctions between society and culture, exemplified by Echo and Matrix, our concern is less with what people do and more with what they think, recognizing that the two are very closely related. In addition, the thoughts of some people are more helpful than those of others, much as the advice of an expert is more informative than that of a novice. In practice, these profound thinkers were or are often shamans, but sometimes they are people able to devote considerable thought to a subject. Often they are mentally curious but physically handicapped.

According to percentages reported by Whiting (1950: 28) for Northern Paiute and Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971) for the Desana of Colombia, only about 20% of a population possesses such informed knowledge, and less than 5% of these have a systematic overview of the valued information. Most often such adepts were supernaturally empowered by heredity and personal inclination, together with an arduous training period in self-discipline, empathy, esoteric languages, and special techniques (Handleman 1967). In the process, they perfect skills of mind-body control such as hypnosis, meditation, and

breathing exercises to induce trance.

POWER (*PUHA*)

The intent of this training was the ability to control the supernatural power-energy-force after it was conferred by a spirit in a recurrent dream, which usually was due to the initiative of the spirit, either because it was familiar with the family or because it took a liking to the dreamer. This bonding took place without suffering, hardship, or mortification, although profound grief might bring out a power already lurking nearby. Often, power (*puha*, *buha*, or similar variants in Numic languages or *wegeleyu* in Washoe) was inherited by shamans through family lines, while at Yomba it seems to skip alternating generations (Leiber 1964: 22). Once acquired, power can be used either to benefit others, following sanctioned practice, or to advance personal desires, which is selfish and leads to sorcery. Power in and of itself is merely a significant gift to a human by one of the Immortal supernaturals, frequently the "boss," "owner," or "master" (large and beautiful progenitor) of a species, who has existed from the dawn of creation, the first or a subsequent one, according to mythology (Park 1938: 16; Liljeblad 1969: 52).

Belief in this mana-like power apportioned by spirits was fundamental to all North American religions (Miller n.d.a). Hence, this discussion of the Basin concept can be extended and amplified by occasional comparisons, which have the additional advantage of protecting Numic concerns for their own religion. Southern Paiute and Western Shoshoni advisors are sometimes reluctant with good reason to share their theology with outsiders, so in conformity with their wishes, I have used the expedient of citing close parallels to Numic practice from neighboring tribes. This enables my account to be reasonably full without violating confidences. It also places Basin religion within the larger context

of Americanist research into New World religions. While these belief systems are usually mentioned in the plural, my work across the continent has convinced me that there was and is a common system for North America, variously expressed by the acceptance, rejection, and differential emphasis of basic tenets. The appeal of Numic and Washoe religion is that it seems to be an elementary expression of the larger system.

In all, this unitary concept of power is most like the crucial concept of the Holy Wind where "Navajo naming of a particular aspect of the Wind does not thereby differentiate it as a kind of Wind having no relation to the whole of which it is a part, just as our naming of a sea does not imply that the waters referred to are distinct from the great body of water encompassing the whole Earth" (McNeley 1981: 17).

Further, continuing work on the concept of power has taught me much about the parallel concept of Culture, especially when used politically as in Red Power. Assuming that there is a Human Culture, with the boundaries differently drawn by different cultures, then each variant must be a selection from the whole adapted to local biota and landscape. Similarly, power seems to have a universal source or locus, abstractly phrased as the memory of the Creator, who knows everything from past, present, and future, and shares aspects of this with the other Immortals. The Creator, Immortals, and their interactions with humans are chronicled in the origin saga of the group, which also specifies the particular practices and commandments that a tribe had to follow. Each group respected both its own doctrines and those of other tribes, knowing that all of them were intermeshed to maintain cosmic balance. Thus, the whole was greater than the sum of its parts, and each tribe was only a portion of the pattern.

Discussions of power often overlook its

emotional aspects. Other groups felt a keen loss when another way of life became extinct, for it impoverished them all. The belief was that each life way was entrusted with a particular way of dealing with power, so the loss of any of them had philosophical and emotional sequences. These emotions were both communal and personal, in that the experiences of an individual had to be congruent with community expectations. Someone receiving the gift of power felt it immediately, often describing it as like an electric shock or jolt. Although the term in English also conveys something with a "pow," "jolt," or "charge," it has been toned down to agree more closely with the lack of affect in modern religions.

In the Basin version, the universal order that establishes power and its flow was the myth age "when animals were people" and everything was undifferentiated, having a sameness based on full potentiality such that beings could take many forms with many abilities. According to Powell (1971: 73), the primal world consisted of the "original facts or primary concepts that there is a land and a sea, an abyss below, and a night above." Of these basic elements, night and water were among the most sacred.

Night was the universal condition until the stars, moon, seasons, and sun were created. It was a night of both time and space, with "the face of the night meaning the sky or apparent firmament" (Powell 1971: 73). Because it was of the very beginning, night remains the most appropriate time for curings, gatherings, and dances to capture power, especially around midnight and the blackness just before dawn. Northern Paiute personified night as the spirit who sent messengers and aid to the shamans. Olofson (1979: 13) was told that the spirit of night "is everywhere and sends animal messengers to the doctor; it is for this reason that shamans prefer to work at midnight when their power is strongest."

Earlier, Park (1938: 17) heard at Pyramid Lake that night had two aspects: "Only shamans can see this second night. The people see only darkness. They cannot see the night under it." Because night is primordial, it is powerful and immortal. Among the Kawaiisu, "supernatural beings are somehow associated with the sky and/or the night" (Zigmond 1972: 133).

The stars are people who left the earth to dwell in the sky "where they are compelled to travel in appointed ways" (Powell 1971: 75). Stars are considered to be females or women. The song and dance by Whippoorwill (Powell 1971: 221) caused a Frog to rise into the air and become the moon, accompanied by his seven wives, the sisters of Wolf and Coyote, who became stars, and his son who became Venus (Powell 1971: 221, 229). It is significant for the argument below that stars were women and solitary planets were men, both obligated to travel in appointed ways.

The sun is the most important being in the sky. Among the White Knife Shoshoni, Sun Father was the source of supernatural power, distinguished from Ocean Woman, the creator in the southern Basin (Harris 1940: 56). Among the Chemehuevi and others, sun has a sky home (of crystal) surrounded by animals that include pet bears. He is also called Sun Spider, with the form of a blackwidow. He was formerly much more brilliant and destructive, but some say that Cottontail shattered him into his present size and intensity, others that Coyote burned the old one up and made a smaller new one. As Powell (1971: 75) noted, the Numa have "a host of mythological stories giving the reason why the sun . . . who should have a will of his own—is yet compelled to travel by a definite trail along the face of the night."

Southern Paiute mythology details the origin and development of the world under the direction of Ocean Woman, a creator who sprinkled particles of her skin upon the primal

sea to create a patch of earth, which she stretched out to present size by stimulating the process of birth with her body. Among the Chemehuevi, Ocean Woman was aided by Wolf, Coyote, and Cougar. Of these, Wolf is a wise and magical—also pompous and humorless—shaman using a *pooro*, the crooked rod that is the insignia of his calling. Coyote is innovative, sensuous, foolish, and selfish, an idea man who established the less than perfect patterns that humans now follow. Cougar is not well delineated, probably to avoid mentioning that he is dangerous, malevolent, and frenzied in that “the mountain lion and the rattlesnake . . . conferred upon their possessors the power to do great harm” (Laird 1974: 22).

After Ocean Woman had made the flat earth disk and expanded it, humans were created by the union of Coyote as father and Louse as mother (Laird 1976). Coyote was given the task of carrying the basket filled with the forming humans from the island of Ocean Woman to the land emerging from the primal water. Laird (1976: 310) called this the Self-Mythologizing or Immortal Water, but I term it the Self-Chartering Sea. To cross it, Coyote took the form of a water spider but, as always, his curiosity got the better of him and he opened the basket before he had reached the center of the world. Consequently, humans jumped out and scattered everywhere, thwarting the divine plan to have them radiate out evenly from this nexus. Moreover, humans have remained imperfect ever since because they “follow the way of Coyote.” Similarly, they take after their mother because “her offspring have assuredly crept like lice over the beautiful body of the earth” (Laird 1976: 214).

While this southern creation is best known, there are others (Liljeblad 1969; Zigmund 1980). One is the Earth Diver motif where a series of water animals attempt to bring up dirt from the ocean floor until the

last one provides a tiny speck for the creation. In another, Wolf is the wise creator of a world in several, usually five, layers with the sun in the sky, people on the earth, and short giants in an underworld. Often, there is a shaft or *axis mundi* linking together the various layers. In all these versions, Coyote is the marplot instituting frailties.

From Jim Jones in Owens Valley, Hulse (1935: 150.3, item #29) recorded a modernized version of the creation of humans. Because it is an adaptation that nonetheless conveys important features of Basin tradition, I summarize it here.

The man who was to be the father of all Indians sat in his cave weaving a blanket from the skin of a rabbit he killed with his bow and arrow. His rock house was near the rock art site in Round Valley. When he looked up from his work, he saw a pretty girl (“Her hair shown like a spider web right after the rain”) walking swiftly through the rocks up Pine Creek Canyon. He got up and followed her, but he could not catch up. Then he knelt and rubbed fine earth on his legs, praying to Mother Earth to grant him the life of wind so he could overtake the woman. They went up the slope until they reached Pine Creek Lake and he called to her to rest on a flat rock at the summit. She did so and he hurried to sit beside her as the sun set. They decided to make camp together for the night. By morning, they were married and moved down to camp at the mouth of the canyon. There the woman became the mother of many children, who grew up quickly. The father gave bows and arrows to the boys and baskets to the girls, sending the best looking of them away to choose the languages that they wanted. He kept the most homely and mean ones with him because they were the best warriors. Hence, the Paiute of today are not good looking but very strong. The woman eventually became a rock in the vicinity.

While this story is an updated version of

Coyote and Louse (Steward 1937: 365-368), the animal counterparts of the characters are not given. It is significant that the woman took the definite lead and the man pursued, following the path of a waterway flowing off a mountain peak. Also noteworthy was his attraction to her in terms of a glistening web. Among the Tübatulabal (Voegelin 1938: 53) and the Kawaiisu (Zigmond 1980: 47), myths make it explicit that men had an inferior position until they tricked the highly competent women into turning over control of society.

Mountains have an important role in Basin cultures, as they do in the areal ecology. Throughout the region, people can point out a particularly high or prominent peak as the sacred center where creation began or an Immortal lived. One such is Job's Peak in the Stillwater Range near Walker Lake, recognized by several Northern Paiute groups as the center of the world.

Of all these centers, the most powerful in the south and central Basin is Charleston Peak in the Spring Mountains west of Las Vegas. Goss (1972: 128) argued from Southern Ute material that their model of the world most closely matched with the five biotic levels on this peak, although he could not be definite about this attribution. Yet, both Isabel Kelly and Alfred Kroeber earlier identified Charleston Peak as an important cosmic center. When I visited the peak, "physical evidence" of these mythological traditions was pointed out. Thus, not only is Charleston Peak the most significant center, but Ocean Woman left a memento of herself there as the wrinkled and reclining figure called Mummy Peak. A cave on a nearby slope marks the home of Wolf and Coyote before they wandered off to the north. Natives continue to visit these sites to pray, leave offerings, and meditate. Possibly, this peak was the initial central island, left high and dry after the primal sea receded. Its native name is Snow-

Having, appropriate because its 12,000-foot elevation collects abundant snow which melts to feed many summer streams.²

Other peaks of lesser altitude also function in the overall pattern since they are sacred centers meshing together into an overall network with Charleston Peak at the heart, at least for the southern Basin.

Allowing for variation, the beginning earth was everywhere flat and the same until many parallel sawtooth ranges and wide valleys were created. The Gosiute attribute these changes to Hawk slashing the earth with his wings (Malouf 1974). With "the origin of surface relief commenced the scattering of the nations, for there was now a diversity of country and each one chose for himself a special habitat" (Powell 1971: 77). Among the difficulties encountered by this diaspora was the loss of a common language and much of the accredited wisdom of the Myth Age. Coyote saw to it that life would be precarious and laborious, so it would not be easy or humans would regard it lightly. He also arranged that there be diversions and thrills to make life interesting at times.

In keeping with this mythic sameness, the population, while bearing the names of modern species, had no fixed forms, being simultaneously human, spirit, and biota. In her precise way, Laird (1976: 209ff) described these Immortals as constantly shimmering among the forms. This nicely describes the predominant characteristic of the Myth Age beings throughout the Americas, at the least. It also captures the great value placed on movement, the kinetic and dynamic, by Native Americans. It is qualitatively different from that of Europe, emphasizing stages and states, and so is frequently misunderstood.

POWER AS KINETIC FLOW

Flux, action, and process are characteristic modes of the Americas, difficult to grasp because the English language best deals with

things and events, while they are assumed in the grammars of Amerindian languages. In his sketch of the American language stocks, Sapir (1929) indicated that verbs are the most elaborated and complex component of these languages. Further, from time to time, attempts have been made to show that languages like Nootkan and Salishan lack a noun/verb distinction, relying heavily on abstract verbal stems. Nouns are almost always auxiliary in these grammars. Thus, people speak of living not life and moving not staying, implying ongoing interactions and reciprocities.

Similarly, power is not the best term for characterizing the life force—energy. It is not static or concrete, but rather kinetic, always moving and flowing throughout the cosmos, underpinning all facets of the universe in a way that a physicist could appreciate. Yet, convention and English usage place innate constraints on finding a more suitable term, aside from the classic treatment of mana in Polynesia.

The primary attribute of power is this processual dynamic, affiliating it with life. Its quality of flowing is well represented in the tale of how Badger revived the wife and son of Owl after they were killed by the fatal fumes of an angry Skunk (Powell 1971; Laird 1980: 80). Further, it shows the importance of singing and dancing for controlling power by becoming attuned to it since all are rhythmical.

After Badger had his attention called to the lifeless bodies on his special plot of ground,

He painted himself and danced a dance and sang a song known only to himself. Then he dug a hole and burrowed along under the ground until he came to a point just under the bodies and there he emerged from the earth. Standing by the bodies of the woman and child, he pierced them with his medicine knife until the blood ran and they returned to life . . . [Powell 1971: 260].

Accordingly, once Badger was able to match his flow of power with his song and dance, he moved through the ground to emerge beside the deceased and attuned them to the power by making their blood flow.

Since this flowing sometimes seems to be more like flying and hovering, Harris (1940: 56-57) reported that power was bird-like. Among the Columbian Salish, I know that the generic for bird also includes pet and guardian spirit, while among the Lakota, birds are messengers between earth and sky, humans and spirits, because they fly and are bipeds like humans. In addition to these avian qualities, supernatural birds conferred great power, such as the Eagle for hunting and the Hummingbird for healing by sucking. In all, birds are more an attribute of power than a source.

WOMEN AND MEN

The flow of power influenced all of life, particularly humans. In the Basin lifeway, men and women scattered over their territory between strategic camps enabling them to hunt and gather particular resources. The basic social unit was the kindred composed of a married couple together with their children and a few other bilateral relatives. Bilaterality made for extensive kin networks, but the membership of functional kindreds remained small because foods, primarily seeds, were thinly spread and ripened precipitously, making it difficult to harvest efficiently. Also, animals and vegetation fluctuated from year to year because of variable rainfall. Large gatherings were only possible with a sudden abundance of some resource, occurring either naturally like pine nuts or socially via coordinated drives for grasshoppers, mudhens, rabbits, and antelope. A valley with a reliable water source had a larger population as a result and its leader was stronger, within the parameters of his title meaning "talker," a reference to his use of oratory alone to

maintain decorum. In addition, camps usually had a shaman with the supernatural clout to orchestrate communal drives and undertake curings. Sometimes, the talker and the shaman were the same person, but more often they had overlapping authority.

The wife of a talker seems to have had charge of female activities, which were especially cooperative (Steward 1938: 99; Kelly 1964: 29). If a chief had more than one wife, they apportioned the duties of house, children, gathering, and hospitality among themselves, under the guidance of the senior wife.

Among the Chemehuevi, "Everything to do with the gathering and preparation of seeds and fruits and with weaving belonged to the women's side. To the men appertained all that had to do with game, especially big game (except the packing of it into camp, when there was a woman available for the task). The hunter, using his awl, sewed or laced together buckskin clothes for himself and his family" (Laird 1976: 6).

More generally, "Both sexes usually made things used by both—houses, rabbitskin blankets, and clothing" (Steward 1938: 44). Men and women worked together during the pine-nut harvest and the hunting of small rodents. Most often, men engaged in solitary tasks, working and hunting alone (Steward 1938: 231, 236, 266; Whiting 1950: 68). Women shared their economic activities together, although they also divided any necessary labor among themselves since food gathering and child care, major female tasks, required different use of time and skills. It was not unusual in a camp to have two women divide up the routine so that the younger gathered food and the older, often a grandmother, tended children (Whiting 1950: 68).

While men and women cooperated for specific activities, they had different symbolic associations. For example, while both sexes worked on the house, women had primary responsibility for the covering, brush or mat-

ting, and men set the inside supports. At Pyramid Lake, "Men and women cooperated in putting up the wikiup, the former erecting the framework, the latter making and tying the tule shingles" (Lowie 1924: 220). While both sexes worked harvesting pinyon trees, only men climbed the trees since modesty kept women on the ground (Lowie 1924: 203). Further, in terms of periodicity, the relation of time to activities, women were engaged in constant, continuous tasks, while those of men were intermittent.

A woman shared her food with coresident kin, but large game was shared with everyone present at the time, presumably because it was so perishable. If a woman gave food to other kin or neighbors, it was phrased as a gift, requiring a return (Steward 1938: 74), although Kelly (1964: 122) lists a term for a distant relative meaning "someone you feed." Nonetheless, the sexes did not contribute equally to the larder since women supplied most of the food eaten from day to day. Throughout the Basin, except during sucker runs at Pyramid Lake, plants provided the bulk of the food compared to meat, although hunting had a greater prestige value.

As Kelly (1964: 132) was bluntly told by the Southern Paiute, "Women dug roots and men ate them." Obviously, men were at a disadvantage since they were takers from women givers. "A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters" (Whiting 1950: 73), providing males with recurring frustrations that sometimes end in suicide. Primary loyalty goes to blood relations, so wives and affines were subject to suspicion and emotional outbursts. In all, women defined the quality of relationships and, even now, they are the mainstays and the buffers against economic and psychological uncertainty (Knack 1976).

In terms of the Matrix, therefore, the prominence of women in the Basin indicates that they are inclusive, reversing the more

common pattern. Men, engaged in solitary tasks and supplemental economics, are exclusive, a special case within the inclusive which contributes to male feelings of anxiety.

Such ambivalence toward females seems reflected in beliefs about Water Babies. Each Water Baby has a home in an artesian spring, and sometimes people will leave offerings there. The bubbling of the spring comes from their breathing, just as hot springs are caused by their cooking fires. Like any other resident of the Basin, they are seldom home, preferring to travel widely along all waterways, including irrigation ditches. They are powerful, dangerous, and closely associated with shamans.

Descriptions of them vary, but many people claim to have seen them. In general, each is about three feet high with long hair and a hard shell-like skin that makes them virtually impossible to kill. Some have wings or a mustache. They are feared because some draw unsuspecting people, especially women and children, to the edge of the water and drown them. Others take the place of a baby and eat the mother when she begins to suckle.

According to Hoebel (MS: 13) "These are small females standing about twelve inches high." The Washoe believe that Water Babies are a tribe, with members of all ages and both sexes, but like human societies, the women have the predominant role. One Washoe even saw tiny footprints indicating that one Water Baby has taken to wearing high heels.

Water Babies are also involved in the "ownership" of particular springs. Kelly (1964: 7, 22, 93) was baffled by reports from Kaibab that "Theoretically, watering places were inherited by the oldest child: in practice, they seem to have passed to the nearest male relative (either by blood or by marriage) who happened to be at hand and who continued to live at the site."

Her remark calls to mind the controversy over "family-owned hunting territories" in

the eastern Subarctic. Some anthropologists felt that they were aboriginal, while others argued that they were a product of the fur trade, a strategy to monopolize the pelts in a region. Tanner (1979) recently resolved the debate: these territories were aboriginal, but their religious basis was compromised by economic motivations. Traditionally, each plot was inherited on the basis of a combination of descent and of acquaintance with the terrain such that routine success at the hunt was taken to mean that the spirit responsible for the plot was pleased with that individual. Thus, a hunter, relative or not, who retains good relations with that spirit is regarded as "owner" of that plot, which is inherited by the hunter who best meets these same qualifications. In this context, "to own" means to know the terrain intimately while maintaining good rapport with its spirit warden.

In the same way, spring "ownership" by male inheritance through coresidents suggests the same kind of special partnership between human and spirit, most likely a Water Baby.

Much as the "ownership" of springs was concerned with proper relations with spirits and power involved in the flow, so too was the possession of songs as an aspect of the rhythm of life. Laird (1976: 9) was told by her husband that Chemehuevi "owned" land because males inherited rights to it through either the song of the Mountain Sheep to "my very own land" or the song of the Deer to "my very own mountain," depending upon the trail described in the song.³

As power has a profound affinity for the living, some of it lingers as long as there is any vestige of life. Hence, there is always some power around graves, but by its nature it is less vital and so more likely to cause harm or be used in sorcery. It appears to be power that has been trapped and stagnated, only released when decomposition is complete. Therefore, graves were generally avoided, both from uncertainty about the power there

and the intentions of any lingering ghosts.

Because the protection of graves is specifically legislated in the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), people are being encouraged to speak about this reluctant topic. Throughout native America, life and death are aspects of a continuous process, such that community sentiment is intensified rather than severed after death. The dead merge into a vague ancestral group distinguished by a few famous leaders and they provide a subtle corporate continuity for the society and culture. Hence, a Yomba or a Moapa soul continues its identification with kindred and community long after the body dies, remaining loyal to those it can benefit and expecting the same from the living. Similarly, while graves are generally avoided, the location of family graves is taught to younger generations. In this way, recognized family and tribal claims to an area are marked by permanent residents in the ground, while the living were engaged in seasonal transhumance among the camps.

Some people received power from ghosts and some shamans kept vigil at graves, but these usually resulted in malevolent use of power. In some areas, graves occur in places also having religious import, concentrating much power in the vicinity because of the overlap of several sources. The best places for this are high mountains with caves, springs, rock cairns built during vision quests, rock art, and graves in close proximity. While such ties to ancestors and places are not well described in the literature, this is an oversight.

In the southern Basin, land and its attributes were created by Ocean Woman, reflecting the realities of the position of women in these societies. Women were the cooperative unit and the suppliers of most of the staples. Since the house is routinely viewed as a microcosm of the ordered world, it is significant that men supplied the inside posts and women the covering.

Similarly, at festivals, "women are formed in a circle and dance in a slow shuffling manner, the men standing within dance on their toes with heels turned out and body bent forward leaping high in the air, and as they leap giving a yell and whirling a musical instrument [a bullroarer], which they hold in their hands and which gives out a curious shriek" (Powell 1971: 63). Sometimes only women dance in the Circle Dance, or men and women alternate in the ring with the center occupied by a post and a male song leader (Kelly 1964: 104). Note that because Woman is the inclusive category, associated with the outer ring, either women or men and women can appear there, while the inside was exclusive to men. I have found no references to only men dancing in a ring and suspect it was highly unlikely.

During periods of fasting and abstinence associated with birth, puberty, and death, women are usually under restrictions for 30 days, and men for only 5 days. This nicely illustrates how the exclusive 5 is a special case of the inclusive.

In sum, Woman is associated with Outside and Man with Inside, with their interaction complementary and cooperative. In native America, an individual has oblique responsibilities such that he or she should be more concerned with the welfare of others rather than of the self. In the Basin and elsewhere, this takes the form of food sharing and motivates the few leading "old families" in each group to responsibly coordinate community activities for the greatest good. Hence, Ocean Woman shared the process of creation with Wolf, Coyote, Louse, Cougar, and others, instituting a network of reciprocity from the inception of the world. In native America, generally, the only people who work alone in disregard of others are both selfish and likely sorcerers. This was especially crucial in the Basin since survival depended on the intense cooperation of a few people.

With this background, we can define the sexes more closely. Among the Southern Ute and others, stars and flocks of birds are considered to be females (Goss 1972: 124, 126). Similarly, lice are regarded as women. These share the characteristic of uniform size and diffuse distribution, appropriate metaphors for women of the Basin. The sun and large mammals, regardless of biology, are considered to be males because, like men, they are solitary and larger. In all, Man refers to pronounced parts of the environment and Woman to open, even expanses. By analogy, then, the relations between Man/Woman are those between figure/ground, inside/outside, taking/giving, concentration/dispersal, probing/spreading, promontory/plane, and exclusive/inclusive. The metaphors of promontory/plane are especially appropriate for Basin topography where rows of broad valleys are divided by sawtooth mountain ranges.

In addition, these genders also have graphic sexual references in that Woman spreads and Man probes or pierces, as exemplified by the awl of the hunter and the rod of the shaman. In a quasi-appropriate if neo-classical vein, Laird (1976: 216) also noted "That regenerating rod of power, by which those Immortals who had been killed in various ways were revived and by which in later times the shaman performed his curative work, is primarily the generative organ, the phallus Here is evidence clearer even than that afforded by Coyote's partnership with his penis, of the existence of a phallic cult such as one would expect to find associated with the worship of the [Mater Magna] Goddess."

Harris (1940: 62, 104) reported that men could become ill or go blind by seeing female genitals. He underscored this with an account of a baby health contest which ended in disarray when "the nurses completely unclothed the female babies." This taboo applied only to men, specifically, since a jealous wife "might beat her rival and rip her skirt,

expose her genitals and shame her by spitting on them" (Harris 1940: 68). Quite explicitly, then, men are "kept in their place" in ways that women are not.

These associations are not unique to the Basin or the Americas, although they seem to occur infrequently. In Italian "the feminine is bigger because it embraces and envelopes while the masculine penetrates" (Ervin 1962: 256, note 14).

THE PULSATING WEB OF POWER

All of these interpersonal interactions took place in a series of camps near resources across the landscape. Sudden abundances enabled larger groupings to appear who engaged in communal rituals, often Round Dances. The hub of all these activities was the winter encampment, usually located near pine-nut caches in the uplands. As Steward mentions again and again,

Encampments tended to cluster with respect to mountain masses rather than valleys Mountain ranges not only capture but retain greater precipitation. As more than half of the annual precipitation generally falls in winter throughout most of the area, it is retained as snow on high mountain summits until well into summer (The Sierra of California even have small glaciers) and is released gradually in springs and streams. The run-off of moisture, however, depends upon mountain structure [Steward 1938: 232, 12, see also 14, 124, 141].

Therefore, while a balanced anticline waters the valleys on both sides of it, most Basin mountains are monoclines with sharp and sloping sides. Most often, drainage is best on the western side, making such valleys the usual population centers, such as the Reese River Valley of the Toiyabe Range rather than the Smokey Valley immediately to the east. As with any rule, there are notable exceptions, such as the Snake Mountains draining east into Snake Valley rather than west into Warm Spring Valley (Steward 1938: 126).

Settlement pattern is influenced by the quantity as well as the location of water, so gathering areas are smaller near rivers than in the arid scrub. Of course, the amount of reliable water near these rivers significantly increased the diversity and density of local vegetation, enabling people to harvest more effectively in a smaller area. In all, camp sites were selected for the availability of water, firewood, seeds, berries, nuts, animals, and moderate temperatures (Steward 1938: 232).

Ultimately, water was the most important of all of these considerations, the most vital component of living successfully in the Basin. Hence, it is the keystone of Basin religion because power, with its affinity for life, was strongly attracted to water, "a purifying agent . . . spoken of as being like the human breath" (Whiting 1950: 40). Whether as rain, snow, lakes, streams, or springs, water determined the location and movement of life in the Basin. As it fluctuated, so too did biotic populations.

Power is fundamental to all of these relations because it preceded them all. Close to the life force, it was the most cosmic of mediators, pervading the universe and symbolizing thought in its full expanse. In the southern Basin, it is the source for the immortality of the first beings, particularly Ocean Woman. For all of native America, the ultimate source of power is the mind of the focal being involved in creation, most especially the process of memory, which is crucial for imparting immortality (Miller n.d.a). Memory is the basis for transmitting knowledge, particularly in elite families that supply consistently provident leaders. Their children were specially trained to memorize family, community, and tribal traditions, best encapsulated in mythology and rituals.

Memory was aided by many mnemonics, among which, although not usually considered as such, is rock art. Among Interior Salish, I have been instructed that rock art

was intended to communicate between humans and other "people" (spirits, animals, plants, rocks, and other sapient) of this and other times, aspects, and dimensions (Miller n.d.b). Rock art serves to remind them all just what the appropriate activities are for certain areas for all eternity. Heizer and Baumhoff (1962) have argued that Basin rock art was deliberately located near ambush sites along game trails, but I would counter that such sites were selected to notify the Animal People about human intentions there, rather than to work some nebulous hunting magic.

In sum, power in Basin cultures, as elsewhere, can be traced to the memory of Ocean Woman in the south and to Wolf or Sun in the north because, like Merlin in the Arthurian legend, time is continuous in their minds as memory. Water both permeates the universe in a thin scattering and in definite concentrations with currents, generally where life is also clustered. Power has the same distribution, diffusely scattered everywhere and flowing along waterways. For example, Charleston Peak is called Snow-Having because it concentrates water and power, sending them down along regular routes.

All water is sacred, therefore, because power adheres to its reservoirs, as clouds, rain, snow, springs, seeps, lakes, streams, or the occasional river in the desert. Similarly, deep caves on slopes are sacred because they shelter life and collect water by seepage while remaining moist and dark like the initial world. They also are believed to open into the Self-Chartering Sea below the earth. In their formation, caves evoke the conceptual nexus, particularly if they consist of a main and branching chambers. Hence, caves are sacred, vital in the flow of power. In the same vein, salt is sacred because it was carried by water and deposited in caves and elsewhere, attracting human and animal life.

While power closely follows the flow of water, they are not identical because power is

definitely more significant. As in the Christian tradition of Lourdes and Fatima, power can manifest itself by producing a spring in a previously dry location. In myths, Coyote wills springs to appear on occasion, usually for his own convenience. Park (1938) reported that the springs of Water Babies never go dry, but I was told that if the Baby leaves or is (rarely) killed, then the water will go away, too.

In overall pattern, all these waterways are conceptualized as webbing linked to a peak with or without an alpine lake. In this way, the web is centered at the summit, with its radials moving out along slopes and valleys, all interlocking with the master web of the central world peak.

Hulse (1935: 104.3, item 24) heard about a Water Baby with a spring in the Fish Lake Valley that connected by tunnel with a foothill along the road between Benton and Bishop. When someone came too close to this water hole, tiny fish would appear and flash colorfully, keeping the observer's attention until the Water Baby arrived to drown him or her. The network of such tunnels must have been extensive since every Water Baby was supposed to have at least one for travel into other waterways. Among the Tewa, the underground is similarly believed to be honeycombed by a labyrinth of interconnecting tunnels (Ortiz 1969: 160, note 10).

In theory, all of these linked waterways were considered animate in their own right and often personified. The situation is similar to the Navaho where, "Each mountain is a person. The water courses are their veins and arteries. The water in them is their life as our blood is to our bodies" (notes by Alexander Stephen, quoted in Reichard 1974: 20).

Like moisture, power is diffused everywhere in continuous flux and flow, which, however, is not haphazard because, as an aspect of memory, power is rational. From all available evidence, the routes of concentrated

power within the generalized dispersion are weblike, moving both in radial patterns and in recursive concentric ones, out from the center and back again, like water in terms of a mountain top. This web image is obvious in population movement patterns so it is no accident that Coyote assumed the form of a water spider to carry humans to land and that Sun takes the form of a spider webbing the firmament.

People in the Basin were most successful when their movements duplicated those of power. Without recognizing its full significance, many scholars have noted this web- or net-like character.

The temporary and shifting intervillage alliances of this region, therefore, instead of consistently allying people to well-defined territories, entailed a linkage of village with village which extended net-like, throughout the area [Steward 1938: 247].

Communal hunts and ceremonies, reciprocal economic obligations, seasonal residence, intermarriage and transient membership of both camp and winter communities wove a loose net or linkages which spread throughout Western Shoshonean society [Harris 1940: 55].

This network of moral-mystical interdependence among people, with the pact between shaman and spirit at the center, probably did much to define the limits of Northern Paiute society [Olofson 1979: 247].

While the partnership of shaman and spirit was important in the Basin, it was not the only one because humans identified with the landscape through links to its spirit residents. These partnerships and linkages were, of course, more in the nature of mental or psychic ties than of physical contacts. Yet, they did produce concrete expressions, observable in terms of personal health, success, and rewards. Shamans and others kept in contact with their spirit helpers by means of a process called mind (*sonimini*), involving telepathy and more (Olofson 1979: 17).

By close cooperation, humans were able to work for the support of all, merging all of the important features for amassing and attuning power within the Round or Circle Dance, "concentrating power within the circle, by heightening the religious and empathetic feelings of the people" (Olofson 1979: 19). After leaving the dance, people take some of this power with them in other directions, giving behavioral form to a web of power.

More recently, other religious events have come into the Basin from other areas, but each of them has been fitted into the web pattern and associated with water flow.

The mourning ceremony of the Colorado River Yumans has been spreading in the Basin as the Cry Dance. In the origin story developed to explain it, a council was held in a far western country that resulted in the dance. "That place where they had danced turned to stone, and then from it trails arose in all directions. It is in this way that the Cry has come to be" (Sapir 1930: 347).

Northern and Eastern Shoshoni have adopted a version of the Plains Sun Dance, using a framework of outer posts and a center post with radiating roof poles. Within the enclosure, dancers form a circle but each moves separately towards the center. Here again, the pattern is like a web. At a Fort Hall Shoshoni Sun Dance, a bison head hung atop the center post. "The symbolism of the buffalo is associated with his ability to withstand thirst for long periods, as well as the fact that the bull leads the herd to water. Furthermore, it is maintained that the buffalo was the source of strength and life as the food-giver of the people and hence deserved a place of prominence in the worship" (Hoebel 1935: 576).

Similarly, during meetings of the Native American Church, members sit in a circle within a tipi, concentrating on the Grandfather Peyote in the center beside the fire.

Believers say there is a path between the center and each member, continuing beyond into life outside the tipi. All these paths lead to the universal center where all religions meet (d'Azevedo n.d.). In all, then, the peyote road has the pattern of a web.

This web is not static like that of a spider because the webbing actually consists of the flow of power, rather than filaments *per se*. Rather, the web is pulsating and multidimensional, even having aspects of a spiral, sometimes regular and sometimes erratic, intersecting with the radials from the center. This spiral movement is represented most graphically by an in-dwelling soul of a person, seen escaping the body at death as a whirlwind.

Belief in this universal web may have been esoteric knowledge in some regions, but it was widely distributed. For example, among the Yurok, "A character called . . . 'world maker' fashioned the empyrean vault after the manner and pattern of a fish-net . . . in an enormous circle" and when finished threw it up, "as it sailed aloft it became solid, and now stretches over us as the great blue sky" (Waterman 1920: 130).

The attraction of power for life is such that any gathering, particularly of humans, will concentrate it, while a closed dance circle contains it for a time. In the same fashion, rabbit, antelope, mudhen, grasshopper, or fish drives will encourage power to concentrate while some of it is transferred from the slain creatures to human beneficiaries, provided the former were treated with respect. Such a transfer of power is at the root of any type of sacrifice. After such a concentration, power apportions itself among the participants, going along with them as each takes separate trails radiating away from the central location.

For this reason, trails in the Basin are sacred. "Trails were regarded by Native Americans not only as highways for travel, but as sacred pathways which symbolize the cultural

continuity of ancient and modern peoples" (HDR 1980: 71). A century ago, Powell (1971: 39) also noted "with what tenacity an Indian clings to a trail." Each is considered immutable because of these associations with the ancients and the eternal flow of power. They are never replaced by newer or more convenient ones because these lack the long bonds with power. All trails, whether human or animal, are sacred because all direct the flow of life. Moreover, some trails are not earth bound since rising tobacco smoke provides a trail between humans and spirits.

Support for the associations of power flow, water, and trails occurs in the closeness of the Shoshoni words for these: power (*puha*), water (*paa*), and path (*po'ai*) (Crapo 1976: 64, 71, 72). The association of water and breath has already been noted, but Shoshoni does this one better in the word *sua*, meaning to breathe and to think, bringing us full circle back to the overall mediation of the mind and memory (Crapo 1976: 77).

Invariably, throughout the Americas, the equipment of a shaman includes prismatic quartz crystals. Usually they are described as scrying stones, but beyond this, they represent crystalized thought and memory. The English word "crystal" comes from Greek meaning "solid water," so the Basin is not unique in associating crystals with water, power, and memory. Often they are the result of some life fluid. Among the Papago, they are the solidified saliva of an Immortal; other tribes attribute them to tears. In his important article, Levi (1978) reports that some Yumans regard them as living rocks which are either male or female, depending on their inner tint. People are aware that crystals grow, and some say that each bed has a large central one that serves as leader. While the animate attribute of crystals is well reported, their function as cosmic mediators is not, nor is their association with memory.

All mediators have the quality of a per-

meating nexus, reaching out from a center. Hence, many of the important animals mentioned in mythology are burrowers: Badger, Mouse, Rabbit, Bear, and Frog. Of course, burrowing is a typical adaptation to desert conditions, but it has been culturally recognized and elaborated. Animal burrows appear in myth as main rooms and side tunnels, like a permeating nexus. While Cottontail was trying to shatter the sun, he hid in such a burrow.

In addition to such herbivores, there were also prominent carnivores: Wolf, Coyote, Short Giants, and Water Babies. While some insects appear in stories, only Spider has a variety of roles, indicating his significance as a web keeper. Plants do not appear very often, presumably because they are not as active in the flow of power. In Northern Paiute, animals are called "movers" and plants are "bloomers" (Fowler and Leland 1967).

The listing of Frog among the burrowers relates to the fact that, in mythology, frogs dig the tunnels from the Self-Chartering Sea to the surface of the earth, creating springs (Powell 1971: 91). Among the Chumash, frogs are the source of fresh water since it is their urine (Blackburn 1975: 91). This is not distasteful because frogs have great power since they are both aquatic and changeable, from tadpole to amphibian, like the phases of the moon who began as a frog. Among tribes of the Pacific Northwest, Frog is a powerful shaman of the Animal World.

The animal mediators form a graded series based on their conceptual distance from humans. The sequence seems to be Spider, Mouse, Rabbit, Frog, Badger, and Bear. Spider is closest to humans because it weaves thought-like webs and lives with humans; Mouse moves between houses and desert; Frog lives in water around humans; Badger is a shaman because he roots around plants at night; and Bear is a humanoid animal living away from humans.

Another sequence seems likely for the

carnivores, with Coyote, Wolf, and Cougar moving away from the human zone. Dogs were not often kept in the Basin—as with horses, it strained local resources to keep them—otherwise they would occupy the position closest to humans.

Another figure prominent in mythology is Bat, guardian of the land of the dead, probably because it is nocturnal and occupies an ambivalent position between animals and birds, calling it to the attention of thoughtful individuals.

Allowing for some slight local variation, these patterns and practices are remarkably uniform throughout the Basin. The only possible exception might have been Owens Valley, but after fieldwork there, I am convinced that the importance of sweat lodges, borrowed from the Yokut, and of irrigation (Lawton et al. 1976) are merely intensifications of the Basin pattern. After all, both the *muusa* communal sudatory and the irrigated plots reflect a concern with power, water, and their advantageous flow.

Lastly, the place of Man and Woman in the web needs to be specified. In terms of the Matrix, Man is exclusive, Woman inclusive, and Mind-Memory inclosive. Within the web, the radials wandering out in separate paths seem appropriate to the exclusive, while the concentric bands linking together the radials are apt for the inclusive. The central intersection or nexus, represented by mountain peaks and crystals, is the inclosive.

POWER IN THE MODERN BASIN

People living today often disparage their loss of the old ways, blaming a breakdown in an orderly transfer of knowledge across generations. They reproach themselves for a loss of memory and some have used this to suggest that the notion of power is essentially entropic. Thoughtful elders, however, point to themselves for the lack of manifest power at present, saying “We modern Indians have

gotten lazy.” They hold that power is still there in an endlessly recursive flowing from source to summary and back again. The difficulty is that no one (or very few) will make the effort to train and discipline themselves to be attractive to power.

As more of the Basin is threatened or destroyed by massive building projects, more people have been motivated to seek out the old ways and revive them. In those families where power has always come unbidden, but has been turned away until recently, some natives are beginning to accept their responsibilities again.

Power remains diffused everywhere while also concentrated in web-like pathways. It can still be encountered accidentally while traveling, provided that close attention is paid to surroundings. The location of power concentrations can be predicted from the distribution of water and life forms, but it can only be contacted through dream, vision, fasting, meditation, trance, or vigil. Only then can it be understood and controlled for the greatest good. It has been these necessary partnerships that have not been forged during recent times, leaving power to flow untapped.

Sources for power are not only watering places, but also wherever life gathers for however long. Thus, some have taken the easier path of Christianity, with the source for its power in the mind of God and the memory of Jesus. Others adhere to the Native American Church, approaching power via peyote. None of these belief systems is antithetical in the native view because they all lead to the same center. Many people will belong to several religions and participate in Round Dances and fandangos, following the traditional teaching “the more religions you have the better for the welfare of self and family.” This is not hypocrisy, an Anglo notion anyway, but rather indicates good sense in appreciating the multiple sources that power can have within its universal pulsating web.

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NOTES

1. This article is based on material and thought assembled before, during, and after I was Principal Investigator on a contract between Ertec of Seattle and Facilitators of Las Vegas to prepare an overview of religious concerns in the Great Basin with particular reference to the MX impact area.

2. I venture to suggest that sacred mountains serving as cosmic centers all seem to consist of many smaller peaks around a summit. This is the case with Charleston Peak for the Paiute-Shoshoni, the San Francisco Peaks for the Hopi, Mount Taylor for the Navaho and Pueblos, and Moses Mountain for the Colville Salishans. In Salish, the name of the last peak means that it is a big brother surrounded by siblings. Given the communal ethic and sense of oblique responsibility so important to native America, such mountains are appropriate images for expressing these values in stone.

3. The Chemehuevi had other song cycles, but recollection of them is dim. Some were named Salt, Quail, and Day Owl, with the Talking Song reserved for use in chiefly families (Laird 1976: 18ff), presumably because its rhythms were especially powerful. Notes taken by Van Valkenburg in 1938 also mention that "hunting grounds belonged to certain groups of people" and list songs and dances called

Bird, Sheep, Deer, Quail, Salt, Cut Hair, and Coyote. In the notes, Charleston Peak is identified as Snow-Having, the home of one of the last two chiefs, Tecopa, who died near Mantz, Nevada (Museum of Northern Arizona Research Center Library, manuscript #6315, published as Van Valkenburg [1976]).

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