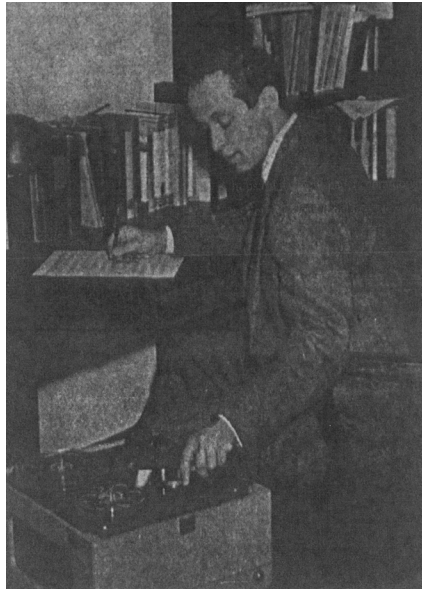


# Navajo Shootingway Ceremony field recordings (1957-1958)

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Essay by Charlotte Frisbie (guest post)\*



*David McAllester, c. 1956*

## PART I

The Navajos or the Diné, the People, as they call themselves, are presently one of the largest federally recognized tribes within the United States. Their reservation, which straddles the Four Corners area and is located in portions of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, includes more than 27,000 square miles and is larger than the state of West Virginia. The area traditionally seen as their homeland is bounded by four sacred mountains (Blanca Peak in CO on the east, Mount Taylor in NM on the south, San Francisco Peaks in AZ on the west, and La Plata Range in CO on the south) while also including two inner mountains inside Navajo country, both in the center in New Mexico, Huerfano Mesa and Gobernador Knob. The place known as the cradle of Navajo culture or Navajo Country, Dinétah, “Among the Navajos” is a region of northwestern New Mexico, specifically the upper San Juan River drainage. Now, fewer than half of the members of the Navajo Nation live on the reservation; in some cases, people have chosen to settle in places with better employment and other opportunities. However, many still “go home” or return to the reservation for family events and celebrations, and possibly also to help with traditional ceremonies.

### *Explanations of Navajo Origins*

The Navajo Nation is a sovereign nation and thus, when discussing Navajo origins, it is more than appropriate to consider both the viewpoints of the People themselves, as well as those who have always had priority in the past, namely outsiders, colonialist settlers trained in the western disciplines of archaeology, ethnohistory, and anthropology. Thankfully, since the early 2000s,

attitudes have been changing and Indigenous resources such as Creation and Journey narratives, ceremonial and individual clan narratives, and other oral histories are finally becoming accepted as worth equal serious thought and consideration in developing models of Navajo origins and how the Diné contributed to understanding the complexity of the Southwest.

### *Indigenous Perspectives*

The Indigenous explanations, perspectives, and interpretations are based on the Creation, Journey, and individual Clan Narratives which are transmitted orally through the generations by elders, traditionalists, and singers who have been taught the origin stories and oral histories, and share their knowledge at acceptable times and in appropriate contexts. These narratives, widely known and respected, are the foundation for Navajo identity and sovereignty. The Diné perceive the universe as dynamic, all-inclusive, and ordered by a repetitive, cyclical process that stresses continual renewal and reanimation. In this universe everything is interrelated, has a place, and there are two major reciprocally related groups: Earth Surface People (humans, living and dead) who live in the profane world, and Holy People or deities who live in the sacred world. The latter are innumerable, mysterious, personalized supernatural beings with dialectical powers enabling them to act either in favor of human beings (Earth Surface People) or against them. While no hierarchy exists, certain Holy People have major importance, including Changing Woman, Earth, Sun, Moon, Sky, Wind, the Hero Twins. Others include animals and personalized natural forces such as Gopher, Coyote, Spider, Dawn, Star People, Zigzag Lightning, and those who act as intermediaries between the Holy People and humans such as Bat and Big Fly. All the Holy People operate in various guises with multiple names, appearances, and characteristics. But all are alive and thinking, and by means of Wind, all have the ability to influence human behaviors and thought. Importantly, the only all-good, or consistently virtuous deity in the Navajo world is Changing Woman; the others are all unpredictable, and thus able to harm or help Earth Surface People.

The oral histories are the foundation of the traditional life of the land-based Navajo people and the history of humans in the present Navajoland is found at least partially in the history of the Blessingway ceremony. The Blessingway narratives explain how the land came into being, how the ancestors of today's Navajos came to it and learned cultural and other practices they needed to know and understand in order to live on it successfully. The narratives begin with Holy People, who have been fleeing through a series of Lower Worlds characterized by chaos and trauma, emerging into the present world at the Emergence place and then starting to create prototypes of the hogan and sweatlodge. Landscape features including the sacred mountains are then placed on the Earth's surface, the Stars and other celestial bodies are set in motion, and what becomes the core of the Blessingway Ceremony is established. The Holy People, humans, plants, animals, and other living things spread over the earth but with time, turmoil ensues, and monsters massacre the populations ancestral to today's Diné. These past peoples, known in Navajo as Anaasázi, included groups living in Paleoindian, Archaic, and other times; they were the people who had built the large precolumbian archaeological sites found throughout the greater Four Corners region, such as Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, Canyon de Chelly, and Antelope Mesa. Thankfully, when Changing Woman appears on Earth, those monsters and turmoils end.

The Blessingway narratives, which include clan as well as ceremonial histories, proceed to tell her story from maturation and the first Puberty Ceremony through her mating with the Sun, and

giving birth to and raising the Holy Twins while living at Huerfano Mesa. The Twins grow up to kill or tame other monsters. According to the narratives, most if not all humans, including the Anaasázi, then disappear. Changing Woman moves to the west, off the Pacific Coast, where because of loneliness, she eventually creates four groups of women and men. These people, sometimes called Water People or Western Water Clans, using different migration routes, move eastward to reinhabit the land amidst the six sacred mountains. Some settle along the way and farm for a while before continuing their journeys. Between Anaasázi times and the 1700s, numerous diverse groups join the four Western clans, including local communities that had remained in Dinétah. These different groups take on the names and establish the kin-like links which define the sixty-plus clans now recognized by the Navajos.

The Indigenous narratives see ethnogenesis as the major explanation of Diné origins. The ancestral Diné are described as being a mixture of different peoples and communities, including both Athabascan-speaking groups who hunted and gathered and ancestral Anaasázi peoples who lived in more settled communities, foraged, and farmed. Various versions of the oral history narratives account for events in precolumbian times during the flowering of large ceremonial centers, such as Chaco, Aztec, and Casas Grande, making it clear that the ancestral Diné were in the area, despite claims to the contrary based on the orthodox archaeological explanation.

#### *Outsider Explanations*

The interpretations and explanations of non-Diné outsiders, based on archaeology, anthropology, and ethnohistory are not static since ongoing work continues to make the picture increasingly complicated while allowing updating, revising, and refining of concepts. Early historical documents including Spanish documents, those of some Franciscan Friars, and diaries kept by military personnel during specific expeditions, and ethnographic research provide the basis for ethnohistory. Developed in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the orthodox academic explanation for Navajo origins gives a date of 1400 A.D or earlier for the entrance of Navajos into the Southwest. In this framework, the Diné are defined as southern Athabascan foragers, or hunters and gatherers, who migrated southward from the Alaskan and Canadian homelands of their northern Athabascan relatives, with the only basic economic change being the removal of fishing as an economic pursuit. In hunting, prey continued to include both large and small game animals, and the sinew-backed recurve bow continued to be used, as were antelope and deer traps, and snares. The gathering in the Southwest focused on wild plant materials reflecting both the traditional Athabascan exploitation of forest resources and the incorporation of Pueblo-inspired garden collecting.

In this model, the early Navajos of Dinétah in northwest New Mexico developed an increasingly complex and diverse economy with multiple strategies for subsistence and trade between AD 1500-AD 1800. Economically the picture was one of a coexistence of an Athabascan base of foraging or hunting and gathering, with the addition of Puebloan farming ideas, animal husbandry from the Spanish, a focus on sheep and sheep herding, and adaptation of foraging and hunting techniques to facilitate procurement of raw materials to be used in trade. By 1541, Navajos had learned about the three sacred plants, corn, beans, squash, and others from the Pueblos and had adopted some of their horticultural or farming practices as well as the technology for processing and storing these products in pottery and storage pits. While farming reduced mobility, the addition of animal husbandry from the livestock introduced by the Spanish

after 1600 (sheep, goats, cows, and horses) mandated mobility. By 1800, the Navajo focus shifted to sheep, sheep herding, and using them for wool which was spun and then woven into blankets, initially black, for use and trade. Sheep became important for many reasons-- for food, clothing, tools, bedding, and hides, as well as for trade; by 1705, Spanish accounts note Navajos trading meat, tanned hides, black woven blankets, and basketry with other Southwestern groups.

In summary, the traditional explications of Navajo origins by non-Diné academics see the Diné, viewed monolithically, migrating southward from an Alaskan and Canadian homeland into the Southwest as foragers. There they encountered Puebloan groups and by the 16<sup>th</sup> century had learned about Puebloan farming and other cultural practices. The Diné were seen as always being interested in other cultures and practices, or as some said, showing cultural tolerance. In this one-sided view, Navajos were always portrayed as receivers; no consideration was given to what Navajos gave or contributed to these interactions. With time the Diné adopted some new material culture items, practices, and ideas from others with minimal fine-tuning. But they also rejected others, and reworked still others, adapting them to better fit with their own values and preferences before importing them. With time, trade and raiding also developed. By the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, Navajo had a mixed diverse economy, having developed multiple strategies which fostered sufficient stability and enabled sedentism. This was a unique Navajo construction since the Puebloan economy was based on sedentism, and that of Apaches, Utes, and Comanches, on mobility.

In time, colonial powers began their domination of the Southwest, bringing not only new technologies and material goods, but also imposing changes in social structure, government, and religion. Politically the Southwest in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries underwent radical transformations. The region was first under Spanish domination (1598-1821), bringing the arrival of missionaries, hostilities, the eventual Pueblo Revolt and then Reconquest in 1692 and increased migration and relocation of resulting refugees. Mexican domination was next (1821-46) wherein Navajo conflicts continued with Utes, Apaches, Spanish, and Comanches. Another colonial power, the United States took control of the Southwest in 1846. After 1800 while conflicts were documented, sometimes they were sporadic and simultaneous with trade and intermarriage, among Navajos, Utes, Comanches, Apaches, and outside colonial conquerors. Sometimes these were raids for livestock or for captives to sell as slaves; but sometimes warfare was the reality. The conflicts leading up to the United States' attempt to subdue the Diné by forcing them to endure the Long Walk and incarceration at Fort Sumner (1863-1868) are well known from oral histories.

Narratives continue in today's world as do oral histories; for the Diné now they include accounts of stock reduction in the 1930s, origins of the modern Navajo government, the contributions of the Navajo Code Talkers during World War II, traumas inflicted by boarding schools (1920s-1950s), devastation of Mother Earth and humans by coal and uranium mining (1940s-80s), and other activities. Thankfully events are now being documented and critically discussed by Navajo scholars as well as outsiders.

Changes are also taking place in Outsiders' approaches to creating models that explain Navajo origins, the appearance of Athabascan-speaking peoples in the Southwest, and their ensuing history. Since the early 2000s, two factors have led to the rise of an alternative explanatory

model for Navajo origins. Namely, the increasing acceptance of Indigenous oral narratives as viable sources of data for subsequent historical interpretation, plus the advancement of Navajo individuals as researchers, including anthropologists, historians, and archaeologists, have led to new ideas about ancestral Southwestern connections. In this framework, the multi-group origins described in the Creation and Journeying narratives are taken at face value and combined with arguments for the uninterrupted presence of existing mobile forager populations in the Four Corners region alongside village-based farmers. Rather than focusing on uncritically unidentified “evidence” of “Athabaskan” or “Pueblo” influences in Navajo culture, this model attempts to reframe the question to consider Navajo origins as part of a more complex Southwestern world.

## **PART II**

David P. McAllester (1916-2006) was an internationally acclaimed, highly respected ethnomusicologist and music educator known especially for his work with Native Americans, mainly Navajos but also White River Apaches, Comanches, and others. He was also one of the four founders of the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) in 1955, and very actively involved in both the Society and its Northeast Chapter for the rest of his life. Born in Everett, Massachusetts, in 1916 into a family interested in nature, music, hiking, birding, reading, peaceful living, remote connections to a very distant Narraganset woman on his mother’s side, and other peoples in the world, in his youth, David was locally-celebrated as a boy soprano who often concertized. While pursuing a BA in Anthropology at Harvard, which he earned in 1938, he spent several summers employed as an archaeologist at the Lindemeier site in Colorado. After each season ended, he visited friends working at other Harvard digs, such as Kenneth MacLeish, who was at Awatovi near First Mesa, AZ. There, David met both Hopis and Navajos. Later, on his way to Moenkopi where MacLeish was doing linguistic fieldwork, David heard Navajo Ye’iibichei and Squaw Dance songs at Mesa Verde, and then, at Moenkopi, notated by ear his first Indian recordings, Hopi Children’s Songs. He and MacLeish also went to a “real Navajo Squaw Dance.” After his Harvard graduation, David initially went to Julliard to pursue a career as a professional singer. However, attending George Herzog’s course on “Primitive Music” at Columbia suggested that musical anthropology was a more interesting alternative; thus, after a year at Julliard, David enrolled in the PhD program in Anthropology at Columbia. In the summer of 1940, he was enrolled in Herzog’s linguistic field school which worked with Comanches in Oklahoma; David’s job was to record Comanche music which led to a focus on the Peyote songs preferred by many of his collaborators. These songs eventually became the topic of David’s dissertation, and led to his book “Peyote Music” (1949).

Predictably, World War II intervened in his doctoral work. Before the United States became involved in the war, and before marrying Susan Watkins, a Radcliffe graduate, in September, 1940, David, who had long been interested in the Quaker faith, decided to become a Quaker and a pacifist. He increased his studies of pacifism and began attending the Fifteenth Street Meeting of the Society of Friends in New York, which he later joined. Declaring himself a conscientious objector during WWII, he worked for four years with the Civilian Public Service, first in a forestry camp in Cooperstown, NY, and then in various jobs at a state mental hospital in Middletown, CT. While in Connecticut, he and Susan became founding members of the Middletown Friends Meeting, and David gave some guest lectures at Wesleyan. They returned to New York in 1945 where David continued his part-time job for Herzog in the Archive of

Primitive Music and started his dissertation. In the archive, he cataloged hundreds of wax cylinders of Navajo music recorded by Herzog, Hoijer, Wheelwright, and others for the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art in Santa Fe. Becoming interested in Navajo sacred music, David wrote to the founder and director of the Museum, Mary Cabot Wheelwright, to ask permission to transcribe and study the materials. With her blessing, he spent the next several years transferring the music from cylinders to magnetic tape, transcribing it into musical notation, and then studying it.

Before completing his PhD in Anthropology in 1949, McAllester accepted a teaching job at Wesleyan University in Middletown, CT, in 1947, where in time he founded the Anthropology department and later, the Ethnomusicology program, and where he spent his whole career, eventually with a joint appointment in anthropology and music. The 1950s were very busy for David; while continuing his work on Wheelwright's materials, he learned that while she hoped to produce an album of some of the Creation Songs she had recorded earlier from Hastiin Klah, the idea was abandoned because the wax cylinder was too flawed. But David found another Navajo singer who knew the songs and was willing to record them. Thus, Wheelwright's "Navajo Creation Chants" album was produced in 1952 with David authoring the accompanying booklet of texts and explanatory notes. He also edited Wheelwright's manuscripts on the Great Star Chant and the Coyote Chant which were published by the Museum in 1956.

Of course, a major event in the 1950s was the 1955 founding of the Society for Ethnomusicology by Charles Seeger, Willard Rhodes, David, and Alan Merriam. Years of identifying and communicating with interested others preceded the actual event, and afterwards, David became active in a variety of official capacities, including Secretary-Treasurer, journal editor, and eventually President. At Wesleyan, his teaching duties and research and publishing work continued, with his own research being supported by sabbaticals and grants. During his career, he also accepted invitations to teach at other institutions, thus traveling to Hawaii, Java, Australia, Japan, and elsewhere. Before retiring in 1986, he donated materials to the World Music Archives at Wesleyan, which include sound recordings, transcriptions, and field notes. However, the Special Collections & Archives also in Wesleyan's Olin Library hold the bulk of his print archives. The collections consume 17 linear feet divided into two locations. With prior arrangements, most of the recordings are accessible for inhouse listening within the Olin Library. However, both copying and distribution of those of a sacred nature are restricted. When David retired in 1986, he and Susan left Portland, CT, and moved to Monterey, MA, where they had built a home in the Berkshires. With others, the McAllesters founded the South Berkshire Friends Meeting, and both became actively involved in their new community. There, David began work on his family's history, "Memory be Green," unfinished when he died.

In sum, McAllester made numerous contributions to music, anthropology, ethnomusicology, music education, and other areas by authoring articles; chapters for festschrifts, edited collections and textbooks; explanatory booklets for recordings; entries for encyclopedias and dictionaries; forewords, and reviews. He also wrote three books: "Peyote Music" (1949), "Enemyway Music" (1954), and "Indian Music in the Southwest" (1961), and edited the collection, "Readings in Ethnomusicology" (1971). With Frisbie, he coedited Frank Mitchell's autobiography, "Navajo Blessingway Singer" (1978), and with one of Frank's grandsons, Douglas F. Mitchell, he coauthored "Navajo Music" which appeared in "The Handbook of North

American Indians.” As his bibliography illustrates, David’s scholarly output continued regularly throughout his life, with articles showing later interests in experimental oral poetry translations, ethno-poetics, “new musics” among the Navajos (including country and western, rock, disco, and works by Navajo composers, both female and male), and compositions by R. Carlos Nakai, the flutist.

### **PART III**

From early in life, David McAllester had a strong interest in American Indians, enriched by reading, family discussions, and museum visits, always saying with a smile that he had a distant, “somewhat remote” connection to the Narragansetts through one of his maternal relatives. During the late 1930s, he started making field recordings of Native Americans. While working on some of Wheelwright’s materials, in 1950 he finally got an opportunity to do his first Navajo fieldwork when, for six months, he was part of the Harvard Values Project directed by Clyde Kluckhohn and based in Ramah, NM. Working with Navajos resulted in friendships with his interpreters, Robert Pino and Tom José, and others, all of whom enjoyed recording Navajo songs. The Values Project work led to McAllester’s well-known study of the music of the Navajo curing ceremony known as “Enemyway.” Published in 1954, “Enemyway Music” was praised for its humanism and concern with values while studying music as social behavior. McAllester was interested in music as ethnology, and as a way of seeing into psychology, philosophy, and religion.

In the summer of 1953, he was Dean of an International Service Seminar for the Friends at the Verde Valley School in Arizona. When the seminar, which was visiting nearby Indian reservations to study and learn from cultural differences, went to an Apache reservation, David made contacts which facilitated his return to White River to record in 1955. After the seminar ended, one of the Navajo participants, Albert Smith, stayed and because of McAllester’s interests, helped him record the Blessingway ceremony of Hastiin Naat’anii from Wupatki. In 1955, David worked with Sam Hubbell of Ganado while traveling to do some recording with Apaches at White River.

In 1957, David was able to take his first full year’s sabbatical when he was awarded a Guggenheim Foundation grant to study the Blessingway, considered the backbone and most important of Navajo ceremonies. Through friends, the McAllester family, which now included a daughter, Bonner, and son, Burling, secured the use of a cottage at Oak Creek, near Sedona, AZ, and David was able to bring Navajo singers there to record. His interpreter was Albert G. Sandoval, Jr. or “Sandy,” the son of the Navajo tribal interpreter, Albert G. “Chic” Sandoval. Sandy first took McAllester to see a relative in Ganado, Jim Smith, a singer who performed the Enemy-Blessingway for those going away to war. After arrangements were made, Jim took leave from his practice and went to Sedona to record his version of Blessingway for David. Thereafter, David was taken on a repeat visit to another of Sandy’s relatives, a Blessingway singer in Chinle, Frank Mitchell who became a major collaborator of McAllester’s. Given his interest and willingness, after many discussions, arrangements were made to record and film a portion of Frank’s Blessingway. He wanted to hold the ceremony for his youngest daughter before her baby—his grandchild--was born. That event, which ended up involving a number of people, took place late in 1957.

While the resulting 70-minute, colored film was being developed, Sandy took David to visit yet another relative, Ray Winnie, of Lukachukai, AZ. Ray was interested in recording his specialty which was the House Chant or the Sun's House phase of the nine-day version of Male Shootingway, an elaborate Navajo curing ceremony. After making the arrangements, Ray and his wife, and Sandy retired to Sedona to do the recording work with McAllester. Taking 20 days in October-November, 1957, this involved Ray talking through the entire nine nights and eight days of the chant, describing preparations, sacred paraphernalia, and procedures. He recited the prayers and sang the songs when he came to them in the foundational narrative he was reciting. The result for McAllester was 36 hours of tape recording and 150 pages of notes which documented 454 songs, six long prayers, descriptions of ceremonial procedures, and explanations of the Shootingway narrative on which it was based. Then everything was translated, phrase by phrase, and discussed, and the sandpaintings, body paintings, and other things were sketched out.

When Sandy returned to Sedona later, to help review both the Blessingway and Shootingway texts, he said his father, Chic was interested in being the one-sung-over or patient in a House Chant, and that David could record it if he would help with the considerable costs. That became a reality in the spring, with Denet Tsoosie and his older brother and teacher, Red Moustache, serving as the main co-singers. Ray Winnie who provided the Sun's House screen, an essential property, was another co-singer and Fanny, his wife, was his helper. This event enabled McAllester to witness how everything fit together, to participate in gathering sacred herbs and other properties, the sweatbath, and in making the sandpaintings. Thus, he was able to see a performance of a nine-night Male Shootingway, a major Navajo chant or curing ceremony, in its cultural context in Lukachukai, AZ, June 2-10, 1958. And, as he remarked (in McAllester [(1980:200)]), this added two more hours of tape and 80 more pages of notes to what he had already learned about the ceremony from his 1957 work with Ray Winnie.

Slightly later, McAllester secured a three-year NSF grant which made further work on Blessingway possible. This time a major emphasis was given to some of its subceremonies, with much of the work being done by Charlotte Johnson (later Frisbie) who became McAllester's graduate student in the fall of 1962 when she began the two-year MA in Ethnomusicology at Wesleyan. Working with Frank Mitchell and other Blessingway singers, Charlotte's MA focused on the Girl's Puberty Ceremony, or Kinaaldá, but her research also included initial work on the House Blessing, some other nearly obsolescent subceremonies of Blessingway, Navajo medicine bundles, and other topics.

#### **PART IV**

As mentioned, the Navajo universe includes numerous Holy People or deities, all of whom have both complementary good and evil aspects except for Changing Woman who is viewed as totally benevolent. The Holy People are both powerful and dangerous. In the universe, it is the job of humans, or Earth Surface People, to maintain balance and harmony, or to restore it when it has been disturbed or destroyed. A chant or curing ceremony is performed over someone in need of restoration to harmony after suffering from specific kinds of trauma. The performance recalls the first time the ceremony was given on Earth by the Holy People associated with it, and also



dramatically presents the narrative or re-enacts in a complex way the narrative on which the chant is based.

In general, most Navajo ceremonies are focused on curing illness associated with certain ailments and diseases real or anticipated, supernatural beings, transgressions, evil beings, and specific etiological factors. These curing ceremonies or chants which last from two to nine nights follow a general pattern wherein the first few days emphasize exorcising the evil causing the disturbance and protecting the patient; the relevant Holy People are being invited to the ceremony during this time. A pivotal day/night follows; after the Holy People have arrived, the activities pivot to emphasizing restoring harmony and balance to all involved. Chants are usually given for one or more persons viewed as the “one-sung-over” or patient. The foundational narratives show that in some cases, the chants have both male and female branches; reportedly the difference is not in the gender of the patient but rather that of the narrative’s protagonist.

When a traditional Navajo believes things are out of balance, after a family discussion about possible reasons, that person often visits a diagnostician who is frequently a woman, a specialist in hand trembling, star gazing, or one of the other kinds of divination the Diné recognize, to seek (with appropriate remuneration) that person’s skills and services, and get an opinion about what should be done. Diagnosticians frequently recommend specific curing ceremonials performed by specialists known as singers or ceremonial practitioners who learn by apprenticing to someone well known and respected for practicing the ceremony of interest. Students learn their teacher’s version; given oral transmission, regional differences, and other factors, many versions exist, *not* one “correct” one. The hogan, or the traditional Navajo dwelling, is the preferred structure in which to hold a ceremony. The actual particulars of the event are negotiated by the family sponsoring it, the singer, and possibly others beforehand. The “one-sung-over” wears traditional dress during the ceremony as do the singer and, usually, any helpers. People move sunwise inside the hogan, with women sitting on the north side, men on the south side, and the singer and the one being sung over sitting in the west opposite the hogan’s door which always faces east. The singer’s services are reimbursed and sometimes what is expected is public knowledge. Those who perform curing ceremonies frequently use musical instruments to accompany their singing and for other purposes; the options may include several kinds of rattles and drums, as well as whistles and bullroarers. The apprenticeships last for years, since one has to accurately learn (without taking notes or pictures, or recording), i.e., memorize the teacher’s version of a complex ritual drama that includes hundreds of songs, long prayers, narratives that explain the origin and history of the ceremony, details of material properties, plant medicines, emetics, and other required attributes, designs of symbolic dry paintings, and other ritual activities. An apprenticeship involves reciprocity; the student helps the teacher perform as well as reimbursing that person, while assembling items needed for the medicine bundle that goes with the ceremony. Finally, when the teacher believes the student is ready, that person performs in public with the teacher’s blessing before starting out on his/her own. The ceremonies are not calendrical, although a few of them cannot be performed until after the first frost. All share the characteristic of having a final night of all-night singing before ending after Dawn arrives.

Outsiders have made many attempts to categorize, catalog, and otherwise organize Navajo ceremonies. The number of different kinds that continue to exist today among traditional

Navajos is unknown; several decades ago, at least 24 were enumerated but only eight of those were well-known and being practiced regularly. When a singer dies without having taught any apprentices, the future of that person's version of the ceremony involved becomes tenuous at best.

All the ceremonies have specific purposes. Here, given McAllester's work mentioned earlier, only three will be examined: Enemyway, Blessingway, and Shootingway. Of these, two are curing ceremonies, Enemyway and Shootingway. The curing ceremonies or chants are performed according to one of three patterns of behavior: Holyway, Evilway, and Lifeway. The Holyway behaviors focus on attracting good and summoning the appropriate Holy People to come and restore the patient. Evilway behaviors treat contact with Navajo ghosts, and combat the effects of witchcraft. To chase away evil and exorcise native ghosts, a number of subceremonies are possible, such as the use of big hoops and blackening. The Lifeway behaviors focus on treating injuries resulting from accidents. These chants can be continued as needed and also repeated if necessary.

Enemyway: This curing ceremony exorcises enemy ghosts, the ghosts of aliens, such as those of enemies slain in warfare since ghosts of non-Navajos can cause illness. Enemyway ceremonies have one component which has become almost secular now, the one inappropriately called the "Squaw Dance." Various kinds of songs (many now available on commercial recordings) are sung during these social dances accompanied with a small pottery drum, and both insiders (Navajos and other Indigenous people) as well as outsiders are welcome to come, watch, and participate in the social dancing which takes place outside at night. However, the events simultaneously occurring in the hogan at the same and other times are sacred, and thus, closed to the public. Enemyways last three to five nights, are not restricted to four repetitions, include portions that are performed at several different locations, involve more than one singer being in charge, and are quite popular.

Blessingway: As shown in the earlier discussion of Navajo Origins, the one Navajo ceremony exclusively concerned with ensuring peace, harmony, good outcomes, good dreams, good luck, averting misfortune, and so forth is Blessingway. It is considered the backbone of Navajo traditional beliefs and practices, and often said to control all of the chantways, rites, rituals, components, and procedures. Only Blessingway can "fix" errors or correct mistakes; thus, after setting down any musical instrument being used to accompany singing at the end of a curing ceremony, before its conclusion, at least one Blessingway song is sung to eradicate any unwarranted errors, and to ensure the efficacy of the chant and all its procedures.

As mentioned earlier, as a ceremony, Blessingway is prophylactic, not curative. The reasons for having it are numerous and the ceremony continues to be popular. Among its major uses are invoking and ensuring long life and happiness, good health, and peace and harmony. It prevents bad things, brings good fortune, and blesses hogans and other dwellings, ritual paraphernalia such as medicine bundles or jish, puberty, marriages, and births. It ensures protection and increase of possessions be these jewelry, livestock, or nonmaterial things. It protects travelers, those departing for military service or new jobs, and it blesses newly installed officers and newly constructed structures. Although length is affected by the purpose of the ceremony, Blessingways most often last two nights, or from sundown on the first day through Dawn of the

second day after that. The procedures usually start with the consecration of the hogan, followed by prayers, songs, a long litany prayer recited by the singer and immediately repeated by the patient, ritual bath, more songs and prayers, and possibly a drypainting. The final night is spent in all-night singing, and activities end after specific procedures at Dawn. The ritual equipment required for Blessingways includes corn pollen, a mountain soil medicine bundle (jish) and maybe one or two pairs of talking prayersticks, cornmeal, yucca from which to create the needed soap, and possibly substances for marking or painting the body of the one-sung-over.

Shootingway: Among the curing ceremonies or chants, the Shootingway has always been popular. It has been recorded and studied by a number of outsiders besides McAllester, including Wyman, Haile, Kluckhohn and Wyman, Newcomb, Reichard, Levy, and McCombe, Vogt, and Kluckhohn to name a few. In general, Shootingways are used to treat sicknesses caused by thunder, lightning, snakes, or arrows; these often appear as lung diseases, and/or troubles in the chest or gastrointestinal areas. Unlike the other chants, Shootingway has a number of branches, rituals and subrituals, phases, sandpaintings, etiological factors, and other elements; it can also be performed according to any of the three behavioral options mentioned earlier: Holyway, Evilway, and Lifeway. Musical instruments involved include a basket drum and perhaps whistles and a bullroarer.

The best way to understand the context for McAllester's Navajo Shootingway Ceremony field recordings (1957-1958) being highlighted by the Library of Congress's National Recording Registry is first to learn about his studies of Navajo sacred music (see Part III earlier) and then read and study McAllester's 1980 essay entitled, "Shootingway, an Epic Drama of the Navajos" (in "Southwestern Indian Ritual Drama," ed. Charlotte J. Frisbie: 199-237. School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press). As McAllester concluded, the chant uses numerous symbolic media including music, poetry, graphic design, emesis, sudation, real and token journeys. The protagonist and others step into the narrative's time period when things began and enact the heroes' adventures.

Among the narrative's main characters is a man who wanders in a variety of worlds and locations, wanting to learn about sacred things. The Holy Winds name this person Holy Young Man (or in other forms, Holy Boy, Holy Young Woman, Holy Girl). Other characters include Snake Girls and other Snake People, Thunder People, the Sun, four sacred arrows, the homes of the Sun, Moon, Dark Wind, and Yellow Wind, Buffalo People, Fish People, and Talking God. After numerous episodes and trials, a great number of Holy People, including Sun, Winds, Stars, Night People, Lightning, Water, Coyote, Jackrabbit, and all kinds of birds assemble, contribute and combine their songs, knowledge, and rituals, bringing everything together in the Sun's House. After constructing a replica of this, the Holy People give the resulting knowledge and power to Holy Young Man to share with Earth Surface People upon his eventual return to the Earth.

The outline of the chant's main features (McAllester 1980: 203-04) shows the afternoon of the fourth day and entire fifth night which is spent in all-night singing of Blessingway and Holy People's songs, to be the midpoint and pivot, wherein the focus on exorcism and protection changes to one on invocation and blessing since the invited deities have arrived. During Blessingway songs, the one-sung-over is bathed and dried with sacred cornmeal. Next the Sun's

House, described (McAllester 1980: 206) as a “stage set painted on a wooden rod screen six feet long, and five feet high,” is raised. Helpers make parts move from behind the screen (including birds and snakes) and also blow reed whistles to produce bird-like sounds. Simultaneously, a large snake sandpainting is constructed in front of the screen by helpers under the singer’s direction, and two impersonators rush out with loud yells and threateningly stand over the patient to shock that person and represent the suffering and dangers Holy Young Man encountered. Throughout, the one-sung-over assumes the role of Holy Young Man following behaviors specified in the narrative, but also becomes identified with other beings. Behaviors expected of the patient include leaving the hogan at the end of the long prayers on the first four consecutive night-day periods to deposit specific offerings at designated locations to invite the Holy Beings to be present at the ongoing ceremonial. Singing outside occurs on the fifth through eighth days while the Sun’s House is constructed anew and raised, and various identification rituals take place including specific sandpaintings concerned with Snakes, Fish, Thunder, and Buffalo. The eighth day seemingly provides a second climax; after the outside singing and last raising of the Sun’s House, the patient has a Blessingway bath followed by body painting, the last great sandpainting is constructed, and other identification rituals, including the dressing of the patient with a cattail garment constructed that day take place. Each of the sixth, seventh, and eighth nights includes only a brief time for singing specific songs. The ninth night is devoted to all-night singing which recaps the songs of all of the deities involved in the ceremonial, short prayers and rituals, Dawn Songs, and then the Blessingway conclusion, deposition of necessary items, Blessingway Prayer, and final pollen blessing.

For those interested, while McAllester’s (1980) account of the Shootingway curing ceremonial summarizes much more information about the entire chant, its major focus is on detailed discussions of activities characteristic of the First Night and First Day. But even here, while a sketch of a sandpainting of Holy Young Man is included (McAllester 1980: 210), the song texts are abbreviated and presented without repetition, vocables, or music; prayer texts are entirely excluded. While these decisions were partially caused by spatial limits characteristic in publishing, more important was respecting Navajo attitudes on the propriety of publishing sacred materials. These attitudes continue to be shared by many of today’s Diné. Thus, at the Library of Congress, many of the Navajo ceremonial recordings which are vital to the Diné need to be accessed in accordance with consultations about community protocols. Onsite listening is often available while other uses require permissions.

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*Along with the sources noted in the text above, the following are useful resources:*

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1967 "Kinaaldá: A Study of the Navajo Girl's Puberty Ceremony." Middletown: Wesleyan Univ. Press. (Published in paperback ed, with new Preface by Univ. of UT Press,1993).

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2006 "Obituary: David Park McAllester." "SEM Newsletter" 40(4):10-18.

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Kelly, Klara, and Harris Francis:

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McAllester, David P.

1986 "An Autobiographical Sketch." *In* "Explorations in Ethnomusicology: Essays in Honor of David P. McAllester." Charlotte J. Frisbie, ed.:201-215. Detroit Monographs in Musicology 9. Detroit: Information Coordinators.

The Papers of David McAllester can be resourced at the following link:

[https://archives.wesleyan.edu/repositories/sca/resources/david\\_mcallester\\_papers](https://archives.wesleyan.edu/repositories/sca/resources/david_mcallester_papers)

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