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A Performance-Centered Approach to Leslie Marmon Silko's "Ceremony".

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A performance-centered approach to Leslie Marmon Silko's "Ceremony"

Hill, Randall Thomas, Ph.D.
The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1993

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A PERFORMANCE-CENTERED APPROACH
TO LESLIE MARMON SILKO’S
CEREMONY

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The Department of Speech Communication

by
Randall Thomas Hill
B.A., The University of North Carolina, 1984
M.A., The University of North Carolina, 1988
May 1993
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DEDICATION

there is not enough space to say why I dedicate this to you,
so I'll simply say thanks, Kirk
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ABSTRACT

This study argues that in Ceremony Leslie Silko rehearses her Laguna-Keres culture and her culture's interactions with others. She accomplishes this rehearsal by employing representations of performances from the Laguna people as well as other cultures. To establish the context of my argument, first I offer a brief exploration of the current critical interest in Native American arts and cultures, review the questions involved in defining the parameters for a study of Native American novels, examine the significance of Native novels for performance scholarship, and review performance studies scholars' responses to Native texts. Second, I review methodologies from a variety of disciplines (from the early Social Scientific methods of anthropologists such as Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to the more contemporary Postmodern methods of Gerald Vizenor) that scholars have employed in examinations of Native discourse. Third, I evolve concepts of performance and rehearsal that distinguish them from each other and allow the formation of other concepts derived from the work of Stephen Greenblatt and Arnold Krupat for analyzing how Ceremony rehearses Laguna-Keres culture. Finally, using three examples of Silko's representations of performance, I argue that Silko's novel rehearses the Laguna-Keres culture as well as these peoples' interactions with other cultures.
CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

The Indians must conform to "the white man's ways" peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must. They must adjust themselves to their environment and conform their mode of living substantially to our civilization. This civilization may not be the best possible, but it is the best the Indians can get. They cannot escape it and must either conform to it or be crushed by it.

T. J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889

What sets worlds in motion is the interplay of differences, their attractions and repulsions. By suppressing differences and peculiarities, by eliminating different civilizations and cultures, progress weakens life and favors death. The ideal of a single civilization for everyone, implicit in the cult of progress and technique, impoverishes and mutilates us. Every view of the world that becomes extinct, every culture that disappears, diminishes a possibility of life.

Octavio Paz, 1967

One can speak of the absolute aesthetic need of one person for another, for the seeing, remembering, gathering, and unifying activity of the other, which alone can create [Self’s] externally completed personality; this personality will not exist if the other does not create it.

M. M. Bakhtin, 1930s

The greatest distance between people is not space but culture.

Jamake Highwater, 1981

As the epigrams that open this chapter indicate, attitudes toward Native American cultures and their discourses have changed significantly over the last century. Octavio Paz reverses T. J. Morgan’s racist and imperialist
assumptions, arguing that Americans’ desire for cultural homogeneity is ethnocentric and destroys other cultures. Mikhail Bakhtin warns that to ignore difference on the individual level aims us toward self-destruction. And Jamake Highwater combines concern for the individual and the individual’s culture in a terse statement that suggests that when the cognitive landscape of a hegemonic culture overreaches its geographical landscape, disenfranchised Native American cultures suffer immeasurably.

That a United States bureaucrat, a Mexican philosopher, a Russian literary theorist, and a Native American art critic concern themselves with the issues of cultural and individual survival is not unusual. The diverse and long standing interest in the survival and representation of other cultures emerges in the critical discourse of many disciplines. And, as a result, many methods arise for exploring other cultures and arts. Even when we narrow the realm of inquiry to Native American novels, the number and types of approaches are still quite significant.

The performance-centered approach that I employ in this study to examine Leslie Silko’s *Ceremony* focuses, first, on performances as rehearsals of cultural lifeways and, second, on representations of performance as rehearsals of the nature and functions of performance within a given culture. More succinctly, I claim that performance rehearses culture, and representations of performance rehearse the role of
performance within a culture. This "bifocal" approach affords readers access to numerous insights not available through other approaches. The methodological approaches reviewed in chapter two—structural-social scientific, archetypal-mythic, content analysis, ethnic criticism, feminist, Marxist, and postmodern—fail to adequately account for the prominent role of performance in Native American cultures and, subsequently, fail to account for the importance of representations of performance in Native American novels. Conversely, critics who view the novel as performance fail to distinguish adequately between performance as actualized event and rehearsal as an invitation to actualize. While a focus on performance yields significant insights, a focus on the relationship between performance and rehearsal and on the relationship between performance in the culture and representations of performances in novels (i.e., rehearsals of performance) multiplies these insights.

I employ the concepts of performance, rehearsal and culture to generate this performance-centered approach to *Ceremony*. I draw on various theories of performance and my own experiences as performer and director to formulate the following definition of performance: performance is inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior. Performance is rehearsed behavior in that it has always already happened. Performance is self-reflexive because a
performer is always aware of herself performing. And, performance is social behavior, since my construal requires an audience. Drawing from the work of Steven Mullaney, I construe rehearsal as a repeating, retelling, narrating again of cultural lifeways. Rehearsal expands and questions the spatial, temporal and behavioral lifeways of the culture from which the rehearsal originates and the culture in which the rehearsal appears (they may differ). Drawing from Stephen Greenblatt’s work on defining cultural forces, I argue for the integral presence of inclusionary and exclusionary impulses within cultures. Inclusionary impulses fuel the desire for change, adaptability, acceptance and incorporation of others’ lifeways. Exclusionary impulses fuel the desire for preservation, continuity, maintenance, and refusal of others’ lifeways. I argue, first, that these forces engage in constant struggle with cultures and within individuals, and, second, that seeking a balance between these forces is critical for a culture’s survival. Silko’s representations of performance demonstrate her culture’s struggle with these impulses. In the world of the novel, the characters use performance to negotiate their own and their culture’s positions vis-a-vis inclusionary and exclusionary impulses.

In the remaining sections of this introduction, I offer first a brief exploration of the return of critical interest to Native American arts and cultures. The second section
reviews questions involved in establishing the parameters for a study of Native American novels. The third section examines the significance of Native American novels for performance scholarship and reviews previous responses to Native texts by scholars in Performance Studies. The final section of this introduction offers background information on Leslie Silko, the Laguna Keres and Ceremony, suggesting why this particular novel should be of interest to performance scholars.

Return of the Native

As late as the 1960s and early 1970s, literary critics tended either to ignore Native American literature altogether or to view Native American literary works as folkloric data, as children's stories, or as animal and nature parables.¹ Many readers and critics still accept Robert Spiller's 1963 argument that "the literature of this nation began when the first settler from abroad of sensitive mind paused in his [her] adventure long enough to feel he [she] was under a different sky, breathing new air, and that a New World was all before him [her] with only strength and

¹ See Andrew Wiget, introduction, Critical Essays on Native American Literature (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985) 1-20. He notes that the first literary-critical treatments of Native discourse did not appear at MLA conventions until the 1970s.
Providence for guides."2 Fortunately, for readers and critics, the publication in 1969 of N. Scott Momaday's Pulitzer prize-winning novel House Made of Dawn initiated a surge of critical interest in Native American literatures.3

The critical acceptance of Native American plastic arts and music occurred earlier in the twentieth century, but this recognition emerged as a result of the appropriation of Native arts by Euramericans. Notably, the sculptor Henry Moore, the painters Gaugin, Picasso, and Matisse, the composers Bela Bartok, Steve Reich, and Phillip Glass, and the choreographers Martha Graham and Jose Limon all appropriated Native American materials. Though Native American names are absent from this list, perhaps their plastic arts and musics received earlier critical approval because, as Anais Nin claims, "the public is probably more reactionary in its expectations of literature than of any other contemporary art form."4

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3 Charles Larson, American Indian Fiction (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1978) 2. Larson notes, "Until Momaday’s House Made of Dawn and [Hyemeyohsts] Storm’s Seven Arrows gained sizable audiences, the earlier novels by Native Americans had met with much the same reception that encountered the works of Afro-American writers. For the most part, that is, they were shunned or politely ignored" (2).

The literatures of Native Americans do spawn critical debates among the reading public and literary critics. Recent academic disputes concerning the translation and performance of Native American discourse have escalated into arguments that challenge the concept of generic categories and question their value and validity. While numerous scholars of Native American discourse concentrate on the translation of oral narratives, arguing for presenting the narratives as verse or as drama, other scholars suggest that traditional generic categories do not "fit" Native discourses and that Western scholars need to explore the concepts Native people use to classify discourse. Paredes and Bauman move in this direction when they review folklore scholar's work on distinctions such as myth, tale, and legend; however, even these categories are disputed.


No less disputed is the very category literature. Contemporary critical theory challenges readers and critics to reconsider what constitutes literariness, to re-examine texts that constitute the canonical body called literature, and to question the existence of such a category. In the wake of New Criticism, critical cohesion dissolved into a plethora of reading strategies, including (among others) reader-response criticism in which the reader co-creates the text and post-structuralism which proclaims the death of the author. Occurring simultaneously with the dissolution of a cohesive, stable method of approaching texts is a concerted effort to re-define the parameters of the literary canon either by recovering a variety of previously dismissed discourses (e.g., slave narratives, early women’s autobiographies, and Native American stories) or by dispensing with the canon altogether. Issues of value and evaluation lie at the heart of these recent shifts in literary criticism and theory.

In Native cultures, the value attached to storytelling suggests that language is an a priori condition of existence. According to most Native Americans, words have power, and power is both conferred and acquired through them. However, we should not construe the value Native Americans attach to speech as a devaluation of silence. Indeed, in some tribes, the misuse of another’s name, whether friend or foe, is equivalent to murder and equally
punishable. Given these considerations, the differences between Native Americans and Euramericans regarding the value attached to the performative dimensions of language assumes a clear significance. A Navajo shaman, for example, becomes a shaman only after recounting in narrative form the vision quest he experienced. The recitation not only disseminates the values and information the shaman's guiding spirit wished the tribe to know. It also confers power upon the holy man.8

Significantly, for Native people, human discourse is not the only form of language accessible to human beings, nor is it granted higher status than the discourses of Others. The languages of animals, insects, wind, water, spirits, and rocks are equally powerful and holy. Native people do not "possess" language. They do not own it. They consider themselves the harbingers of word bundles, thankful to their gods and fellow creatures for being allowed the privilege of utterance.

Thus, the value and power of language resides in its enactment, not in categories such as "literary" and "non-literary" (or "human" for that matter) which carry hierarchical presuppositions that assign greater value and

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8 Native Americans do not view power as a corrupting force. In the West, we tend to view power as inherently corrupting and thus demand that people in powerful positions be replaced periodically. These forms of power are structural, institutional, not personal. They are not earned but are temporarily possessed.
privilege to particular instances of language usage. Given the Native American assumption that all languages are valuable and powerful and that language use is enactment, Native American novels as extended instances of storytelling offer performance scholars fruitful subjects for inquiry.

Native American Novels

Addressing the question of what constitutes a Native American novel generates multiple, problematic questions: Must the writer/speaker be tribal? Must the subject matter deal primarily with tribal concerns? Must the characters be tribal peoples? Must the text be written/spoken in a tribal language? Such questions are not unique to Native American literature. Nor does pursuing these questions usually offer valuable insights regarding particular literary texts. However, such questions prove valuable insofar as addressing them provides insights into individual critics' perspectives regarding what it means to be a Native American and a writer. Issues of narrative authenticity regarding tribal representations and the relationships between language and ideology are woven throughout the discourse surrounding

9 The same questions occur with Black literature, Jewish literature, Southern literature, Gay literature and so on.
Native novels. Rather than review numerous scholars on this controversial point, I deal with the issue as it emerges in the individual writers and critics I cite.

For the purposes of this study, the phrase "Native American novels" refers to extended narratives (including personal narratives and autobiographies) presented in a written mode, authored by self-identifying members of any one of over three hundred known North American tribes. Native American novelists need not have been born in a tribal culture. They may have adopted or been adopted by a tribe. The critical issue, I contend, is not blood lines but lifeways.

I exclude from the category of Native American novels brief oral or written narratives and poems (such as written records of myths, tales, legends), as well as dances, songs, chants, and autobiographies written with a collaborator. Although I recognize that shorter works also represent the cultures from which they emerge, my decision to focus specifically on extended written narratives is motivated by the belief that novels possess a power that these shorter

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10 For example, when N. Scott Momaday addresses Native authenticity in his response to "what is an American Indian?", he contends that "an Indian is an idea which a given man [woman] has of [her]himself." His response has generated much debate given that the same definition could be applied to virtually every social group, including Nazis. See: N. Scott Momaday, "The Man Made of Words," Literature of the American Indians: Views and Interpretations, ed. Abraham Chapman (New York: New American Library, 1975) 96-97.
forms lack—notably, the power to represent and rehearse these briefer forms. I exclude collaborative works because they are not authored solely by self-identifying members of tribal cultures and because the majority of critical efforts to explore lengthy Native narratives focus on these co-authored texts.¹¹

Native American Novels and Performance Studies: Exchange Values and Intersections

The study of Native American novels is important and valuable for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is that they provide insights into this country’s earliest written narratives. To study these novels is to celebrate and learn from cultural diversity and difference. Brian Swann, a Native American scholar and artist, claims that "there are at least two reasons for understanding Native American Literature. One, to overcome one’s cultural isolation and narcissism by studying a civilization different in many important ways from our own. And two, in order to understand more of ourselves and our own civilization."¹²


Another benefit of studying Native American novels, particularly for performance scholars, concerns the non-anthropocentric and performance-centered value systems from which these texts emerge. Native American novels could not exist apart from their cultures, and the Native Americans' performance-centered approach to living infuses these texts. Larry Evers agrees, arguing in *Studies in American Indian Literature* that the Native American text "seems to be more fully realized when it is read aloud, when it is performed, when, in Nia Francisco’s phrase, it is 'made moist with my breath.'”¹³ Elaine Jahner offers additional support for this argument when she writes that "the literature [of Native Americans] remains alive only through continued performances that involve direct participation in the ways of thinking, knowing, and performing that characterize the different oral forms."¹⁴ Though Jahner conflates oral theories of meaning and performance theories of cultural representation, a topic I address more fully in chapter two, her point is valid. Understanding Native American texts is not merely aided by performance but requires performance.


Several performance studies scholars have recognized the benefits and exchange values of exploring the texts and performances of other cultures. At the same time that performance studies scholars have turned toward the cultural texts of previously marginalized or disenfranchised groups, so also we have begun to explore shared intersections with human sciences that have themselves made a performative turn in recent years—most notably anthropology, ethnography, folklore, and sociology.

Elizabeth Fine and Jean Haskell Speer offer an early argument for extending the parameters of the field then recognized as Oral Interpretation. Reviewing the work of Dell Hymes, Richard Bauman, Roger Abrahams, Richard Poirier, Erving Goffman, Kenneth Burke, and others, they argue that several advantages would accrue from an alliance of performance studies scholarship, folklore studies and ethnography. First, such an alliance would help performance scholars to identify the "ground rules" of performance, the "set of cultural themes and social interactional organizing principles that govern the conduct of performance" and that suggest a grammar of performance features. Second, they contend that ethnographically-oriented study increases our knowledge of non-Western cultures and our understanding of difference in performer training, techniques, and performer-

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types. Third, they maintain that such an alliance expands our concept of textuality by instigating a re-examination of what constitutes a text and how we construe texts. Finally, they assert such an alliance expands our view of the parameters of performance to include performance in everyday life, (e.g., storytelling, joke telling, ceremonial occasions), as well as performance in special contexts such as prisons and nursing homes.

In the 1980s, several articles and essays focusing on the state of the art in the field (still primarily known as Oral Interpretation but in some academic programs already called Performance Studies) recognized the importance of intersecting with human sciences. In "A Paradigm For Performance Studies," Ronald Pelias and James VanOosting described the potential role of performers, suggesting four postures that define their "inclusionary impulse and participation as a working procedure": (1) performer as a social actor defining self and others in a community, (2) performer as personal text authorizing his/her consciousness hierarchically above textual autonomy, (3) performer as a social activist encouraging dialogue with the socially disenfranchised, and (4) performer as ethnographer adopting roles to yield intercultural insights. Like Fine and Speer, Pelias and VanOosting continue to explore our field's relationship with scholars such as Richard Schechner, Victor Turner, Erving Goffman, and Gregory Bateson, as well as
disciplines such as anthropology, linguistics, and social theory.\textsuperscript{16}

The various survey articles from the 1980s indicate the growing importance of the human sciences in performance studies.\textsuperscript{17} Many of the most vocal proponents for the alliances among anthropology, folklore, ethnography and performance studies—including, among others, Dwight Conquergood, Madeline Keaveney, Pamela Cook Miller, Elizabeth Fine—gathered for a conference in Las Cruces, New Mexico, in 1983. One result of their work is the collection of essays \textit{Proceedings of the Seminar/Conference on Oral Traditions} edited by Isabel Crouch and Gordon Owen.\textsuperscript{18}

Dwight Conquergood's essay in this collection, "'A Sense of the Other': Interpretation and Ethnographic Research," argues that ethnographers of the oral tradition


are "theatricalized theorists, interpreters of cultural performances and performers of cultural interpretations."\(^{19}\) He links Victor Turner's work with his own participant-observer field work in an exploration of two Laotian narratives.\(^{20}\) Also included in the Proceedings are studies of Appalachian tall tales, Jewish narratives, narratives of Chicago reader-advisers, Japanese worker rituals, African oral traditions, professional storytelling, and two essays on Native American storytelling.

Responding to the Native American essays in her review of the collection, Elizabeth Fine suggests that the two essays by Madeline Keaveney and Pamela Cook Miller illustrate that even armchair ethnographic research can be extremely valuable. Keaveney's 'Humor in Navaho Coyote Tales' is a thorough synthesis of the available research on Navaho Coyote tales. The essay helps correct the prevalent tendency of students to perform all Indian tales as if they were delivered by Tonto. Miller's excellent synthesis of Southwest Indian

\(^{19}\) Conquergood, Proceedings 148, 148-55.

storytelling should be read by anyone attempting the performance of tales from these cultures.\textsuperscript{21}

Keaveney's essay opens with a description of how early collectors contributed to the misunderstanding of Native tales and then reviews the difficulties of dealing with translations. She considers the depiction of Navajo traditions, the language itself, and performative non-verbals of storytellers as obstacles for students approaching these texts. Keaveney then situates Navajo humor in a context of tribal values including health, order and movement. Her review of Coyote as a scatological trickster leads into general discussions of humor based on the ridiculous and practical jokes. Concluding with an examination of Navajo storytellers' narrative styles and audience participation, she contends that Navajo storytelling is actually drama, a performing art that serves as a catharsis, a reinforcement of tribal identity, a strengthening of moral values, social harmony and cultural norms.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{21} Elizabeth Fine, rev. of Proceedings of the Seminar/Conference on Oral Traditions, ed. Isabel Crouch and Gordon R. Owen, Literature In Performance 5.2 (1984):58. Though her review is positive, Fine's description of Keaveney and Miller as "armchair ethnographers" does little to further the text-based study of other cultures. Field-work and text-based study clearly differ in approach and methodology, but to assume one is more valid than the other seems dangerously close to an either/or argument.

Pamela Cook Miller's essay, "Listening to the Ancients," examines the oral tradition of Native storytelling in the Southwest to "provide valuable information for oral interpreters about social rituals of sharing literature, storytelling roles, and the particular composition of the stories themselves." While describing the social rituals of Southwestern tribes including Zuni, Hopi, Pima, Navajo, Jicarilla Apache, and others, she notes that storytelling affects every aspect of pueblo life. The storytelling roles Miller explores involve the narrator (focusing on delivery, voice and gestures) and the audience (who possess a variety of potential responses). Discussing the stories themselves, she, like Keaveney, considers the difficulties of examining texts in translation. Miller then posits a distinction between origin myths and fiction tales. Origin myths are sacred whereas fiction tales are secular. She closes her essay with a review of the prevalent themes in the tales and a discussion of the oral elements of storytelling such as narrative frames, specialized diction, repetition, and paralogisms (i.e., elements of the mythic stories offered as explanations for a phenomenon of nature—the color of birds, the creation of mountains).

Keaveney and Miller make important strides in introducing Native texts and performances to performance

scholars. They recognize the values of diversity and difference that Brian Swann and Elizabeth Fine describe above. Nevertheless, there remains a bit of the vanishing-noble-red-men stereotype in these essays. Keaveney regrets the "losses that occur when an oral recitation or performance is transformed into a written text," and Miller is even more pointedly preservationist when, in a footnote, she suggests:

> to some extent, this paper on storytelling is describing an anachronism, since the advent of television and Westernized education have greatly eroded storytelling within the modern pueblo. This seems to argue for the recording of these oral literary events, since they may not be enjoyed long.

Though no one would deny that Native traditions have suffered during the four centuries of contact with Euramericans, it is equally important to recognize the living, ongoing traditions which carry Native cultures into the future.

The turn toward the human sciences and oral traditions and the benefits of examining other cultures is also readily apparent in the work of Elizabeth Fine, Kristin Langellier, Eric Peterson and Phyllis Scott Carlin. Fine's work on translation and text-making, Langellier and Peterson's studies of women's storytelling and personal narratives, along with Carlin's charting of new curricular territory,

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24 Keaveney 46.

25 Miller 73.
all reconfigure performance studies in light of ethnographic insights. Each brings together issues of performance and narration in their exploration of other cultures.\textsuperscript{26} The writings of these scholars stress the importance and value of the intersections of our discipline with others and contend that the resulting new directions in performance studies will bring healthy changes. Carlin argues for the intersection of performance studies and the human sciences, not only on the basis of future rewards but also on the basis of history. "The new directions in the study of performance and verbal art," she writes, "are very compatible with our history."\textsuperscript{27}

One point of intersection, or moment of blurring of disciplinary boundaries, appears when scholars from different fields publish in performance journals, and


\textsuperscript{27} Carlin 126.
performance scholars publish in other disciplines' journals. Richard Bauman's recent essay in *Text and Performance Quarterly* is an example of the former, and instances of the latter have recently become too numerous to list—though Conquergood, Fine, Langellier, and Peterson are fine examples.  

While the blurring of disciplinary lines between performance studies and the human sciences has opened a space for the examination by performance scholars of Native American novels, this space, unfortunately, has not been filled. Despite the increased attention afforded shorter Native texts by scholars such as Keaveney and Miller, performance scholars have avoided sustained exploration of Native American novels. Keaveney's and Miller's explorations of Native storytellers are worthy of praise; however their exploration of these shorter forms does not mitigate against the need for performance studies scholars to explore Native American novels. After all, the storytelling phenomena that Keaveney and Miller investigate are themselves performances. While Native American novels are not performances, they frequently contain representations of performances, and these representations...

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shed significant insights on the nature, function and goals of performance in specific Native American cultures. Concentrating on Native novels rather than the shorter forms will continue the critical expansion our field is undergoing and contribute to the multi-disciplinary understanding of performance.

In the last twenty years, Native American novels have been experiencing what Larry Evers refers to as a "cycle of appreciation," and several new writers are assuming notable reputations. Paula Gunn Allen, Michael Dorris, and Louise Erdich are solid examples. I turn to Leslie Silko's *Ceremony* for various reasons that I identify below, but here it is worth noting Silko's early position in the cycle. Along with N. Scott Momaday and James Welch, Silko's work reinvigorated critics and readers while it inspired potential Native American writers. *Ceremony* has now earned the status of a contemporary classic.

Leslie Silko, the Laguna-Keres, and Ceremony

Born in 1948 in Old Laguna, New Mexico, Silko is of mixed heritages--she is Laguna, Mexican, and Anglo-American.

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As she says of herself, "I am of mixed-breed ancestry, but what I know is Laguna. This place I am from is everything I am as a writer and human being." She notes further that "I suppose at the core of my writing is the attempt to identify what it is to be a half-breed or mixed-blooded person; what it is to grow up neither white nor fully Indian." Silko’s mother carried her on the traditional cradle board until she was one year old. Her grandmothers taught her the Keresan language and many of the stories she tells in Ceremony and other places. Her great-uncle and great-grandfather were the Marmon brothers, Anglo-Americans who established a school and then a trading post on the Laguna reservation. She attended the local Bureau of Indian Affairs school (where the administrators and teachers punished her if she used Keresan), and beginning with the fifth grade, she commuted to Albuquerque, where she attended Catholic schools.

In 1969 Silko received her Bachelor of Arts in English from the University of New Mexico, began law school and then withdrew to pursue teaching and writing. After publishing a collection of poems, Laguna Woman: Poems By Leslie Silko, in 1974, she spent two years writing Ceremony in Ketchican,

31 Per Seyersted, Leslie Marmon Silko (Boise, ID: Boise State UP, 1980) 15.


Silko’s personal ancestry echoes the mixed heritage of her people. Conquered by the Spaniards in 1598, the people were forced to pledge their allegiance to Spain and to adopt Catholicism. Despite the best efforts of the missionaries, conversion attempts generally failed. The Laguna people adapted Catholicism to fit their worldview and tolerated the Spanish until 1680 when the Pueblo Rebellion occurred and the Spanish were driven from the area. During this period as well, the Laguna people welcomed other tribal peoples to join them who were fleeing the aggressions of the Spanish and severe droughts. Hopi, Cochiti, Zia, Domingo, Jemez, Navajo, and Zuni peoples immigrated to the Laguna pueblos and brought with them a variety of new rituals and beliefs.

Throughout the 18th century, the Catholic church maintained missions in the area and in the 19th century Protestant missions were established. With the Protestants came Anglo-American surveyors and tradespeople who settled in the area permanently. In the 1880s, two of these settlers, Walter Marmon (Silko’s great-uncle) and Robert Marmon (Silko’s great-grandfather) established a trading
business, married Laguna women and reared large families. Upon his election to serve as governor of Old Laguna, Robert Marmon convinced the people to close down the kivas (the centers of religious activity), and many of the old customs were prohibited. Nonetheless, one decade into the 20th century the Laguna conservatives were able to re-establish the kivas and Laguna religious systems.

The military actively recruited Laguna men, and they served in both World Wars. In fact, by the 1940s the Lagunas were the primary focus of military appeasement. In 1943 a potent resource was discovered in Laguna territory: uranium. The progressive faction of the tribe successfully argued for leasing the rights to mine the uranium, and on July 16, 1945, several of the people believed the sun had risen when they saw the first atomic test at Trinity site, 150 miles from Old Laguna. Today, the largest uranium mining and production facilities worldwide are in Laguna. While unemployment is low, which is unusual among tribal peoples, the cancer rate is soaring, as well as the number of children born with birth defects. Environmental Protection Agency tests demonstrate that the radiation level of the drinking water is 200 times above the allowable limit. 33

These historical and cultural changes do appear in Silko's novel. She comments on many of the happenings

33 Per Seyersted 22.
without becoming an overt political activist. She claims, "I am political, but I am political in my stories. Writing is more effective than to rant and rave."\(^{34}\)

*Ceremony* traces the spiritual healing of Tayo, a Laguna half-breed World War II veteran. When the novel opens, the narrator introduces us to Tayo through a tour of his psychological landscape. He has returned home from some nameless Pacific island where he served with his cousin, Rocky, and where he suffered from malarial fever and battle fatigue. In a series of disjointed flashbacks, he remembers witnessing the death of Rocky and praying against the rain in the jungle; he remembers that when the sergeant told him to kill Japanese soldiers lined up with their hands above their heads, he saw his uncle Josiah fall dead; he remembers that for years he drifted as white smoke in a Veteran’s hospital in Los Angeles; he remembers his mother, Laura, a prostitute who ran with Mexicans, Whites and Blacks, and who left him with his Auntie at age four before she died; he remembers coming home on the train from the hospital to Auntie’s house where she, his uncle Robert and old Grandma began to nurse him; he remembers how his buddies Leroy, Emo, Pinkie, and Harley have changed into malevolent, despairing figures.

His memories are juxtaposed with events that occur in the present: he has nightmares in which all the voices of

\(^{34}\) Fisher, "Stories," 22.
people in his past come back to him; the old Laguna medicine man, Ku’oosh, tries to cure him with the Scalp Ceremony but is unsuccessful; the old Navajo medicine man, Betonie, performs a healing ceremony for him that starts him on a quest for his uncle Josiah’s cattle, where he meets the mystical mountain woman Ts’eh, and discovers the pattern of stars and the mountains that Betonie had drawn in the sand during the healing ceremony; finally, he watches the evil of his buddies turn on itself and destroy them.

Silko intersperses this narrative account of Tayo’s spiritual journey with poetic passages that are stories of and from “time immemorial” when animals, plants, and people could all communicate. She includes the creation story about Grandmother Spider, the story of the evil Gambler who steals the clouds, a lengthy and recurring poem about Reed Woman’s taking the water away from the people and what they had to do to return the rains, a story about how white people were invented, warnings about witches and bear people and coyotes, and several others. These poems serve as examples for Tayo to live by. Sometimes they are stories by characters in the novel, and other times they are stories of early Laguna events that serve to contextualize and reflect Tayo’s contemporary difficulties. The poems serve as proof of what happens when people misbehave. They serve as prayers, songs, and chants. Charles Larson particularly appreciates these sections of the novel, claiming “what I
find especially valuable here: the numerous poems she incorporates into the text of her story, the rich use of traditional ritual, folklore, myth, the evocation of life on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation.\(^{35}\)

Juxtaposing the mythic poems and Tayo's contemporary narrative, Silko weaves a story that unites a particular past and present, a story that offers us ways of approaching the world from a distinctly non-Western point of view, a story that rehearses the Laguna-Keres culture and invites us to join their rituals with our own.

Personal reasons also guide my choice to focus on Silko's novel. After directing two full-length productions of *Ceremony*, with different adaptations each time, I believe I have an understanding of this work that I would not otherwise have. My correspondences with Silko regarding the rights to stage her novel, while not extensive, offered me insights into her worldview. Finally, my status as "half-breed," like that of Silko and her protagonist Tayo, most certainly contributes to my interest in and concern for Silko as a writer and her characters.

In the following chapters of this study I examine the methodologies that have emerged in the study of Native American novels and offer a performance-centered method of

reading Leslie Silko's *Ceremony*. Chapter two, "Methodological Reconfigurations of Native Discourse," articulates and examines a theoretical and paradigmatic shift taking place in critical studies of Native American narratives. The early structuralist-social scientific approaches of Schoolcraft, Boas, and Levi-Strauss situate all Native discourse within the frame of an "oral theory of meaning." This positioning reifies the traditional dichotomy of speech/writing and provides theoretical support for imperialism in both critical and political treatments of Native cultures and literatures. Recognition of Eurocentric biases and tendencies toward imperialist critiques gives rise to a different variety of theoretical perspectives, from Content Analysis to Postmodern Criticism, and, concurrently, shifts the focus from oral theories of meaning toward culture/value construction through enactment, or "performance theories of culture".

In chapter three, "Performance, Rehearsal, Culture: Reading Silko's *Ceremony,*" I offer a performance-centered method of studying this novel. Initially, I present my definition of performance and unpack the terms involved. I then argue for a reading of *Ceremony* as a rehearsal of Laguna-Keres culture rather than a performance of this culture as other critics have construed it. To do so, I

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posit distinctions between performance as rehearsed behavior (actualized) and the novel as rehearsed representations of behavior (actualizeable). More simply, I distinguish performance and rehearsal, examine two central characteristics of Laguna-Keres culture with respect to these distinctions, and suggest that the multiple representations of performance in Ceremony rehearse the culture rather than perform it.

CHAPTER TWO:

METHODOLOGICAL RECONFIGURATIONS OF NATIVE DISCOURSE

Method as a mode of addressing a text or object, which is always moved from one context to another, presupposes beliefs about how and why we make such moves. Altogether, they become the unavoidable foundations of theory.

Elaine Jahner, 1989

Should any particular mythographic method successfully assert its authority and attain ascendancy as canonical, it will determine our understanding and evaluation of Native American literatures for a long time to come.

Arnold Krupat, 1987

The foundations of theory regarding Native discourse have become increasingly unstable. No particular method of approaching this discourse has attained ascendancy. Perhaps this current instability and lack of critical cohesion occur because only in the last thirty years have literary and historical scholars recognized that "the dominant society has created a homogenized history of tribal people [ , ] . . . that white people know more about the indian they invented than anyone."¹ Contemporary literary scholars are now faced with unlearning Native history and literature in order to displace a cultural hegemony. But unlearning is more

destabilizing than learning and it leads to radical revisions in critical practice.¹

Tracing the emergence of revisions in approaches to Native discourse reveals a paradigmatic and theoretical shift in the critical discourse. The early structuralist-social scientific approaches of Schoolcraft, Boas, and Levi-Strauss, for example, situate all Native discourse within the framework of an oral theory of meaning, a view of meaning as inherently tied to utterance and veiled or distorted by print. Elaine Jahner adopts an oral theory of meaning when she writes:

the critic must start with the premise that oral forms reflect particular ways of knowing, that they are epistemological realities. They exist both as artifact and process. Comparison of the oral artifact with the written artifact might be sterile, but comparison of the processes related to the various oral forms and those related to written genres can give the critic a sense of the genuine artistry of both modes of composition and of communication among individuals as well as among cultures.³

² Harold Fromm questions the necessity of unlearning and displacing hegemony and revising critical practice. He negatively responds to the essays by Mary Louise Pratt and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., that appeared in a special issue of Critical Inquiry, 13 (1985) titled "'Race,' Writing, and Difference". He laments Pratt's and Gates' ability to make him feel guilty and then accuses them of being the imperialists who allow their wealth of discourses to purchase them faculty positions and BMW's. ("The Hegemonic Form of Othering; Or The Academic's Burden," Critical Inquiry 13 [1986]: 197-200).

Despite the seemingly emic approach, this positioning serves to reify the traditional dichotomy of speech/writing and to provide theoretical support for imperialism in both critical and political treatments of Native discourses. Gerald Vizenor clarifies the impact of critical imperialism. He notes that

social sciences are at last causal methodologies and expiries, not studies of anthropos, human beings or even natural phenomenon; rather, anthropologies are remains, reductions of humans and imagination to models and comparable cultural patterns—social science is institutional power, a tragic monologue in isolation.4

The recognition of Eurocentric biases and tendencies toward imperialist critiques opens the door to a number of theoretical perspectives—most notably, feminist, Marxist, ethnic, and postmodern criticism. These perspectives introduce and begin to address more specifically how the processes of culture and value formation occur through the performance of discourse. In general, these critical postures begin to assert performance theories of culture. They validate the claims of two contemporary "ethnographers of speaking", Sherzer and Woodbury, who state:

the concept of performance is crucial in the study of verbal artistry. Serious attention to the nature of oral performance in relation to social

and cultural context and to the relationship among transcription, representation, translation, and analysis reveals that there is no simple dichotomy between oral and written discourse, between literate and non-literate societies.\(^5\) This shift in critical thought from oral theories of meaning toward performance theories of culture is not complete.\(^6\) Unfortunately, many contemporary Native Americanists still cling to oral theories of meaning as a foundation for their work. I refer again to Jahner, who dismisses the revisionist theoretical discourses, claiming that they have "evoked cautious wariness on the part of most critics of American Indian oral or written literatures" because the critic must yield to "a process of trying to perform at the limits of language and culture, where it is less a matter of answering questions than it is one of performing the questions themselves."\(^7\) Despite her resistance to the shift toward revisionist modes of


criticism, Jahner's explanation of the function of contemporary criticism seems marvelously appropriate for performance-centered examinations of Native American discourse. Performance criticism recognizes, as Jahner suggests, that the critical act as well as the process of making literature is performative.

In one particular area of Native American Studies, translation theory and criticism, scholars feel the definite need to account for the functions of performance. These scholars (e.g., Dennis Tedlock, Dell Hymes, and Larry Evers) limit themselves to linguistic and ethnographic research programs which result in an "ethnopoetics of native texts."\(^8\) Performance figures prominently in their work but as a problem to be solved by codifying verbal and non-verbal behaviors in writing rather than as a guiding metaphor through which they approach the literatures of Native Americans.\(^9\) Their research is not under indictment here. They make possible the reading/hearing of Native texts by

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\(^8\) For a description of "ethnopoetics" and what this entails see Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1983) and Sherzer and Woodbury.

\(^9\) See, for example, Elizabeth Fine, *The Folklore Text: From Performance to Print* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984). She recognizes the necessary distinction between metaphor-for-reading and codification when she notes the teleological inversion between folklore and performance studies: folklore works from performance to print and performance studies works from print to performance. But this recognition does not overcome the problem of providing a way of approaching this body of discourse.
non-Native people, and their work also takes performance as the object of inquiry. I turn now to approaches that instigate a move toward treating performance as a method of inquiry.

Methods of Analyzing Native Discourse

Approaches to Native American texts appear in a variety of theoretical and practical formats which I classify and examine in the following categories: structuralist-social scientific, archetypal-mythic, content analysis, ethnic criticism, feminist, Marxist, and postmodernist. Although these categories help to clarify various critiques of Native discourse, they are by no means exhaustive or mutually exclusive. Many of the individual studies under consideration easily fit into two or more of the categories offered. These categories, however, do serve as points along a continuum with oral theories of meaning at one end (funded by social scientism) and performance theories of culture at the other (funded by postmodernism).

Structuralist-Social Scientific Approaches

The first attempts to study and analyze Native American narratives appeared during the early decades of the nineteenth century when Native cultures were making the transition from a primarily oral society toward a print-oriented society. The Native literary artists of this period
were "bicultrue, they lived in a crease between Native orality and Euramerican print.  

Native literary texts were viewed as events rather than objects, and the problem of how to present them for study and appreciation arose. The historical progenitors of contemporary Native American novels (including extended oral narratives and autobiographies spoken to an amanuensis/collaborator) presented a dilemma for literary critics. Brian Swann identifies this dilemma when he writes that "while being literary in emphasis, it [was] also necessary to be scientific, that is, linguistically and ethnographically informed."  

In the second quarter of the 19th century Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, a geologist/minerologist turned Indian Agent, while doing field work in Michigan, fell in love with the Chippewa people, married a Chippewa woman, learned their language and began to study and document their oral narratives. Schoolcraft's efforts to transcribe and analyze Chippewa medicine chants and tales in his Algic Researches, published in 1839, established a pattern still followed today. He provided a transcription, a literal translation, and finally a "literary" translation. Like most of his

contemporaries, Schoolcraft was well grounded in racial and nationalist biases, and his analyses reflected as much of his own cultural and literary assumptions as those of the Chippewa.¹²

Although the Algic Researches are perhaps more well-known since they served as the basis for Longfellow's epic poem Hiawatha, Schoolcraft's encyclopedic study, Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, conducted from 1851 to 1857, is generally recognized as the beginning of serious anthropological scholarship regarding Native Americans' literary efforts. In both of these works, Schoolcraft offers a functionalist approach, arguing that the tales suggest models of appropriate and inappropriate behavior.¹³

Schoolcraft adopted and articulated the theory of "psychogenic evolutionism," a theory based on the assumption that psychic unity existed among Native races. This unity,


oddly enough, served as the dominant explanation for cultural differences. Psychogenesis asserted that similar cultural forms (folk tales for example), despite their appearance in different Native cultures, had their origin in similar mental processes—that is, oral cultures thought alike.

Schoolcraft’s method involved isolating elements from their cultural context (a folk tale), ordering them according to a formal principle (a specific type of folk tale), then arguing for a pattern of universal evolution (a time-line designating points when specific folk tale types emerged) in which each element and each culture could be situated. Thus, he could claim in his introduction to the *Algic Researches*, "Preliminary Observations On the Tales," that "there are distinctive tribal traits, but the general features coincide."¹⁴

Schoolcraft was an early practitioner of social scientific "text-making" approaches to oral narratives that were continued through the turn of the century by the German-born ethnographer and linguist Franz Boas. Boas' studies spanning from 1891 to 1940, focused on the Native Americans of the North Pacific Coast, and, like Schoolcraft, Boas searched everywhere for emergent patterns in the discourse.¹⁵

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¹⁴ Schoolcraft, "Preliminary Observations" 5.

Unlike Schoolcraft, however, Boas rejected psychogenetic explanations. Arguing that language was the key to understanding human experience, he situated the discourse within its context(s) and sought to examine the relationships between language and environment, material culture, kinship, myths, and religion. His "cultural anthropology" argued that similar cultural elements have different meanings because they occur in different contexts, and that similarities in cultural forms resulted from the diffusion of discourses, not similarities in mental processes.

Because of Boas' theoretical dependence on linguistics for exploring the nature of Native discourses and cultures, he required Native language acquisition of his students and followers. He viewed his project as one of obtaining and preserving "oral data" and thus resisted the speculative theorizing that dominated 19th century approaches. Joel Sherzer and Anthony Woodbury, in their collection of essays titled *Native American Discourse*, suggest that "the Boasian tradition called for the publication of a grammar, a dictionary, and a collection of texts for each language studied. The texts had a twofold purpose, serving both as data for linguistic analysis and as primary ethnological
Boas did provide several analyses of myth motifs, themes, and variations. Boas and his followers continued to provide literal and literary versions of oral narratives from the turn of the century through the 1960s. Their works argue that the printed "recovered" text does constitute a legitimate mythic narrative, one that unfortunately attenuates the experience of performance but one that significantly broadens and strengthens the linguistic base necessary for the comprehension Native literatures.

World War II brought many changes to the people of the United States, Native and Euramerican. It also brought Claude Levi-Strauss to the New School for Social Research in New York. Once there, after working with Roman Jakobson, he transformed cultural anthropology into "structural anthropology." Structural linguistics brought to cultural anthropology a new scientific rigor.

Based on Saussurean structuralism, Levi-Strauss argued in "The Structural Study of Myth" that cultural texts, like languages, could be analyzed in binary terms. According to Levi-Strauss, just as one examines the rules governing

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everyday phonetic language use to determine the underlying phonemic levels of discourse, so too can one examine Native mythic narratives. Using a Zuni myth as his example, he argues that oral literary texts are divisible into units of meaning ("terms") and narrated actions ("functions"). These term-function relations are then abstracted until one is left with a seemingly irreconcilable pair. This pair is then "mediated" by a third term in the narrative that serves to "invert" the original binary. On the basis of this operation, Levi-Strauss concludes that mythical thought serves to "provide a logical model capable of overcoming contradictions".\(^{18}\)

Levi-Strauss distinguishes between myths and tales, arguing that myth works at the phonemic level whereas the tale works at the phonetic level. The anthropologist’s duty, Levi-Strauss contends, is to recover the myth; particulars of the tale/telling are less important. He essentially de-

\(^{18}\) Claude. Levi-Strauss "The Structural Study of [Zuni] Myth," \textit{Structural Anthropology} (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 209-32. This approach to myth as a method of dealing with contradictions re-appears in Robert Clark’s \textit{History, Ideology and Myth in American Fiction, 1823-52} (Austin: U of Texas P, 1981). Clark’s approach to myth criticism of American writers asserts, "it is our task to reconstruct materially and theoretically the unities and contradictions which structure apparently disparate phenomena" (x). He argues that white cultural imperialism creates cognitive dissonance in the ideology of a culture who proclaim themselves the progenitors of "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Accordingly, white culture overcomes this dissonance through the creation of "mythical texts" which mask the negatives of the dominant ideology. Myth becomes, for Clark, "de-politicized ideology."
values both the context and language of the performative situation while simultaneously striving to feature an oral theory of meaning.\(^{19}\)

All of the theorists and methods reviewed thus far--Schoolcraft’s psychogenic evolutionism, Boas’ cultural anthropology, and Levi-Strauss’ structural anthropology--involve constructing texts and then analyzing them on the basis of oral theories of meaning. These scholars were primarily interested, first, in discovering emergent patterns in Native discourse through documentation and, secondly, in relating those patterns to the mental processes of Native peoples by speculating on the functions of mythic narratives within Native cultures. Thus, they are equally considered the founders of both translation theory and myth theory of Native discourses. Their influences on contemporary translation theory will become apparent later in this study. Presently, I turn to archetypal-mythic criticism, one of the many types of studies initiated by the structural-social scientific theorists just reviewed.

Archetypal-Mythic Criticism

While Schoolcraft, Boas and Levi-Strauss each produced critical essays on myths and their cultural implications, the contemporary body of literature focusing on myth in Native American narratives is significantly larger and more complex. Archetypal and myth critics generally focus on: mythic characters, types, themes, values, cultural functions of myths, and relationships between myth and religion. Again, these categories are neither exhaustive or mutually exclusive.

Perhaps the best known study of mythic characters in Native American discourse is Paul Radin's *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology*, published in 1956. Radin, a Boasian disciple, examines translated versions of Trickster myths among the Winnebagos of Wisconsin and Nebraska, as well as Assiniboine and Tlingit tribes. He compares these tribal tricksters with several other trickster cycles. Radin claims that the Trickster is a universal figure found in every culture from Greece to China. In his preface, he argues

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the Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and is always duped himself. He knows
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neither good nor evil yet he is responsible for both. He possesses no values, moral or social, is at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values come into being.\textsuperscript{21}

Radin echoes Schoolcraft's functionalist assumptions when he suggests that tribes use the Trickster figure and Trickster narratives as problem-solving mechanisms. The problem-solving function of Trickster narratives is evident, for example, when elders use the Trickster figure to teach youngsters moral lessons and to provide children with a generalizable foe and friend.

Susan Feldman reviews a variety of myth types, including Trickster myths, in the introduction to a collection of essays titled \textit{The Story Telling Stone}. Myth types she posits include: origin myths (of earth and humans), fire myths (theft and acquisition), and hero myths (of which tricksters are a subgroup). Feldman examines a number of different tribal myths to illustrate how separate tribes use similar stories to explain different facts or events.\textsuperscript{22}

Earlier myth critics Robert Lowie and T. T. Waterman display their Boasian training as they examine thematic consistencies across tribal myths. Both Lowie and Waterman


\textsuperscript{22} Susan Feldman, ed. \textit{The Story Telling Stone: Myths and Tales of the American Indians} (New York: Dell, 1965).
compare inter-tribal "celestial" and "terrestrial" myth themes. Lowie focuses specifically on celestial test themes, they involve the supernatural imposition of a dangerous or difficult task. He concludes that celestial heroes' identifying traits are not uniform enough to generalize across tribes. Waterman, on the other hand, concentrates on terrestrial themes used as explanatory devices. From his review of stories from twenty-three different North American tribes, he suggests that cosmic forces are not the chief subject of myths. Waterman also claims that terrestrial myths are not used primarily as explanatory devices, but he does not suggest a primary function for these myths.23

In his rather comic (and quite contested) approach to thematic studies of myth, Allen Dundes raises cropophilia to new heights. His study of excremental themes in Native story-telling asserts "the existence of a cloacal theory of birth and the existence of pregnancy envy on the part of males." His study argues finally that tribal men "do think of creativity in anal terms, and further that this conception is projected into mythical cosmogonic terms."24


Scholars interested in mythic narratives in Native American discourse are also concerned with the relationship between myths and values in Native cultures. Katherine Spencer investigates this relationship in the Navajo tribe's Chantway Myths. She examines the valuation of specific actions, character traits, life situations, and rules of conduct in order to arrive at a set of values that pervade the myths. Spencer contends that four value types emerge: the maintenance of health, the acquisition of supernatural power, the maintenance of harmony in family relationships, and the process of young people's attainment of adult status.\textsuperscript{25}

Spencer's research reverses the typical approach to exploring the role of myth in culture. She begins with the myths and works her way back to the culture that gave rise to them. According to Melville Jacobs and Theodore Stern, beginning with an emic description of the culture and arriving at the set of conditions which produce the myths more fully demonstrates the functions of myths in Native American cultures.\textsuperscript{26}


\textsuperscript{26} Recently the question of emic or etic research possibilities have come under fire from various anthropological, ethnographical and historical scholars. See for examples, Clifford Geertz, "'From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding," \textit{Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion}, ed. Richard Schweder and Robert LeVine (Cambridge: Cambridge UP,
Working from the field notebooks of Victoria Howard, a Clackamas Chinook, Jacobs attempts to reconstruct what was happening before, during, and after the recital of the sixty-four stories Howard recorded. He considers how the literature appeared to the Chinook in order to show the reciprocity between the stories and the culture, between particular events and particular members of the tribe. His introduction provides socio-cultural information while the body of his text examines the social roles of the teller and the audience, the role of titles, stylized introductions and closings, formalized actions, plot types, and humor.\(^{27}\)

Jacobs was one of the first critics of Native discourse to recognize and include detailed notes on the performative dimensions of the narrative situation. Nonetheless, his emphasis retained the dependence on oral theories of meaning while redirecting the concept of form from one of "story-telling as narrative" to "story-telling as drama." However,  

Jacobs' impact on his proteges, the translation theorists Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock, and their performative construal of the translation process cannot be overestimated.

Using a similar method of reconstructing the performative contexts of mythmaking to determine its cultural functions, Theodore Stern's series of articles in the *Journal of American Folklore*, examine principles of variation in the myths of the Klamath tribe. After a discussion of Klamath life in aboriginal and early historical periods, Stern considers how cultural context and social function effect mythic forms and how changes in the mythic forms then effect the Klamath way of life. For example, as the cultural setting in which a particular myth is told changes through time, new characters are introduced by different narrators. The behaviors of these new characters become role models for younger Klamaths. With each generation then, new behavioral patterns emerge that affect Klamath food gathering, prayer, and in general their way of life.28

While Jacobs and Stern, in keeping with their Boasian/Levi-Straussian training, focus on the cultural

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functions of myth in tribal societies, a number of more recent scholars concentrate on the relationship between myth and religion. Scholars focusing on the relationship between myth and religion include Paula Gunn Allen and Jarold Ramsey.

According to Paula Gunn Allen, myths constitute a vital part of tribal religion. In "The Mythopoeic Vision in Native American Literature," Allen argues that myths are religious narratives. A myth, she contends, is "a profoundly sacred story that recounts a special experience which transcends ordinary consciousness—experiencing, relies preeminently on symbolism as a vehicle of articulation, and requires a supernatural or non-ordinary figure as its central character." She examines Black Elk's vision as edited by John Neihardt in an effort to describe the metaphysical and psychic workings of myth within tribal culture. Allen dismisses the contemporary view of myth as a synonym for lie and contests "non-visionary" approaches which feature the formal or classificatory elements of myth.

In a different approach to myth-as-religion, Jarold Ramsey examines the impact of Catholic and Protestant evangelism on Native American mythologies. He explains that tribes of California and the Northwest accepted Bible stories into their mythologies through three modes of

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assimilation: (1) Bible stories were "incorporated" as parts of the larger mythological framework; (2) they were then "adapted" to fit Native American worldviews; and (3) through "mythopoesis," they became a vital element of tribal religion.30

Archetypal critics bear a strong resemblance to the myth critics just discussed. Archetypal critics of Native discourses include Paul Radin, C. G. Jung, and Mando Sevillano. The close relationship between mythic and archetypal criticism of Native American texts is notable in the previously described Paul Radin study, The Trickster. Radin includes an essay by C. G. Jung discussing the psychology of the Trickster figure. For Jung, the Trickster becomes an archetype, which he defines as "a primordial image or psychic residue of repeated types of experiences in the lives of our ancestors that are inherited in the collective unconscious."31


31 C.G. Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure," The Trickster, ed. Paul Radin (1956); see also C.G. Jung, Modern Man In Search of a Soul, trans. W.S. Dell and Cary F. Paynes (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1939) 152.
Recent critical essays continue to examine Native texts with respect to their mythic and archetypal figures. Mando Sevillano's analysis of the Hopi story "Poowak Wuhti" argues for the presence of two archetypal figures including "the unfaithful wife as a tool of destruction" and "the wise old woman redeemer or spiritual guide." Jungian archetypal approaches also serve as a counterpoint to classical Freudian readings of Native literatures.

Structural-social scientific, mythic and archetypal approaches dominated the criticism surrounding Native narratives through the late 1960s and early 1970s. From the mid-1970s onward, new theoretical perspectives have been brought to bear on Native discourse--most notably content analysis, ethnic criticism, feminist theory, Marxist theory, and postmodern theory. While those employing structural-social scientific, mythic, and archetypal approaches tended to focus on short tales and myths, with the emergence of these new approaches, Native American novels begin to assume

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a central position as the objects of critical attention. Moreover, with the emergence of these new approaches, oral theories of meaning (i.e., the critical desire to maintain a binary opposition between speech and writing) begin to diminish and be replaced by performance theories of culture (i.e., a desire to collapse this opposition and treat all discourse as performative).

The newer theoretical perspectives attempt to articulate the relationships between cultural values, narrative discourse, performance, and the physical and ideological conquest of North America. These revisionary studies strive to demonstrate continuities of perspective and form between tribal oral literatures and contemporary Native novels and to ground their interpretations in cultural contexts rather than critical contexts.

Content Analysis

John Bierhorst states, "The effort to grasp verbal art in all its particulars must begin, inevitably, in that fundamental department of criticism known as explication or content analysis, and this effort, for the most part and despite numerous promising starts, is yet to be seriously made."34 Bierhorst, however, goes on to suggest three

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approaches to unraveling literary content: mythology, psychoanalysis, and structuralism. Given, (as I have demonstrated) that mythic, psychoanalytic, and structuralist analyses dominated early critical engagements with Native texts, it would seem Bierhorst's effort has been made. Nonetheless, other critics employing content analysis do break new ground--most notably, Charles Larson, Andrew Wiget, and Jamake Highwater.

While examining plot types and character traits of novels written from the turn of the century to the late 1970s, Charles Larson argues for the emergence of four distinct political postures: assimilationist, reactionary, revisionist, and survivors of the relocation. The assimilationist novels, written from 1880 to 1920, reflect years of humiliation, defeat and hopelessness. The novelists of this period--including Simon Pokagon, John Joseph Matthews, and John Milton Oskison--write predominantly of their tribes' distanthion and estrangement from the land. The land in this instance refers to the tribes' literal environment which was taken or destroyed because of relocation programs.

Reactionary novelists reject the white world and espouse a separatist Native American world view. Examples

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of this type of novel include D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* and N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*.

Revisionist novelists attempt to re-write historical accounts from a Native point of view. Hyemeyohsts Storm, Denton R. Bedford and Dallas Chief Eagle revise Euramerican histories through their fictions. A telling example involves Dallas Chief Eagle's *Winter Count*. Until 1967 this novel was rejected from publishing houses because Chief Eagle refused to change his perspective on General Custer's death, a suicide.

Larson's final category, "survivors of the relocation," presents a miscellaneous group of writers whose works are more difficult to categorize because they tend to emphasize character and narrative technique rather than politics. The novels of George Pierre, James Welch, Leslie Marmon Silko and Nasnaga belong to this final category insofar as they emphasize family unity and tribal concerns. The novels of these writers are less concerned with the Red-White clash and more concerned with exploring the quality of contemporary Native life.

While Larson begins his study with Simon Pokagon's 1899 novel *Queen of the Woods*, Andrew Wiget's somewhat more ambitious study attempts a review of Native American literature from pre-literate to contemporary times. Wiget traces Native Americans' coming to writing through historical phases. First, he describes non-fictional texts
including political, religious, autobiographical, historical and ethnographic works. He then examines early Native American poetry.

Wiget posits two types of Native American novels, early "popular romantic" novels and "contemporary fiction." Wiget begins with Elias Boudinot's novel Poor Sarah and reviews novels by John Rollins Ridge, John Milton Oskison, Charles Eastman, Zitkala-Sa, Simon Pokagon, Hum Ishu Ma, John Joseph Matthews, and D'Arcy McNickle. He contends that these writers represent the "popular romantic" tradition in Native novels. After D'Arcy McNickle, Wiget groups Native American novelists as "contemporary fiction writers" and this group includes N. Scott Momaday, Leslie Marmon Silko, James Welch, Hyemeyohsts Storm, and Gerald Vizenor.36

Highwater's examination of Native American novels also attempts to classify them according to their content. Highwater suggests three "fundamental" content-types in Native novels: Indianized Western Realism, Holy Tradition, and Visionary. "Indianized Western Realism" describes the works of Eastman, McNickle, Simon Ortiz, Welch, and Momaday. These writers adapt native themes and issues to Euramerican models of literary form. In the "Holy Tradition," novelists provide a transliteration of central metaphysical ideas from one culture to another. The purpose, Highwater contends, is

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36 Andrew Wiget, Native American Literature (Boston: Twayne, 1985) 44-90.
the instruction of readers in Indian mentality, not an extension of that tradition into a distinct literary form. Highwater assigns Storm to this category. Finally, the "Visionary" writers provide readers with the means to "discover the rebirth of ancient ritualism of the oral tradition." Highwater labels Leslie Silko and Craig Kee Strete as visionaries whose links with their oral past connect in their current writing.

If we trace one author, N. Scott Momaday for instance, through the categories suggested by Larson, Wiget and Highwater, we see these critics describe him variously as a reactionary, a contemporary writer, and a realist. Content analysis for these critics refers to political and stylistic categories. The categories offered by Bierhorst, Larson, Wiget and Highwater emerge from Euroamerican schemata insofar as they situate Native novels within the socio-political context of Native peoples’ engagement with Europeans. However, Highwater’s classifications do signify a move toward examining Native American novels with respect to Native conceptions and worldviews. The demand for a "new" criticism of Native texts that is distinct from Eurocentric


38 Priscilla Oaks takes a different approach to content analysis. She concentrates on time periods and examines the time in which the novel was written in "Native American Novelists of the Thirties," MELUS 5.1 (1978): 57-65.
approaches and that features Native cultures over Western methods serves as one hallmark of the next type of criticism that I explore.

Ethnic Criticism

In her 1983 essay, Arlene Hirschfelder suggests, "it is not at all clear how one ought to analyze or criticize Native American literature. It is even unclear exactly what American Indian literature is. Yet scholars generally use Western-influenced methods to approach this body of work." Biases and misreadings associated with traditional approaches to Native texts have prompted proponents of ethnic criticism to generate alternative methods of reading the novels produced by Native Americans. Some of these proponents include Galen Buller, N. Scott Momaday, William Bevis, and Paula Gunn Allen.

Galen Buller, in his search for the unique characteristics of Native literatures, suggests five areas in which American Indian literatures differ from "non-indian" literatures: a reverence for words, a sense of place and a dependence on that sense, a feeling for a sense of ritual (ceremony), an affirmation of the need for community,

and a significantly different world view. Buller contends that the Natives' relationship to the land, to ritual, and to the medicine linked to the past affirm the need for alternate models of criticism. While it is true that these concerns are not necessarily unique to Native American cultures (similar claims could be made for Southern literature), Buller's contention that Native peoples do differ from others regarding these concerns is valid.

Native Americans are inherently linked to the land and Euramerican historians have noted this phenomenon frequently. "The Indian," writes Calvin Martin, "was a participant-observer of Nature, whereas we in the Western cultural tradition tend to be voyeurs." Both N. Scott Momaday and William Bevis offer "ecosystemic models" for examining Native discourse. Momaday, a Kiowa critic and novelist, claims that writing emerges from a sense of place and the individual's awareness of his or her role in maintaining ecological harmony. All people, he argues, should "activate an ethical regard for the land because that is the only alternative to not living at all." Momaday's


argument suggests the difference between Native Americans' view of the land as a living community and a Western view of land as a commodity.  

William Bevis reads six novels by McNickle, Momaday, Welch, and Silko in terms of their "homing" plots. He contrasts the Euramerican novelistic tradition of "leaving home" (the bildungsroman, which features individual advances over familial ties and freedom as distance between oneself and the smoke from another's chimney) with "homing" plots of Native American novels. Bevis claims that in Native novels, "coming home, staying put, contracting, even what we call 'regressing' to a place, a past where one has been before, is not only the primary story, it is a primary mode of knowledge and a primary good."

Bevis discovers a three part pattern in the six novels: (1) an Indian who has been away or could go away comes home and finally finds his identity by staying, (2) a traditional tribal elder who is treated by the novel with great respect precipitates the resolution of the plot, and (3) the ending sought by the protagonist is significantly related to tribal past and place. In sum, these novels suggest that

43 Aldo Leopold explores this distinction more closely in Sand County Almanac (New York: Ballantine, 1970).

"'identity' for a Native American is not a matter of finding 'one's self,' but of finding a 'self' that is transpersonal and includes a society, a past, and a place. To be separated from that transpersonal time and space is to lose identity."45

While the essays of Bevis and Momaday concentrate on the relationship between land and language,46 Paula Gunn Allen's widely-anthologized essay "The Sacred Hoop," attempts to draw together all the components of a new criticism suggested by Buller while featuring the role of community. Allen describes literature as only one facet of culture and says that "its purpose is meaningful only when


the assumptions it is based on are understood and accepted."\textsuperscript{47} Her essay then illustrates the many perceived differences between Euramerican and Native American concepts of reality via a critique of Christianity.

Allen argues that irreconcilable differences exist between Euramerican and Native American cultures and that these differences preclude Euramericans from accurately understanding Native texts. She assumes that only the critics steeped in the cultural point of view of the writer's tribe are able to accurately read the text. Thus, she concludes, "It remains for scholars of American Indian literature to look at this literature from the point of view of its people. Only in this way can we all learn the lessons of the past on this continent and the essential lesson of respect for all that is."\textsuperscript{48}

Despite Allen's claims that any non-Native approach to these texts suffers from ethnocentric biases, two of the more recent newcomers to Native texts, Marxism and postmodernism, are thoroughly grounded in European


\textsuperscript{48} Allen, "The Sacred Hoop" 21. Though critics often cite Allen's essay as one of the groundbreaking ethnocrirical pieces, it also has its opponents. See, for example, Mando Sevillano, "Interpreting Native American Literature" 112-114.
paradigms. Scholars employing both of these methods are currently engaged in internal disputes concerning the compatibility of their theoretical assumptions with the assumptions of Native cultures and literatures. Unlike these critical approaches, feminist criticism faces fewer difficulties in accommodating itself to Native texts, especially given that many Native cultures were and are matriarchal and matrilinear.

Feminist Criticism

Feminist critics have taken up many issues central to Native American cultures and texts. Their efforts are doubly revisionist: not only do they seek to overthrow Eurocentric critiques, they also attack and dismember the patriarchal, masculinist theories of cultural and textual production. While working to unravel the fabric of phallogocentrism and to place Native women's texts and cultural roles in the foreground, feminist critics contend that the production of texts and cultures was and is yet a woman-centered practice.

Because feminist theories of Native American cultures and are too diverse to classify thematically,49 I offer a selective review of prominent feminist critics practicing in the field of Native American Studies. I begin by reviewing

49 This diversity, perhaps, is a direct result of the feminists' challenge to traditional, Western, masculine models of theory and criticism.
the works of radical revisionists who call for a return to the "gynocracies" of early Native America (e.g., Paula Gunn Allen) and conclude by reviewing the work of more conservative feminists who merely call for the inclusion of Native American women's texts in the canon (e.g., Gretchen Bataille, Kathleen Mullen Sands, Dexter Fisher, and Susan J. Scarberry).

Paula Gunn Allen

Allen is one writer whose works cross all sorts of boundaries. She is the author of many essays on Native alienation, mythopoesis, continuity and time; editor of Studies in American Indian Literature: Critical Essays and Course Designs (1983); a novelist; a poet; and the author of a collection of essays entitled The Sacred Hoop (1986). Despite her inclusion in the ethnocritical perspective reviewed above, she is preeminently feminist.

Her work, The Sacred Hoop, though not entirely separatist, vociferously argues for and presents "woman-focused worldviews" of Native America. She posits utopian gynocracies based on spiritualist, esoteric tribal lesbianism, arguing

if American society judiciously modeled the traditions of the various Native Nations, the place of women in society would become central, the distribution of goods and power would be

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50 Paula Gunn Allen, The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions (Boston: Beacon P, 1986). Further references to this work are cited in the text.
egalitarian, the elderly would be respected, honored, and protected as a primary social and cultural resource, the ideals of physical beauty would be considerably enlarged (to include "fat," strong-featured women, gray-haired, and wrinkled individuals, and others who in contemporary American cultures are viewed as "ugly"). Additionally, the destruction of the biota, the life sphere, and the natural resources of the planet would be curtailed, and the spiritual nature of human and nonhuman life would become a primary organizing principle of human society. And if the traditional tribal systems that are emulated included pacifist ones, war would cease to be a major method of human problem solving (211).

The advantages of adopting and returning to the gynarchal systems of Native America that she presents are, perhaps, a bit overstated; however, her claim that the roots of White feminism on this continent and in Europe are Red deserves serious consideration. After examining the links between the early suffragette Eva Emery Dye and Sacagawea, the guide of the Lewis and Clark expeditions, Allen presents even earlier evidence for the mothering of Euramerican feminisms by Native matriarchal cultures (130).

Though early Americans viewed particular Native habits with disfavor (e.g., bathing frequently, sexual openness, raucous laughter, derision of authority, egalitarianism, acceptance of various lifestyles, permissive child rearing, equality for women), they have ultimately accepted these habits without knowingly becoming "Indianized."

Allen continues her argument by linking the colonial ideas of self-government and governmental structures with the Iroquoian matriarchal confederacies, representatives of whom
visited Europe, influenced the writings of Montaigne, and thus indirectly impacted the French Revolution and struggles for equality, liberty and justice that spread throughout Europe. Ethnographer Henry Lewis Morgan's account of Iroquoian matriarchal culture published in 1877 heavily influenced Karl Marx and the development of communism, lending to it particularly the idea of liberation of women from patriarchal dominance. Thus, Allen concludes the argument:

It is through various channels—the informal but deeply effective Indianization of Europeans, the social and political theory of the confederacies feuding then intertwining with European dreams of liberty and justice, and, more recently, the work of Morgan and the writings of Marx and Engels—that the age-old gynarchical systems of egalitarian government found their way into contemporary feminist theory (220).

Allen features both her feminist and tribal or ethnocritical talents in her readings of Native American novels by Mourning Dove (Hum Ishu Ma), D'Arcy McNickle, N. Scott Momaday, James Welch, Leslie Marmon Silko, Gerald Vizenor, and herself. She contends that the novels, while not rituals in themselves, grow out of ritual-based cultures in which gender figures as a primary concern. Her argument asserts that women's rituals focus on maintenance and continuity (birth, death, food, householding, medicine) while men's rituals concentrate on transformation (risk, transitoriness, change).
Accordingly, Cogewea: the Half-Blood by Mourning Dove, treats survival as the recovery of tradition while McNickle's The Surrounded and Wind From an Enemy Sky, because they neither draw from ritual nor avoid the Western literary tradition, treat the Native American as a hapless, tragic victim. Momaday and Welch, however, do foreground ritual.

Momaday's House Made of Dawn depends wholly on the Navajo Night Chant and Welch's novels Winter In The Blood and The Death of Jim Lonev rely on Vision Quests as practiced by tribes on the Northern Plains. Allen views these novels as successful mergers of Native ritual and Western literary tradition that feature the alienation, transition and transcendence processes which the protagonists (Abel, unnamed, and Jim) must undergo to obtain self-knowledge and a sense of place in their communities.

Silko's Ceremony and Vizenor's The Darkness in Saint Louis Bearheart move even further into the ritual time/space of their authors' Native cultures--Laguna Pueblo and Chippewa respectively. Silko's protagonist, Tayo, is cured of his alienation-sickness only by confronting the witchery through ceremonial treatments. Vizenor's thirteen characters, each representative of Wenebojo (the Chippewa Trickster), are thoroughly grounded in the scatological and comically obscene trickster myths of the Chippewa culture.
Allen’s discussion of her own novel *The Woman Who Owned the Shadows*, focuses on the woman-lore of the Laguna-Keres, particularly the relationships between women and their relationship to Spider Woman or Thought Woman. Her protagonist, Ephanie Atencio, struggles toward psychic balance in a journey that parallels the events concerning the god-women of Laguna oral traditions (76-101).

Allen’s writings reveal a profuse knowledge of and interest in Native American history, culture, and discourse. Unlike many of her contemporaries who practice feminist/Native American criticism, she does not focus primarily on one facet of Native women’s lives or texts. Instead, she attempts a thorough reconsideration of Native cultures/texts, and her work specifically recognizes connections between narrative discourses and the performative cultures from which they emerge.

Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands

Bataille and Sands individually and collaboratively focus on Native American women’s personal narratives and autobiographies. Each has written several essays on the subject and together they have authored what is perhaps the most thorough treatment of it, *American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives*.

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Though not as revisionist as Allen, they too claim that gender differences and gender role differentiation within tribal cultures generate male and female categories of Native autobiographical discourse. In the opening chapter of *American Indian Women*, however, they qualify their argument claiming that

· to explore the femaleness of Indian woman’s autobiography is in no way to judge the quality or significance of either male or female autobiography, but to simply make a distinction that aids in defining a separate tradition within the larger body of Indian autobiography (8).

Much like Allen, they ascribe the different literary qualities of women’s writing to the gender-based cultural roles women traditionally fulfill. They assert that,

the autobiographies of male narrators usually center on historic events and crisis moments in individual lives and tribal history. Many of the day-to-day activities are given only cursory attention, and family and personal relationships are sometimes even omitted. The autobiographies of American Indian women are generally more concerned with the more private and intimate aspects of their lives and cultures and with the partnership women share in the structuring and preserving of traditions within their societies. The dynamics of autobiography are similar, but the qualities of Indian womanhood lead to a separate literary tradition, molded from the uniqueness of

According to Bataille and Sands, Native women's texts differ significantly from Native men's texts. And, unfortunately, women's works suffer marginalization within this already marginalized body of texts.\(^{52}\)

After addressing the parallels between slave narratives, captivity tales, and Native women's narratives, Bataille and Sands posit two types of women's autobiographies: oral and written. Oral autobiographies are either "ethnographic" or "as-told-to". In the collection of ethnographic texts, the intention centers on anthropological documentation. The as-told-to form is an outgrowth of the ethnographic that differs because these texts are more comprehensive life stories. They use literary techniques such as dialogue, explore inner emotions, employ first-person omniscient viewpoints, have latitude in handling time and sequence of events, contain an awareness of audience, and use informal, conversational language for stylistic effect. The second type, written, emerges from the as-told-to as Native women become more comfortable and fluent in English, though early written autobiographies such

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\(^{52}\) While this claim holds true for early Native women's autobiographies, contemporary novels by Native women receive significant critical attention.
as Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins' 1883 work denies imposing a strict chronological frame.53

The subsequent chapters of American Indian Women are devoted to examining specific examples of ethnographic, as-told-to, and written personal narratives. Bataille and Sands explore Truman Michaelson's "The Autobiography of a Fox Woman" (1918) and later texts by Maria Chona (1979), Mountain Wolf Woman (1961), Anna Moore Shaw (1974), Helen Sekaquaptewa (1969) and Maria Campbell (1982). While their analyses reflect on the dynamics of the informant/transcriber relationship (except for Campbell's written text), and the cultural determinants of the life-story telling situation, they generally slight the performative dimensions of narrating one's life.54


54 Scholars of Native autobiography and personal narrative would profit from Kristin Langellier's "Personal Narratives: Perspectives on Theory and Research," Text and Performance Quarterly 9 (1989): 243-76. Langellier locates five theoretical positions regarding personal narratives in which performance/communication serves as a central concern: personal narrative as story-text, as storytelling performance, as conversational interaction, as social process, and as political praxis.
Dexter Fisher [Alice Poindexter Fisher]

Fisher, following a pattern that seems to emerge when feminists initially embrace new fields of inquiry, also seeks to recover and recuperate early Native women's texts. She concentrates on the works of Zitkala Sa (Gertrude Bonnin) and Hum Ishu Ma (Mourning Dove).55

Fisher's biographical studies of these turn-of-the-century Native women writers explore the effects that cultural disintegration, bicultural composition, and the transition from tribal orality to Western literacy have on their view of themselves as participants in traditional tribal life. According to Fisher, "Zitkala Sa and Mourning Dove felt like the observers of their respective Indian cultures," but "they were the observed when it came to the white world" (210). They existed, I would argue, in that liminal position which later appears as the theme of alienation in contemporary Native literature(s).

Zitkala Sa published a collection of traditional Sioux tales titled Old Indian Legends (1901) and a series of

autobiographical essays in Harper's and the Atlantic Monthly that were later collected in American Indian Stories (1921). Though her literary production was modest, Fisher contends that Zitkala Sa was one of the first Native women to articulate the tensions of living in two worlds.

In Mourning Dove's collection of Okanogon narratives Coyote Stories (1933), and in her novel Cogewea: The Half-Blood (1927), the first novel written by a Native woman, Fisher again finds evidence of the severe difficulties of living in two cultures. Unfortunately, Mourning Dove's collaborator, L. V. McWhorter, exerted much more control over her manuscripts than did Zitkala Sa's editors--creating and inserting what Fisher calls "platitudinous moralizing" comments, particularly in Cogewea.

Fisher indicts and laments the desire/ability of the collaborators to encourage romanticized, pastoral narratives rather than descriptions of "the way things were." She rouses the concerns of oral theorists of meaning when she declares "theirs [Native writers] is a literature of polarities--Indian versus white, tradition versus change, primitive versus civilization, even oral versus written" (210, my emphasis). In this statement she violates the current precepts of deconstruction and new historicism as she posits uncontested binary oppositions and asserts the "recoverability" of the past. Finally, Fisher herself waxes romantic in her conclusion, asserting that for these
writers, "the world had changed, an era had passed, and we must be grateful that Zitkala Sa and Mourning Dove were there to record even a moment of that transition and to transform their traditions into a permanent form that has enriched both our literary history and our imagination." (211).

Like Fisher, most feminist/Native American critics at least implicitly argue for the inclusion of Native women's texts in literary history and the canon. Those who concentrate on specific generic forms, autobiographies, for instance, are the most vocal advocates for canonical acceptance. Bataille and Sands claim that "the complexity and variety [of Native women's autobiographies] challenge the boundaries of literary categories" and thus call attention to themselves as a "separate entity in the history of literary expression" that deserve a place in the mainstream of American literature.56

Fisher, Bataille and Sands focus on specific texts/genres and turn outward from the texts to consider issues that face(d) Native women. Other feminist critics, Susan J. Scarberry among them, embark on a study of woman-centered issues in Native cultures and then turn to specific textual manifestations of these concerns. The basic methodological division depends on whether one begins with

56 Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands, American Indian Women 3.
the culture (as is the case with Scarberry) or with the
texts (as is the case with Bataille and Sands). Again, Paula
Gunn Allen is an exception; she does both uniquely.
Notably, this division between culture and text is rather an
artificial one, since both approaches inevitably concern
themselves with texts in their cultural contexts.

In journals, popular magazines, and chapters, Scarberry
and other culture-focused critics explore a diversity of
woman-centered issues. For example, they address the
textual inscription of traditional feminine imagery, tribal
female relationships, Native women’s political activism and
power, and the maternal education of young people in tribal
life-ways.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{57} See for example: Paula G. Allen, "The Feminine
Landscape of Leslie Marmon Silko’s Ceremony," \textit{American Indian
Quarterly} 5 (1979): 7-12; Judith A. Antell, "Momaday, Welch,
and Silko: Expressing the Feminine Principle Through Male
Helen M. Bannan, "Spider Woman’s Web: Mothers and Daughters
in Southwestern Native American Literature," \textit{The Lost
Tradition: Mothers and Daughters in Literature}, ed. C.
Davidson and E. Broner (New York: Ungar, 1980) 268-79; Susan
Braudy, "'We Will Remember' Survival School: The Women and
Children of the American Indian Movement," \textit{MS} 5 (July 1976):
77-80; Patricia Clark Smith, "Ain’t Seen You Since: Dissent
Among Female Relatives in American Indian Women’s Poetry,"
\textit{Studies in American Indian Literature}, ed. Paula Gunn Allen
(New York: MLA, 1983) 108-27; Rayna Green, "Native American
Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in Popular
Culture," \textit{Massachusetts Review} 16 (1975): 698-714; A.
LaVonne Ruoff, "Alienation and the Female Principle,"
\textit{American Indian Quarterly} 4 (1978): 107-22; Phillip Young,
"The Mother of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered," \textit{The Kenyon
Susan J. Scarberry

Scarberry examines tribal ritual medicines and healing ceremonies that typically feature women, and she also examines pan-tribal images of Grandmother Spider. Her essay "Grandmother Spider's Lifeline" (1983) celebrates the arachnidal, archetypal feminine creator of life.58

Scarberry argues that Grandmother Spider, or Thought Woman, appears in a variety of tribal cultures—Navajo, Hopi, Keres, Kiowa, Cherokee. For these cultures, she is the creator of the universe. What she thinks about happens. As the giver of light she makes crops grow and prevents the animals from bumping into one another. As the keeper of knowledge, she teaches young people to hunt, sing and tell stories to ensure the tribes' survival. As the consummate weaver, she offers the people the skills of weaving, pottery and basketry. Scarberry suggests that "pots and baskets, vessels roughly resembling the shape of female parts, have long been associated with the feminine" (101). Indeed, Grandmother Spider is responsible for all the arts, she gives them as an expression of "maternal love, so too the

people learned to share their talents with one another. Weaving knits the people together" (102).

After reviewing Grandmother Spider's cosmogonal capabilities and gifts, Scarberry addresses the relations between weaving and web imagery and Native prose and poetry. Her brief readings of several Native poets and novelists, including Silko, Momaday, Welch, Allen, and Ortiz, suggest that unlike Indo-European traditions in which the spider spins the threads of fate, Grandmother Spider spins the threads of the old ways and joins them with contemporary lifeways to create new and vital traditions. The web connects the past and the present. The spider web in Native discourse represents "wholeness, balance, beauty" and "suggests the continuity of a living tradition." Another kind of web, the cobweb, is negative and indicates confusion, madness, death (104). The cobweb is a dusty, dirty, empty spider's home.

According to Scarberry, Grandmother Spider represents the eternal feminine, the maternal creator-of-all-things, including thoughts. In her web she weaves together the past, the present and even the future. But it is how Scarberry characterizes the actions of the Grandmother that will interest performance scholars. Scarberry construes her as a performer. She notes, "one can think of Grandmother Spider as the consummate conceptual artist and of her creation of the earthworks as her finest live 'performance.'
Understanding art as thought or idea, the 'piece' becomes dramatically realized even as she conceives of it" (101).

Unfortunately, Scarberry does not carry this metaphoric treatment of Grandmother Spider's work into her readings of contemporary Native writers. She does, however, claim that all literary artists duplicate the actions of Grandmother Spider, that creative writers, "like spiders, spin strong lines" (103).

Paula Gunn Allen's discussion of ritual as a cultural base, Fisher's and Bataille and Sand's brief treatments of life-story telling situations, and Scarberry's performative characterization of Grandmother Spider signify the increasing recognition of the performance dimensions of Native discourse, but feminist/Native American critics have not produced a reading of Native novels that draw heavily on the performance values and processes inherent in Native cultures. Marxist theory and postmodern theory move us closer to performance considerations, but they also confront more clearly their own bases in the Eurocentric traditions that have antagonized Native peoples.

**Marxist Criticism**

debate between the strict Leninists of the Revolutionary Communist Party and Russell Means, an Oglala Lakota political activist and speaker.

Means' essay is a transcription of his speech given at the Black Hills Survival Gathering at Rapid City, South Dakota, in 1980. Means accuses the "European materialist tradition" of despiritualizing the universe, of merely continuing the imperialist assumptions of capitalism, claiming that "every revolution in European history has served to reinforce Europe's tendencies and abilities to export destruction to other peoples, other cultures, and the environment itself."^{59}

The Revolutionary Communist Party responds with quotes in abundance from Marx, Engels, Mao and Lenin and they resort to unfortunate _ad hominem_ attacks. Means is reduced to a "shit eating Noble savage."^{60}

^{59} Russell Means, "The Same Old Rock," _Marxism and Native Americans_, ed. Ward Churchill (Boston: South End P, 1983) 24. Means begins his speech/essay with a condemnation of writing itself: "The only possible opening for a statement of this kind is that I detest writing. The process itself epitomizes the European concept of 'legitimate' thinking; what is written has an importance that is denied the spoken. So what you read here is not what I have written. It's what I've said and someone else has written down" (25).

^{60} Revolutionary Communist Party, "Searching for a Second Harvest," _Marxism and Native Americans_, ed. Ward Churchill (Boston: South End P, 1983) 35-59. "Second Harvest" in this title is a derogatory reference to the long disproven notion that Native people stored animal feces for times of famine when they then removed the seeds for food.
Fortunately, Dora-Lee Larson and Ward Churchill respond to the "issues and distortions" raised by the RCP, claiming that "the substance of the RCP polemic is essentially an ideologically motivated personal attack on Russell Means himself rather than a reasoned argument against his position." Larson and Churchill choose a mediating stance, neither strictly Marxist nor opposed to the Marxist political programme. Indeed, they suggest that perhaps "through its dialectical methodology, Marxism can hope to transcend its own intellectual/theoretical stalemate" and that "the only valid point of departure for American Marxists is with the cultural knowledge of Native Americans." 

In the first three essays of this collection the writers never make the terms of the debate clear, though the polemics are amusing. Elisabeth Lloyd succeeds in giving the subsequent discussions a clearer focus when she simply states: "The point at issue is whether the essential ingredients for a general theory of culture exist within Marxism." Lloyd argues that Marxism does possess the tools for the articulation of a theory of social relations.

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62 Larson and Churchill 76.

These tools grow out of the dialectical methodology through which each factor of a society is explained/explored in relation to all other factors in such a way that "the result is a holistic analysis of the dynamic creation of society through time."  

Bob Sipe presents an argument that he frames as "materialist": production and consumption are universal socio-cultural properties. He claims that through the capitalist program a psychological reification of exploitation occurs. Sipe notes, "Capitalism is more than a system of economic exploitation; inherent in its development and operation is the ability to destroy non-capitalist cultures, to reshape their disbursed people in its own image, and to engender profound alienation and unhappiness for people under its yoke."  

Note, however, that Sipe never addresses the accusation that Marxism originates in the European traditions that brought about the invasion and destruction of vast numbers of Native peoples.

Vine Deloria and Frank Black Elk do consider the role of Marxist criticism in the larger perspective of Native's socio-political engagement with Europeans. Frank Black Elk, for example, argues that "Marxists are hung up on exactly the same ideas of 'progress' and 'development' that are the 

64 Lloyd 88.

guiding motives of those they seek to overthrow."66

Equally frustrating, Vine Deloria argues, is the Marxist preoccupation with alienation. While alienation is a central ingredient of Christian and Marxist doctrine, it remains "a minor phenomenon of short duration in the large context of cosmic balance for American Indians."67

The final three essays in this collection, written by Euramericans, expand on the argument presented earlier by Deloria and Black Elk.68 Namely, Native Americans see little difference between the contending modes of production. Both capitalism and Marxism are guilty of systematically raping the earth, of attempts to assimilate (and thus destroy) Native cultures, of ethnocentric biases that deny legitimacy to "primitive" peoples. Yet despite this recognition, these writers hold firm in their belief that Marxism more closely approximates Native cultures' worldviews and thus offers fewer threats to self-determination.


67 Deloria, "Circling the Same Old Rock" 115. Note however, Paula Gunn Allen continues to be preoccupied with alienation in her work. Perhaps alienation is a more critical issue for some scholars than for others.

In a 1988 article, Lawrence Russell Barsh also addresses the Native American resistance to both capitalist and Marxist programmes. After defining Marxism as a method (as opposed to an ideology), and examining its relation to science, utopia, communism, freedom, culture, religion, theory and praxis, and third world countries, Barsh finally turns to the relationship between Native Americans and Marxists.

Describing Native Americans' reactions to Marxism, Barsh offers three fundamental oppositions between Native and Euramerican values: Marxism emphasizes materialism, Marxism is hostile to nature, and Marxism is hostile to culture. Drawing his information from the articles by Russell Means and Vine Deloria described above, Barsh concludes that "the Marxist prescription for Indians, necessarily, is to break up their isolated, relatively autonomous communities, absorb them into the greater

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workforce, and thus force them into the process of modernization" (208). He agrees with Churchill that "Marxism is currently no particular bargain for Indians."  

Barsh does extend the argument however. He contends that neither capitalism nor communism is an acceptable alternative because the first is ethnocidal by effect and the other by design. The true problem, he argues, is industrialism. He notes that "large-scale technocratic industry concentrates power, alienates workers, unleashes ecological irresponsibility, and increases States' capacity for suicidal warfare." Native Americans are left with the burden of seeking a socio-political context in which each culture can thrive and rejecting the illusion that a spiritual or non-ethnocentric industrial ideology can exist.

Unquestionably, both the Churchill collection and the Barsh essay are concerned with the Marxist contribution to a theory of culture. Following the Marxist/Poststructuralist lead of Pierre Macherey and Michel Foucault, Arnold Krupat brings together Marxism and the production of Native American literature.

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70 Churchill quoted in Barsh 207-8.

71 Barsh 209.

Krupat's essay, "An Approach to Native American Texts," examines four concepts as a move toward systematizing what he calls the New Indian Criticism: (1) mode of production of the text, (2) the author, (3) literature, and (4) canonicity. Discussing the mode of production, he claims that "texts are social and material, that they are made actively and by the expenditures of labor, and that they are commodities whose exchange value is not solely a question of the economics of publishing".

Because they are social and material productions, Krupat assumes texts can be understood only if their constitutive elements, signifiers, are viewed as the focal points of confrontations between both social formations and individual writers. He further assumes that these confrontations, both on the individual level and the social level, are historically specifiable as "modes of production." Notably, Krupat's work primarily focuses on the mode of production of Native American autobiographies written with an Euramerican amanuensis. Studying the efforts of individuals from vastly different cultures engaged in collaborative writing would necessarily invoke

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74 Krupat, For 5.
questions concerning confrontation. And Marxism provides more than ample theoretical weaponry for entering and engaging this struggle.

Krupat's concept of the author is stimulating for performance scholars because it begins to account for the performance dimensions of Native narrative arts. First, he considers the relative anonymity of Native writers and Foucault's claims regarding authorlessness. The text, according to Krupat, is consumed and forgotten. "Author," he claims, originally meant both "to originate" and "to augment." Krupat regrets that we retain only the bourgeois notion of originary plenitude and concentrate on the writer's individual personality rather than the culture from which s/he writes. Krupat indicts the opposition between individual and culture and argues for the shared, collective process of narrative creation.

Krupat turns to the translation theorists to justify his claims for the performative dimensions of the concept of author. Dell Hymes, John Bierhorst, and Dennis Tedlock agree that "the teller is not merely repeating memorized words; nor is he or she merely giving a dramatic 'oral interpretation' or 'concert reading' of a fixed script. We are in the presence of a performing art, all right, but we are getting the criticism at the same time and from the same

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75 Krupat, For 31. The principle constituting Indian autobiography as a genre is "original bicultural composite composition" (31).
person." Krupat contends that the narrative writers, like the live tellers, perform and critique.

In a move that would please the scholars in the field of performance studies, Krupat invokes Burke:

We must not let the look of our writing entirely obscure for us the fact that it too is, in Kenneth Burke’s still serviceable term, ‘dramatistic,’ a performance in which not only the language but the human voice speaks, a voice at once individual and collective. In the same way, Indian narrators in successive performances do not only ‘convey’ but comment, adding, deleting, and supplying emphases that alter as well as merely reproduce the already given.”

Krupat’s aesthetics of Native discourse, influenced by poststructuralism, continues in his consideration of the concepts of literature and canonicity. After reviewing the early text-making efforts of structural-social scientific scholars, Krupat then turns to Paul de Man, J. Hillis Miller, and Raymond Williams to document his claims for the "literariness" of Native narratives. Simply put, he contends that these narratives deserve a literary reading, that historical and anthropological treatments have exhausted their potential for generating new critical insights. For example, he claims that while Boas and his...


77 Krupat, For 15.
followers preserved the material and ceremonial aspects of storytelling, they did not recover the social and political dimensions of Native narrating. Literary criticism can feature the confrontational constitution of the signifier and thus contribute more to our cultural understanding of the narrative discourse of Native Americans.  

Given his argument for Native texts as literature (or for their "readability" as literature), Krupat asks for their inclusion in the canon. He argues for two related notions of canonicity: genre and pedagogy. Krupat collapses genre into his larger notion of institutionalized, pedagogical practice (following the lead of Frederic Jameson, who suggests that genres are essentially literary institutions). Pedagogical practice institutionalizes those particular verbal artifacts that best convey and sustain the dominant social order. So Native narratives survive in an area that, "until quite recently, has virtually been ignored by students and critics of literature."  

With his re-considerations of mode of production, author, literature, and canonicity, Arnold Krupat moves Native American Studies in the direction of a Marxist, post-

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78 Krupat defines literature as "that mode of discourse which foremost seeks to enact and perform its insights, insisting that we understand with affect, feel with comprehension." (Arnold Krupat, "The Concept of the Canon," The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon [Los Angeles: U of California P, 1989] 43).

79 Krupat, For 25.
structural, performance-aware position. His apparent willingness to grant the writer status as performer is cut short however by a comment appearing just prior to the discussion of his four concepts. He notes with chagrin that most encounters with Native literature will be with the printed forms, that the "graphic of the trace" has superseded the "presence of the voice." Krupat links this supersession to Western imperial history, arguing that "it is as a result of the conquest and dispossession of the tribes that the signifier replaces the act; our script marked on the page is the pale trace of what their voices performed." This claim, unfortunately, accepts and encourages the dichotomy between speech and writing, valorizes the voice over print, denies equal validity to the concept of a writer-performer—in short, it falls prey to the same problems that derail proponents of the oral theories of meaning. While Krupat appropriates Derrida's language, he ignores Derrida's theoretical efforts to debunk the speech/writing dichotomy.

80 Krupat, For 4.

Though he clings to some of the same assumptions held by the oral theorists of meaning, Krupat does move Native criticism toward a performative and postmodern style of inquiry by construing the author as critic/performer/writer. He serves the valuable role of bridging social-scientific studies, Marxism and contemporary literary theory. Many of his colleagues, particularly Gerald Vizenor, react very negatively to structuralism and social scientific approaches, and, while recognizing the theoretical influence of Marxism, these critics reject Marxism as method and choose to describe their critical practices as Postmodern.

Postmodern Criticism

In *Narrative Chance: Post-Modern Discourse on Native American Indian Literatures*, Gerald Vizenor edits and presents a variety of critical essays on Native narratives that, he argues, fall under the rubric of postmodern criticism. He includes Bakhtinian readings of Silko and his own work, reader-response essays on Momaday and McNickle, a Lacanian reading of Silko, readings of Louise Erdich and himself through Foucault, Barthes, Benjamin, and Lukacs, and an essay which juxtaposes the discourses of Momaday, Derrida, and Kristeva. Vizenor's preface and introductory
essay open the work and he also reserves the final chapter for his concluding remarks.82

While the tone of this collection is somewhat self-congratulatory and one might question some theorists Vizenor includes as postmodern, the collection does provide telling examples of the shift toward performance considerations such as play, reader-performers, and audience involvement. When we recall the continuum with oral theories of meaning at one end and performance theories of culture at the other, this work—while not self-consciously grounded in performance values—begins to approach that position in some of the essays.

In his preface and introduction, Vizenor presents four postmodern postures in the critical responses to Native narratives; he laments the critical stronghold of structural-social sciences; and he argues for the liberating, explosive potential of reading Native narratives through a postmodern lens.

Vizenor contends that there are "four postmodern conditions in the critical responses to Native American Indian Literatures: the first is heard in aural performances; the second is seen in translations; the third pose is a trickster signature, an uncertain humor that

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denies translation and tribal representations; and the last condition is narrative chance in the novel (my emphasis)." The concept of narrative chance is a comic holotrope [the whole configuration] in a postmodern language game that uncovers distinctions and ironies between narrative voices; a semiotic sign for 'social antagonism' and 'aesthetic activism' in postmodern criticism and the avant-garde, but not 'presence' or ideal cultural completion in narratives (20, 192).

Arguing against structural-social sciences, he claims "structuralism and other social science theories never seem to enter the language game without an institutional advantage; they are academic tropes to power rather than tribal stories in a language game" (xii). Drawing on Vincent Leitch and Umberto Eco, he asserts that "the narrow teleologies deduced from structuralism have reduced tribal literatures to an 'objective' collection of consumable artifacts" (5-6). He concludes that tribal narratives have been underread in criticism and overread in social science, that indeed social scientists are fatuous and self-deceiving when they claim to be "part of" or "at one" with the cultures they study.

While dismantling the virtues of social science, Vizenor simultaneously constructs an argument for the power of the postmodern pose. He claims "the postmodern pose is an invitation to liberation, a noetic mediation and communal

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83 Vizenor xi. Subsequent cites in text.
discourse," and, furthermore, it "denies historicism and representation; in particular, denies the kitschy speculation on the basic truth" (xii). Vizenor claims that Native cultures have never been without a postmodern condition and adopting a postmodern critical perspective overcomes the social scientific assumption that a written text serves as translation, an unbodied performance. According to Vizenor, this social-scientific assumption is a disguise, a pretense of individualism and historicism. Postmodern critics assume, quite differently, that what is seen or published is not a representation of what is heard or remembered in oral cultures. Rather, the printed word is a pose, a language game, not a source of aesthetic presence or historical evolution (x).

Here Vizenor only hints at the relationship between performance and postmodernism in the creation of Native narratives. In his final essay, he locates a specific link. Citing Charles Russell's Poets, Prophets, and Revolutionaries: The Literary Avant-Garde From Rimbaud Through Postmodern (1985), he claims that "postmodern creation is expressed in the acceptance, even glorification, of play, chance, indeterminacy, and self-conscious performance" (my emphasis, 192). Though he prefers to talk of postmodernism rather than performance because he believes it to be more inclusive, for him the one necessarily entails the other. The Native storyteller—oral or written—is a
postmodern performer. But as Vizenor opts for postmodernism, he relegates performance to the status of game-playing with language.

In Kimberly Blaeser’s essay in this collection, "The Way to Rainy Mountain: Momaday’s Work in Motion," she situates the reader in the role of performer.\(^8^4\) She contends that Momaday’s novel "has not received due recognition as a pioneer among the open works that actively engage the reader in the performance of the text" (39). Blaeser’s reader-response critique, built on the work of Wolfgang Iser and Umberto Eco, defines performance as the ability to choose from a variety of reading strategies. That is, we can choose to read sequentially (left to right, top to bottom) or in any number of possible permutations. Blaeser demonstrates that Momaday’s text asks for varied types of readings (and thus performances). She notes that the text "begs us to transgress old codes, to collapse divisions, to create a literature of polyphony, of simultaneous performance, of eternal happening".\(^8^5\)

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\(^8^5\) Blaeser 53. Her reading depends heavily on Iser’s essay "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, ed. Jane P. Tompkins (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1980). She does not note that, according to Iser, the creative act is performative as well: "Representation as aesthetic semblance indicates the presence of the inaccessible. Literature reflects life
Three other essays in the collection also deserve critical attention. These pieces, albeit briefly, address the relationship between performance and power in novelistic discourse. Robert Silberman's reading of Louise Erdich's *Love Medicine*, Arnold Krupat's Bakhtinian reading of *Storyteller* by Leslie Silko, and Karl Kroeber's reading of Peter Seymour's *The Golden Woman*, though radically different in methodology and scope, share a concern for the relationship between Native American novels and performance.

In an introductory paragraph in his essay on *Love Medicine*, Robert Silberman summarizes the relationships among postmodern criticism, performance, power and Native novels. He claims that the novels "seem made to order for recent developments in literary criticism and critical theory," and that the writers "reveal an obsessive concern with the relation between speech and writing that is worthy of the deconstructionist critics." He contends that this body of literature

under conditions that are either not available in the empirical world or are denied by it. Consequently literature turns life into a storehouse from which it draws its material in order to stage that which in life appeared to have been sealed off from access." Wolfgang Iser, "Representation: A Performative Act," *The Aims of Representation*, ed. Murray Krieger (New York: Columbia UP, 1987) 227.

incorporates among its major social and political concerns a preoccupation with origins and otherness that would have delighted Foucault. Notwithstanding the focus in these books on a central individual, the writers address broad historical relations between groups as well as individual psychology, dramatizing for example the conflicts between tribal peoples and institutional authorities such as the police, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the church. In such a context questions of language and discourse—Indian language(s) versus English, native forms of expression versus nontribal literary forms such as the novel—are inevitably questions of power (102).

Silberman then turns to Erdich's novel to explore its narrative openness and its search for a satisfactory form of closure. Unlike Krupat and Kroeber, he never again in this essay questions the relationship between performance and power in Native discourse.

Following the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin, Krupat treats Leslie Silko's Storyteller as an autobiographical narrative that features writing subjects, addressees, and their interactive capacity "to make things happen."87 Regarding Silko as storyteller he claims, and I concur, "there is no single, distinctive or authoritative voice in Silko's book nor any striving for such a voice; to the contrary, Silko will take pains to indicate how even her own individual speech is the product of many voices" (60). And too, her "awareness of the audience is entirely typical for a native storyteller who cannot go forward with a tale without the

audience's response" (62). But, most importantly, it is the
telling of the story itself that produces material effects.
In Storyteller, Silko "dramatizes her belief that stories--
both the mythic-traditional tales passed down among the
people and the day-to-day narrations of events--do make
things happen" (63).

Similarly, Karl Kroeber's reading of Anthony Mattina's
translation of Peter Seymour's telling of the Colville
narrative "The Golden Woman" demonstrates that power issues
from the telling of stories, not from events themselves.
Seymour's narrative describes in fairy-tale fashion how a
young brave rescues a princess and wins her for his bride.
The young brave, however, does not recognize himself as
worthy of such a bride until he hears the story (recounted
by a rooster and hen) of his daring exploits. Kroeber
argues, "It is only through hearing as a story what he in
fact had done that the boy becomes aware of the significance
of his acts, the qualities he possesses."88 Kroeber then
extends his argument to narrative in general claiming that
"Seymour exploits a primary, if not the primary, function of
the narrative. Events occur in the natural world, even
sequences of events, but not stories. Stories are human
tellings about events, their principal aim is to give a
human meaning to events" (31). Thus, while Krupat asserts

88 Karl Kroeber, "Technology and Tribal Narrative,"
Narrative Chance, ed. Gerald Vizenor (Albuquerque: U of New
that narrative performance makes things happen, Kroeber extends the argument by claiming that narrative performance also makes what happened understandable in human terms.

Perhaps most significantly, Kroeber identifies the rehearsed nature of the performance when he notes that "the telling begins only at the end of the sequence [of events], as rehearsing begins at the end of an antecedent telling" (32, my emphasis). That is, after hearing a narrative, Native people re-tell it. The story is told again and again. Native people rehearse the events that occur within their cultures through narrative discourse.

The postmodernists operate from the Native American belief that power derives from the performance or story of an event—not the event itself. The recent work of postmodern critics of Native narrative moves critical theory toward a recognition and acceptance of a performance-centered view of Native cultures and discourses, but, unfortunately, performance theory remains a critically marginalized discourse in the already critically marginalized discourse of Native American Studies.

Summary

The structuralist-social scientific scholars, including Schoolcraft, Boas, and Levi-Strauss collected narratives that would perhaps otherwise be lost to today's scholars of Native American texts. Their methods, though, in many ways
occluded the object of their investigation. They did not fully acknowledge the translator biases, and they failed to recognize that the telling of the tale to a collaborator or amanuensis constituted a performance. There is no particular focus on the role of performance in the tales told or on performance in the lifeways of the people. Levi-Strauss, particularly, focuses on the recurrent structures of the narratives and thus ignores or downplays the particularities of specific performances by individual performers.

The archetypal-mythic critics focus on characters, types, themes, values, cultural functions of myths, and relationships between myth and religion. They offer excellent cross-cultural studies of the operations of myth in various cultures. However, the unique ways that individual tribes maintain and transform myths and the central role of performance in the maintenance and transformation of myths is generally overlooked. Radin’s study of tricksters, Lowie’s and Waterman’s examination of celestial and terrestrial themes, Spencer’s study of values, Stern’s studies of variation in myth functions, and Ramsey’s analysis of incorporating Biblical stories into Native myths concentrate primarily on mythic content and myth-making rather than how, through performance, myths change and are re-made.
Bierhorst, Larson, Wiget, and Highwater concentrate on the content of Native American novels and extended narratives. They contribute much to our understanding of types of extended Native storytellings. Nonetheless, they tend to gloss over the concern that content categories can do radically different work, depending on who is categorizing and what categories are suggested. For example, N. Scott Momaday is described variously as a reactionary, a contemporary writer, and a realist. The categories generally serve the category-makers, not the readers of extended narratives.

Ethnic critics, such as Galen Buller, N. Scott Momaday, William Bevis and Paula Gunn Allen offer culturally situated readings of Native texts. These readings contribute to non-Native readers' understanding of how texts mean within the writer's immediate surroundings. However, these critics also tend to "close off" critical inquiry, suggesting that only those readers steeped in the culture of the writer may speak with authority about the text. I would argue that the texts themselves determine how much or how little readers need to know about the writer's culture. Some novels require a great deal of cultural explication, while others require very little.

Feminist critics concentrate on a variety of issues regarding women and Native discourse. Paula Gunn Allen makes strong claims for a return to the woman-focused
worldviews of Native Americans while Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands, concentrating exclusively on Native women's autobiographies, mollify Allen's call for a revisionist gynocracy. Dexter Fisher's biographical studies and Susan Scarberry's examinations of the "arachnidal, eternal feminine" principles of text-making explore the relationships between past and present generations of women storytellers. Nonetheless, feminist critics have yet to recognize the performance processes inherent in women's stories, particularly in situations where women are telling their lives.

Ward Churchill's collection of essays and Lawrence Barsh's article offer readers a clear articulation of the relations between Marxist theory and Native American lifeways. Unfortunately, these writers treat Native peoples as acted upon (subjects of oppression) and not acting agents. Arnold Krupat's Marxist literary focus on mode of textual production moves away from Churchill's and Barsh's exclusive focus on political programmes for assimilation. Though Krupat moves criticism of Native discourse in the direction of a performance-aware position, he too falls prey to the speech-writing dichotomy that valorizes voice over print. Ultimately he dismisses performance as a viable mode of textual production.

The postmodern critics of Native American discourse come closest to articulating a performance-centered approach
to Native texts. Gerald Vizenor, Kimberly Blaeser, Robert Silberman, Arnold Krupat, and Karl Kroeber recognize the role of performance, but, unfortunately, they tend to fix the performer as either the author or reader. Because of their focus on the author or reader as performer, they do not consider performance as an act that may be represented in the discourses authors and readers share.

Without attempting to displace the previous studies of Native narrative or prescribe fixed intersections between Native novels and performance studies, I offer a performance-centered approach to Native American discourse in the following chapters. After presenting a definition of performance, I make distinctions between performance and rehearsal, and I identify how I employ the term culture. Using Leslie Marmon Silko’s novel, Ceremony, as a case study, I suggest terms for exploring Native discourse as a rehearsal of culture.

Exploring how the Laguna-Keres people negotiate their culture through performance and studying Silko’s textual representations as performances offers us insights into Silko’s work and the Laguna lifeways that are not apparent in other methods of approaching the novel. First, performance inquiry "unfreezes" the synchronic moment of structural approaches--Laguna culture is under constant negotiation. While Elsie Parsons could authoritatively declare the Laguna culture dead in 1930, she could not have
been more authoritatively wrong. On a related note, performance-centered study avoids the speech/writing pitfall that entraps structural-social scientific approaches. Construing discourse as cultural rehearsal collapses such dangerous dichotomies. Performance inquiry recognizes the ongoing, constant remaking of culture, performance inquiry is best conducted diachronically since the relations between performers and audiences shift depending on space, time and behaviors involved. Understanding how and why shifts occur is only possible through time.

Second, performance inquiry tells us how the Laguna people redefine and remake their culture rather than what the Laguna culture is. It moves beyond the fairly narrow methodological limits of archetypal-mythic analysis, ethnic criticism, Marxist and feminist criticisms. These methodological approaches make important contributions to our knowledge about other cultures, (about what they are) but unlike them, performance inquiry features a processual analysis that resists closure--culture cannot be ultimately defined or construed.

Third, performance inquiry asserts the explanatory power of performance as method and object of inquiry. That Silko represents performances for readers offers us objects of inquiry; that she authorizes the subsequent trying on of behaviors in her rehearsal of Laguna culture offers us the
opportunity to perform, a method of engaging the novel that no other approach shares.

Finally, since performance provides the means through which people negotiate cultural boundaries, performance makes a difference in whether cultures survive or die. More than a method of inquiry, performance is culture remaking itself.
A profitable exploration of the discursive encounters between Native Americans and Euramericans begins with performance terms--terms that foreground the processes of culture formation and change featured in/by/through performance. For example, the first sites of political encounters were essentially "scripted" performances: treaties were/are renderings in dramatic form that record the initial cont(r)acts between Euramerican explorers and Native American inhabitants.¹

Explorers appropriated the Natives' performative weltenschauung in their dealings with tribes in order to diminish hostilities between the clashing cultures. And too, these travelers brought their own expectations and values regarding the performative dimensions of existing in/among various cultures which predisposed them toward the performance conventions they "discovered" in the New World. Although expansion-minded colonists altered many facets of Native American cultures, the Native Americans' performance processes were not lost in the colonists' traditions.

Native American cultures continue, and so too, their literatures. Many Native cultures maintain their oral traditions while they adapt western forms such as novels, poems, short stories, and plays to include in their literatures.

Native American novels present critics with the most extensive examples of the novelists' inscription of non-anthropocentric and performance-centered values. These novels are grounded in ecosystemic worldviews--humans play only one part in the represented cultures' cosmogononal dramas. Insects, animals, plants, the earth, the skies, and the waters serve equally vital roles in the creation, replication, and dissemination of the values that Euramerican peoples generally ascribe to human actors.

The difficulties critics have in dealing with Native novels stem, in part, from a lack of clearly defined terminology that can account for Native American cultural texts. Willard Gingerich notes that "the study of native American texts as literature has begun to take on features of critical seriousness in North America but is still struggling to discover a critical language which can do justice to the modes of these oral indigenous texts and their derivatives." In what follows, I propose a

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"critical language" that calls forth a performance-centered method of reading Native American novels. Initially, I suggest a working definition of performance. Second, I consider the differences between the concepts of rehearsal and performance. Finally, I examine the concept of culture and offer a terminology derived from Stephen Greenblatt, Steven Mullaney and others, for the reading of Ceremony as a rehearsal of Laguna-Keres culture.

Performance

For the purposes of this study, I construe performance as inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive social behavior. The first element of this definition notes that performance serves to rehearse or "rake over again, reharrow, repeat, to tell over, to narrate in detail, try over" (Oxford English Dictionary). In its denotational sense, rehearse links performance and narration while etymologically, rehearse derives from agrarian discourse and means "to plow again." Performance depends upon a telling again. That the behavior of narrating (oral and written) constitutes a performance has been well documented, and that repetition is an integral element is similarly well noted.³

In order to consider a behavior as performance, the behavior must, in some form, always already have happened. That is, performance precludes originary plenitude: the value of performance depends not on novelty or making new, but rather on re-making or re-newing the already known.

Construing performance as rehearsed behavior echoes the concept of performance as "restored behavior" that Richard Schechner offers in *Between Theatre and Anthropology*. He suggests that restored behavior is

living behavior treated as a film director treats a strip of film. These strips of behavior can be rearranged or reconstructed; they are independent of the causal systems (social, psychological, technological) that brought them into existence. They have a life of their own. The original "truth" or "source" of the behavior may be lost, ignored, or contradicted—even while this truth or source is apparently honored and observed.4

Schechner's concept is valuable, yet restrictive. His metaphor treats performance as a slice of film and thus implies fixedness, permanency. The performance, it seems, could be re-wound, fast-forwarded, paused. The metaphor suggests that pure repetition is possible, that performance is essentially a matter of presentation. Sameness seems to be an acceptable goal.

Schechner does relax the mechanicalness of his model in later writings. He describes "bits" (beats) of action as the "very heart" of performing. He notes, "Once bits are freed

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from their attachment to larger schemes of action, they can be rearranged--almost as the frames of a film being edited are rearranged--to make new action. This rearranging is not mechanical, for it is accompanied by varying degrees of self-conscious, reflective reconstruction.⁵

Viewing performance as rehearsed behavior retains the concept of re-doing without the fixedness. It implies that no two performances will ever be the same, that performance is not fixed, static or recuperable. Performance is not simply a making or doing, performance is also a re-making or re-doing. And as such, it is unavoidably linked to the social, psychological, and technological energies and influences that surround and precede it.

A second element of this definition of performance recognizes the performer's awareness of herself as a performer. Performance is self-reflexive. The performer is always aware of herself rehearsing a behavior, and yet she is also aware that she is simultaneously not herself in the moment of self-reflexivity.⁶ Schechner calls this division


⁶ In Derridean terms this is an instance of differance: the performer is in a state of "active non-self presence in space and time." She is in the constant oscillation between differing from her Self (by virtue of reflecting on what it means to be one's Self, one is not the Self one
of the performer within the performance a tension between the "not me" and the "not not me."

More precisely, the result of self-reflexivity in performance is that a plurality of selves emerges. The plurality of selves effected by self-reflexivity resides in a variety of theoretical perspectives; from the roles adopted in the "performance of everyday life" that Erving Goffman suggests, to the "writer's performance" within the verbal space of literary work that Richard Poirier offers.7

But perhaps more importantly, it is the very presence of self-reflexivity that is essential for many definitions of performance. Poirier defines performance as "any self-discovering, self-watching, finally self-pleasuring response," noting with specific reference to Henry James that "self-consciousness isn't merely implicit in verbal mannerisms; it is also a matter of his actually referring to writing as an act barely possible against the pressures he encounters as he proceeds, the problem literally, of holding the pen."8 Schechner also suggests that, "in fact, the


8 Poirier xiii and 109.
evidence is accumulating that the only difference between 'ordinary behavior' and 'acting' is one of reflexivity.⁹ Indeed, many scholars point to self-reflexivity as a "universal" of performance.¹⁰

My treatment of performance as self-reflexive behavior also asserts that performance is completely derived from the body in space and time. Singing is performance, dancing, public speaking, writing, painting, sculpting, and music-making are all performances.¹¹ Performance operates through Schechner's "as if" world of ideas—the physical body rehearsing the world of ideas. Victor Turner refers to this quality of performance as the subjunctive mood of cultural performance. He notes that "'subjunctive' is defined by


¹¹ There are of course other conditions to consider here. First, as I will suggest later, an audience must be involved; second, this must be a rehearsed behavior; and third, I am not suggesting self-reflexivity as the definitive condition of performance-making: to do so would ultimately construe every behavior as a performance. Self-reflexivity is a necessary but not sufficient cause. See also: Jerzy Kutnik's *The Novel as Performance: The Fiction of Ronald Sukenick and Raymond Federman* (Carbondale: SIU Press, 1986) and Barbara Smith's "Literature as Performance, Fiction, and Art," *Journal of Philosophy* 67 (1970): 555-63.
Webster as 'that mood of a verb used to express supposition, desire, hypothesis, possibility, etc., rather than to state an actual fact, as the mood of were, in "if I were you."'\textsuperscript{12} Unlike "ordinary" human behavior, performance simultaneously maintains and denies self/other dualities. The performer herself is simultaneously present and absent in my construal of this not me and not not me of the split performing self.

The human body, whether present, represented, or not shown in actual performance, is the source of performance—the body is not merely the performer's "instrument" as some traditional theatre practitioners suggest. Body-as-instrument assumptions objectify (make an object of) the source of performance, whereas, I contend, the performer is the actual subject of performance, not the object through which performance transpires.

Self-reflexivity breaks down the presence-absence dichotomy for the performer, placing her in an ambiguous position, and this breakdown suffuses all that surrounds her such that time, space and objects become malleable, slippery, fluid. A square black block may become Louis XIV's throne, a 2001 model automobile, or a 1940 airplane cockpit. That performance creates such ambiguity in space, time and performer raises significant issues. Notably, performance

may endow an object with the same "not it and not not it" status that the performer assumes.

Performance does not necessarily present the world as it is, (though it may pretend to); rather, it re-makes the world as it could be, should be, will never be, was thought to be. By claiming that performance is reflexive, but not necessarily reflective, of the "empirical" world, I enter a discourse whose currency of exchange involves concepts of realism and sense-making; both of which involve questions of performers' responsibilities and audiences' responses.

As a third element of my construal of performance, I recognize the quintessentially audience-dependent nature of performance: performance is a socially constructed and perceived set of behaviors. Performance is consumed by critics and audiences and is construed in certain culturally specific ways. My argument would seem to suggest that if an audience does not recognize a phenomenon as a performance, then it is not a performance. However, audiences are not homogeneous groups. If person X does not view a certain phenomenon as performance, then for him or her it is not performance. But if person Y does view the same phenomenon as performance, it is. Whether or not a phenomenon is performance is not fixed, but variable, and it depends on the audiences' construal of the phenomenon.

In their efforts to grapple with the esoteric nature of performance and to help us make sense of performances from
various cultures, Erving Goffman, Gregory Bateson, and Richard Bauman claim that performance is "keyed" by "frames." A performance, Bauman contends, "involves on the part of the performer the assumption of responsibility to an audience for the way in which communication is accomplished, above and beyond its referential content." Performers assume responsibility by keying the audience that a performance is beginning, changing directions, or ending by employing certain framing devices. Some of these framing devices identified by Bauman include: special codes (archaic or poetic language), parallelisms (repetitions with systematic variations), special paralinguistic features, formulae, and appeals to tradition.


Instead of suggesting that the audience has a duty to make sense of performances from other cultures and situate those performances in our "real" world, these scholars (and the ethnographers of performance who followed soon after them) urge us to recognize performance as culturally-specific, context-dependent sets of behaviors that may or may not intersect with our established notions of what constitutes performance. Making sense of others requires some knowledge of how others understand themselves and how we understand ourselves.

Performance is a social behavior, and as such, it demands a consideration of the audience. The performer bears the weight of moral, spiritual, ethical, and social responsibilities, as well as the added pressures of aesthetic judgment which may be weighed against her. And the audience too, bears the weight of these responsibilities, albeit in a different way.

Among audiences in Western cultures, realism still holds a strong position in the dispute over desirable qualities in a work of art, whether it is plastic or performance. But the realism or verisimilitude of a performance should not be confused with the perception of behavior as performance. Performance is audience-dependent, it requires socially constructed and perceived behaviors, but such a claim does not require that performance must also "reflect" the world.
Performance opens multiple subject positions for perceiving audience members and performance need not be perceived as "realistic," according to some scholars, it should not be so perceived. Grotowski, Brook, and Brecht contend that the bourgeois audience is too passive, these directors seek to actively engage spectators, to make spectators critical consumers, by working against realist conventions of performance.¹⁵ When Bertolt Brecht brings the lighting instruments into full view of the audience, he demystifies theatre apparati. He draws attention to the artifice at work in creating "realist" performances.

Contemporary performance and cultural theorists extend the questioning of realism to include an examination of the impact on performers and audiences who depend on standards of realism as "sense-making" devices. Ludmilla Jordanova claims realism operates as an effort to create the illusion of unmediated vision.¹⁶ Echoing her claim, John Fiske contends that "realism is not a matter of any fidelity to an empirical reality, but of the discursive conventions by which and for which a sense of reality is constructed. The most obvious is that it presents itself as an unmediated picture of external

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reality." But realism is in no way ideologically innocent: it is constructed with an audience in mind, and it shapes and is shaped by audience perceptions of the "real" world.

When an audience "reads" a performance as presenting "things as they really are" (or were), the audience also accepts a responsibility for making sense of the world. I again turn to Fiske, who reminds us that "making sense is a two-way process: understanding the object necessarily involves defining the subject who is doing the understanding." Both performers and audiences, as subjects, engage in a dual effort to structure and organize perceptions of the empirical world. However, as the new historicists have demonstrated, neither history nor performance can present things as they are or were. Both history and performance represent the world and, thus, are re-making the world as they proceed. Performers and audiences, (and historians), therefore must be self-reflexive as they construct the object of their understanding, as they make sense of that object for themselves and others.

Critics and audiences who fail to be self-reflexive in situating themselves as perceiving subjects may suffer two setbacks. First, in making sense of the object of

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18 Fiske 23.
understanding (regardless of whether that object is ritual, theatre, or other forms of performance), a critic may presume hierarchical supremacy for her own voice and feature the opposition of self-other which performance strives to debunk.\textsuperscript{19} Second, a critic's efforts to make sense of a performance for others may operate in the opposite direction by eliminating or reducing all differences to a general level of sameness. The proverbial claim, "Oh, I understand you, we're not really different after all," emerges as a masked version of the essentialist fallacy baring its teeth and gobbling up difference.\textsuperscript{20} In the first instance, sense-making posits an "us-them" divisiveness, and in the second instance, sense-making posits universals of the human condition.

Some form of sense-making is necessary for critics and audiences, but it need not be based on standards of realism.

\textsuperscript{19} See for example Sherry Ortner's \textit{Sherpas Through Their Rituals} (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978). She argues that as the Sherpas "participate in or employ symbolic constructs, their attitudes and actions become oriented in the directions embodied in the form and content of the construction itself; the construct--the model if you will--makes it difficult for them to 'see' and respond in a different way" (8). Ortner, instead of situating herself with regard to the Sherpas, situates them in a position of weakness. Their lack of willingness to explain and articulate the reasons for the efficacy of their rituals, according to Ortner, grants her the right and responsibility to explain their culture to us (and to them).

When we recognize that performers behave within a world of ambiguous and mystifying ideas, then performance is not realistic, it is esoteric. If we also agree that performance is manifest through the moving sensuous body in space and time, it is "esoterotic": the intellect and senses are in the same self-reflexive moment fused and then diffused (de-fused) before a waiting audience.

Rehearsal

It is possible to apply this definition of performance to Leslie Silko's novel *Ceremony*, and demonstrate that it is a rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior, (i.e., a performance). Critics variously construe this work as ritual, healing ceremony, spiritual quest—in short, as a performance by the author for her readers in order to document and record the oral culture and specific performance events of the Laguna-Keres people. Carol Mitchell contends that "the novel can and should be viewed as a part of the changing rituals in which the novelist has become the healer or shaman and the readers are the participants in the new ceremony."²¹

A performance relationship does exist between authors and novels, as Marie Maclean and Jerzy Kutnik (cited previously) demonstrate. As one facet of the author-novel

relationship, I will argue that Silko is **rehearsing** her culture by employing representations of performance. As I explain below, critics use "rehearse" in this context synonymously with "describe, narrate in detail, tell about." I extend this construal of rehearsal as I now turn to a critical distinction between performance and rehearsal.

Performance is inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior. It is **actualized** behavior, it is made manifest in space and time. Performance occurs in the present tense (here and now) and requires human interaction. As Edward Schieffelin contends, "performance does not construct a symbolic reality in the manner of presenting an argument, description, or commentary. Rather, it does so by socially constructing a situation in which the participants experience symbolic meanings as part of the process of what they are already doing."²² Performance is not merely symbolic, it is an actualization of the symbolic.

In contrast, rehearsal includes the larger range of behaviors that are **actualizeable**. Rehearsal does not stop with the actualization of a symbolic reality, it explores the actualizability of multiple, potential symbolic realities.

To distinguish these terms further I suggest that rehearsal includes a broader conception of temporal, spatial, and behavioral possibilities. Performance and rehearsal

occur in the here and now, but rehearsal is future-oriented. A rehearsal for X, for instance, situates X as a future occurrence, (the rehearsal for the Broadway show *Cats* was successful). Rehearsal serves as an authorizing pretext for performance.

A performance has fairly discrete temporal boundaries (Schechner's "gathering, performing, dispersing"), while a rehearsal has much more fluid temporal boundaries. For example, a performance of the Laguna-Keres culture, the Kachina dance, has obvious temporal dimensions but a rehearsal (preparation for the Kachina dance) potentially lasts the lifespan of some members.

Rehearsal also involves a broader use of space than does performance. The Kachina dance occurs in the center of the pueblo, but rehearsal for the dance occurs in the kiva, in private homes, and out among the tamaric trees. A performance includes behavior(s) that occur in a specific space, rehearsal includes behavior(s) that occur across various spaces. Unlike performance, rehearsal does not always require participants to use a shared physical space, rehearsal allows for the use of fragmented space: the participants of a performance must be gathered or linked together in order for the performance to happen. Rehearsal, on the other hand, allows for spatial separation among the participants. While some Kachina dancers are rehearsing in the kiva, others may be rehearsing in private homes.
Both rehearsal and performance endow space with qualities, but in different ways. Performance, as Schechner and Turner argue, marks space by "writing" on it. This "writing on" varies from the stamping of feet in the sand to cave paintings to constructed theatre sets to churches. A space is endowed with sacred or secular significance through these markings that may be either permanent or short-lived. Rehearsal appropriates space typically used for specific behaviors and temporarily converts it to a playful space—a space in which various behaviors and beliefs may be explored. For rehearsals in private homes, for example, the kitchen may become a space where Kachinas cavort and experiment with dances and songs. Nonetheless, in rehearsal the space is not "marked" and thus retains its original function and/or significance. Cooking may take place in the kitchen before, during, and after a rehearsal.

Rehearsal also allows broader parameters for behavior than performance allows. I agree with Stephen Mullaney's contention that

a rehearsal is a period of free-play during which alternatives can be staged, unfamiliar roles tried out, the range of one's power to convince or persuade explored with some license; it is a period of performance, but one in which the customary demands of decorum are suspended, along with expectations of final or perfected form.23

Rehearsal explores the possibilities of various behaviors in a culturally sanctioned form of unruly play.

A performance too, serves as a rehearsal in that it offers actualizeable behaviors for the witnesses to try on. But a performance is not simply another rehearsal for the performance itself. What the performance rehearses is larger in scope than the performance itself. Performances and representations of performances, self-reflexively and with audience considerations in mind, rehearse the temporal, spatial, and behavioral beliefs of the culture from which the performance originates. Simply put, performance and performance representations rehearse a culture by offering actualized behaviors and beliefs that are actualizeable by witnesses. In the context of the performance event the behaviors are actualized. A public speech, a sculptor at work, a ritual depicted in a novel all necessarily derive, in part, from the performer's (speaker's, sculptor's, and writer's) culture. Rehearsals explore and expand the possibilities of actualizeable behaviors within particular performances. Rehearsal is the authorizing pretext for performance, but performance also authorizes the subsequent "trying on of behaviors," or rehearsal of cultures.

Representations of performance contained within the discourse of Silko's novel serve as rehearsals because they offer actualizeable behaviors in the context of temporal and
spatial beliefs of her culture; however, the representations themselves are not performances per se because they are not behaviors actualized in the here and now. For example, Leslie Silko's version of the Navajo Red Antway chant offers us actualizeable behaviors, performing her depiction of the ceremony on stage actualizes behaviors chosen from among the possibilities made known in her written rehearsal and our oral/physical rehearsals.

Performance is inevitably tied to the culture from which it emerges and the culture in which it appears (they may differ). Each culture affects the performance, and both should be considered when performance crosses cultures. When Schechner notes that "restored behavior can be put on the way a mask or costume is," he implies that performance may exist independently of its cultural context. He states, "Its shape can be seen from the outside, and changed. That is what theatre directors, councils of bishops, master performers, and great shamans do: change performance scores." Schechner is not negating the importance of culture, but neither is he affirming it. When he asserts quite strongly that "Performance is twice behaved behavior," he thoroughly underscores the rehearsed nature of performance but fails to acknowledge the performer's inability to not not behave within certain cultural constraints. Culture most certainly constrains (and

24 Schechner, "Restoration of Behavior" 37.
potentially liberates) performance and those very constraints make performances culture specific.

In an essay that more specifically addresses the relationships among performance, rehearsal, and culture, Steven Mullaney presents a telling example that underscores the cultural constraints imposed on performance.25 He outlines the occasion of Henri II's royal entry into the city of Rouen in 1551. The French villagers, with as much ethnographic detail and literal reproduction as possible, offered the monarch a performance of the French capture and domination of Brazil. A mock Brazil was created complete with "natives," two villages, animals, foliage, all either imported or reconstructed from paintings. The performance concluded with a total decimation of both villages and the devastation of the environment itself. The performance, Mullaney contends, "served a paradoxical end: not the affirmation of what was thus represented and repeated, but its erasure or negation."26

Following Mullaney, I use the concept of rehearsing culture as a listing, re-telling, repeating, narrating again of the actions and beliefs of a given society. And in this instance, Mullaney argues that performance rehearsed Brazilian culture only to ultimately consume and eschew it.


26 Mullaney 69.
I agree that performance can serve as a mechanism for the celebration of the exploitation and dismissal of others and Mullaney marshals powerful evidence for this argument. However, two interrelated points warrant attention here. First, Mullaney’s contention that the performance rehearsed (re-told, narrated in detail) Brazilian culture is only half correct. I would argue that the performance predominantly rehearsed French culture (not in terms of mimesis or verisimilitude regarding the "Brazil" created, but rather in terms of ideology) and was thus primarily concerned with a worldview that values conquest and dominance. And in this case, the rehearsal negates or eschews in order to affirm the French.  

Second, Mullaney’s arguments hinge on a performance that rehearses an other culture for the self. But this is only one of the possible configurations of his terms: performance can rehearse the self’s culture for others, performance can rehearse an other’s culture for the other, and performance can rehearse the self’s culture for the self. Given that performance can rehearse the self’s

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27 See Thomas Buckly, "Suffering in the Cultural Construction of Others: Robert Spott and A.L. Kroeber," American Indian Quarterly 13 (1989): 437-46. Buckly contends that the West is guilty of affirmation of self through the negation of other; he particularly indicts ethnographers. He contends we should accept and explore affirmation of self through "affirming the other who affirms you" (438). His argument hinges on self-respect, but comes dangerously close to a hermetic seal of culturally supportive "yes people".
culture for others, then despite the inevitable consumption of the performance by the witnesses, the culture is not eschewed or negated, but affirmed. Examples of rehearsing the self’s culture for others may include the Cherokee performance of the Eagle Dance for audiences of the outdoor drama Unto These Hills and the Zuni Kachina clowns singing and dancing for spectators at their expansive Shalako festival. The performers not only rehearse the culture of their tribes, they affirm their cultures. The performers are aware that the performance offers the culture for consumption and they are aware of the limits of controlling the audiences’ construal. But the Eagle dancers and Kachina clowns are rehearsing their culture for others, rather than rehearsing an others’ culture for themselves. The performers are celebrating the sharing and dissemination of tribal lifeways with others. They are not celebrating the dismissal and exploitation of others.28

Performance may also operate as a rehearsal of the other’s culture for the other. For example, the annual performances of The Lost Colony in Manteo, North Carolina, 28 Hybrids in this category do pose an interesting question in classification. For instance, a personal friend and colleague who performed the Eagle Dance in Unto These Hills for several seasons is non-Native. However, he was trained by the Cherokee elders and acts as their representative. I would argue he is celebrating the Cherokee, not exploiting them. But there is a difference between what the performer is doing and what audiences do with his performance. His performance can constrain and shape audience response, but his performance cannot determine audience response.
do not presume to initiate visitors into tribal lifeways of Native peoples, but rather to explain and defend imperialist expansion to the audiences. This performance does not address questions like one raised by a young boy whom I overheard while entering the performance space, "Mama, why do all Indians dance around in their underwear?" This performance does not involve Native peoples performing their culture for others, even the title of the production tells us what we will see is a rehearsal of one of the failed attempts at imperialization by British colonists. Unfortunately, the young boy never learns why Indians dance in their underwear because the Native culture is not the object of rehearsal, early American colonial culture is the object. For Native people in this production, rehearsing the other for the other is initially self-effacing and ultimately self-denigrating. This performance presents Native peoples in the image of brutal savages from Hell that Cotton Mather so venomously articulated.

The preceding examples suggest that when performance rehearses an other culture for the self, the other tends to be consumed and eschewed. When performance rehearses the self's culture for others, the self tends to be affirmed. When performance rehearses the others' culture for those others, the self's culture tends to be complicitous in its own demise.
With regard to these distinctions, I offer the following set of descriptive terms. When a performance involves a culture rehearsing the self for itself, it is ritual performance: Catholic mass, Hopi snake dances, and bar mitzvahs all presume specific familiarity and involvement with the culture being rehearsed. Ritual invokes, more directly, beliefs that are held sacred and lifeways that are already adopted. When a performance involves a culture rehearsing the self for others, it is secular performance: there is no assumption on the part of the performers that witnesses will adopt the lifeways or beliefs that are offered. For example, consider again the performance of the Eagle dancers and public dances at the many tribal powwows. Finally, when a performance involves a culture rehearsing the other for those others, it is imperialist performance: the performer’s culture is effaced through assimilation, or, as is more often the case the performer’s culture is negated.

Notably, hybrid forms radically problematize this schema. When, for example, Natives and non-Natives perform together for an audience of Natives and non-Natives, multiple construals of the same performance event emerge. Depending on the performance, of course, Native audience members may well differ in their perception of the rehearsal of their culture as ritual, secular or imperialist. Similarly, some non-Native witnesses may construe the
performance as ritual, while others see secular or imperialist performance occurring. Perhaps a more powerful distinction rests with the author/director of individual instances of cultural rehearsal. In Leslie Silko's representations of performance, her Native sensibility as author/director engaged with Native rituals, stories, and participants from her own tribe generates more authenticity and authority than does a performance of Unto These Hills where the author/director's non-Native sensibility may well distort the authenticity of even Natives' performing their own rituals.

Culture

In order to understand more fully why Indians appear to be dancing around in their underwear, it is imperative that we undertake a study of the culture from which performances and representations of performances derive. Performances and their representations rehearse culture, offering witnesses or readers the opportunity to engage what Stephen Greenblatt refers to as "the particular network of negotiations for the exchange of material goods, ideas, and people."29 His claim about texts applies to performances in this instance: they are "virtually incomprehensible when

they are removed from their immediate surroundings."\textsuperscript{30}

Much more than Schechner, Greenblatt indicates that cultural context is critical. Performances do travel to different venues, and as a result, they mean differently. When a performance of the Kachina clowns occurs in the Laguna pueblo, the witnesses require little or no explanation. If, however, the Kachinas appeared at the Schubert in Chicago, some lengthy program notes would be in order, and still, for many witnesses the performance would remain "virtually incomprehensible."

In Leslie Silko's \textit{Ceremony}, the culture I am primarily concerned with is the Laguna-Keres. This focus, however, is problematized by the fact that the Lagunas have been very much influenced by the traditions of Navajo, Hopi, Zuni and other southwestern Native American cultures as well as European and American cultures. Silko's use of mixed genres underscores her personal and tribal mixed heritages. At a basic formal level, her discourse begins to rehearse her (mixed) lifeways, balancing prose and poem, mythic tales and contemporary stories. On a more sophisticated level, Silko's novel employs representations of performance within mythic tale and contemporary narrative in order to rehearse the struggle between two primary cultural coordinates: the inclusionary impulse and the exclusionary impulse.

\textsuperscript{30} Stephen Greenblatt 227.
In the Laguna-Keres culture, a strong tension exists between the forces of inclusion and exclusion. These forces are not unique to Laguna people or to Native Americans in general, given that they operate, I would argue, in every culture. I derive these concepts from Stephen Greenblatt's work. He contends that the two primary forces within every culture are constraint and mobility. Constraints are those "ensembles of beliefs and practices that function as a pervasive technology of control" while mobility is "exchange: it is only through improvisation, experiment, and exchange that cultural boundaries can be established."\textsuperscript{31} I employ "inclusionary impulse" to refer to the force of an ensemble of beliefs, attitudes and practices that encourage change, adaptability and malleability within a culture. Desire for transformation thrives on inclusion or willingness to accept or consider other peoples' attitudes, beliefs, and practices and possibly incorporate others' views into one's own lifeways. I employ "exclusionary impulse" to refer to the force of an ensemble of beliefs, attitudes and practices that resist change within a culture. Desire for preservation thrives on a refusal to accept or consider others' lifeways and denies the necessity of incorporating them into one's own lifeways.

While positing these concepts may seem to create essential categories, I do not believe these concepts offer

\textsuperscript{31} Greenblatt 227-229.
a universalizable argument. To argue that all cultures possess inclusionary and exclusionary forces does not essentialize the concepts. Different cultures possess different amounts of these forces and tend to include or exclude on the basis of different qualities. While I recognize also that the concepts do not derive from Laguna-Keres culture, I believe these concepts name the forces whose balance is necessary for a culture's survival. Far more than a convenient way of classifying cultural practices, these concepts may well identify a mechanism for examining the prospects for a culture to survive. Notably, Charles Darwin recognizes these very forces (under different names) as essential to biological life in his theory of the evolution of species:

Species is thus a dynamic entity, holding it its collective constitution the ever present possibility of further change. It is to all intents and purposes a super-individual, exemplifying two complementary tendencies. On the one hand it displays INVARIANCE; i.e. by virtue of its hereditary mechanism it tends to preserve and perpetuate a certain standard form. But on the other hand, it displays an unavoidable tendency to vary or depart from this form, through the random intervention of mutation and genetic recombination. Both tendencies are indispensable for the survival of life on earth. Organisms which promiscuously dispersed the hard-won bequests of their predecessors, would soon lose their adaptive grip. On the other hand, organisms which slavishly reproduced the structure of their ancestors would soon lose their competitive place in a changing world. It is natural selection
which strikes the balance between obstinate conservatism and careless mutability.\textsuperscript{32}

Culture, like species, is a dynamic entity, ever changing (inclusionary impulse) even while struggling to remain the same (exclusionary impulse). Unlike species however, culture does not depend on random genetic recombination for adaptation. Cultures depend on human motives and impulses (and, perhaps, vice versa). The ways in which cultures manage these impulses should be of critical interest to performance scholars.

That performance serves in the effort to balance the inclusionary and exclusionary impulses in most cultures is clear, but the ways in which individual cultures manage and perform the relationship between these forces are noticeably different. For example, the U.S. congressional debates on immigration quotas offer one site of performance where Americans negotiate cultural boundaries--literally whether to include or exclude cultural others. Congress considers allowing people entrance under the assumption they will assimilate. Similarly, at Small Town meetings where Joe and Jane Citizen vote on a proposal for a government subsidized housing development, the assumption is that if others are included, they will adapt to the lifeways in Small Town.

For Native Americans, generally, the struggle between inclusion and exclusion differs on two levels: first, the

Native assumption holds that if others are included, the Native people will accommodate the newcomers and adjust their own worldview; and second, since Native Americans are quite literally surrounded and "claimed" by the members of an other society, (as "Americans"), there is more pressure (internal and external) for inclusion. Thus, at powwows, Native American rights demonstrations, and storytelling sessions in private dwellings, questions of how to preserve the values and beliefs of the tribe (exclusionary impulse) meet head on with questions of assimilation and transformation (inclusionary impulse). Rather than a peripheral issue, for Native Americans it is an issue of cultural survival.

The representations of performance in Silko's novel operate as records, notations, or "arrested performances" produced for the readers as one way of introducing readers to the lifeways of the Laguna-Keres people. Silko, in dramatic fashion, offers several representations of performance from her native culture. Examining how she represents selected performances and how the performances operate with respect to the Laguna cultural coordinates of inclusion and exclusion sheds insights on Silko's process of rehearsing the culture from which she writes.

The representations of performances in Silko's *Ceremony* rehearse the struggle between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses in Native Southwestern cultures. Explaining the need for inclusiveness, the old Navajo medicine man, Betonie, tells Tayo about the ceremonies he performs: "I have made changes in the rituals. The people mistrust this greatly, but only this growth keeps the ceremonies strong. She [Betonie's grandmother] taught me this above everything else: things which don't shift and grow are dead things" (126). Establishing a balanced, harmonious relationship between inclusion and exclusion is crucial in Laguna and in *Ceremony*.

That the transformations necessary for any culture to survive must be grounded or situated within the stable/sturdy ways of knowing the people already possess is articulated by old Grandma when she claims, "I must be getting old, because these goings-on around Laguna don't get me excited anymore. It seems like I already heard these stories before . . . . Only thing is, the names sound different" (260). She acknowledges the transformation in Tayo (his health returns) and in her environment (the rains return) that inclusion makes possible, but only within an exclusive frame of reference: that is, life on the Laguna Pueblo reservation is a specific, continuing series of stories. Throughout the novel, the predominant strategy or means of cultural preservation is the storytelling tradition
itself. At the end of the novel, Tayo is not fully integrated into Laguna lifeways until he spends four days in the kiva telling the story of his quest for Josiah’s cattle and his meeting with Ts’eh.

Some representations of performance in this novel include and transform other cultures’ stories. The Navajo Red Antway chant is one example and the Navajo story of how white people were invented is another. Detailing Betonie’s healing ceremony and witchery stories, Silko rehearses the Laguna’s inclusionary impulse toward the Navajo culture. Notably, Silko is rehearsing her tribe’s relations with the Navajo. She is not rehearsing an other tribe. As I explain in subsequent chapters, when Tayo visits the Navajo medicine man, Betonie, he follows many Lagunas who sought the aid of Navajo healers. Silko’s representations of Betonie’s performances derive from Laguna-Navajo relations. She makes no pretense of offering a full rehearsal of Navajo lifeways. Laguna lifeways involve the Navajo, and accordingly, rehearsing Laguna lifeways necessarily involves rehearsing cultural interactions between Lagunas and others.

Other of Silko’s representations of performance, such as the drinking rituals that punctuate *Ceremony*, include only Laguna stories which help provide a separate cultural identity for the Laguna people. By identifying her people as a group distinct from others because of the particular stories they, the Laguna, share, Silko rehearses the
Laguna's exclusionary impulse. As these representations suggest, when cultural identity is constructed through shared stories, storytelling operates through both inclusionary and exclusionary impulses.

What these brief examples omit, however, is that impulses to include or exclude rarely, if ever, occur independently from each other. There is struggle, within and among individuals, within and among cultures. A detailed reading of these same representations of performance in *Ceremony* will necessarily examine how the Laguna culture rehearses this struggle. Exploring specific inclusionary and exclusionary impulses regarding alcohol, witchery, and healing as they are rehearsed in selected representations of performance in this novel requires an understanding of the Southwest's Native cultures' behaviors and beliefs regarding these issues. Thus, as my method of investigation, I will construe the selected representations of performance and their actual appearance (cultural correlates) in and around Laguna as inclusionary measures (adaptability) for meeting newly emerging cultural conditions. I will construe them also as exclusionary measures (maintenance) for preserving familiar traditional conditions.

Silko offers numerous representations of performance in *Ceremony*. The selected representations that I examine include prevalent themes, various forms of discourse, and
powerful examples of the struggle between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses. I limit my examination to three instances: a drinking episode that reveals the impact of alcohol on the post-WWII Lagunas, a witches' ritual that culminates with the invention of white people, and Betonie's hoop ceremony from the Red Antway which starts Tayo on the road to physical and mental wholeness. My reasons for choosing these particular instances are threefold. First, the themes these representations invoke (alcoholism, witchery, and healing) are integral issues for the Laguna-Keres and the characters in the novel. Second, these representations span the discursive forms and temporal frames Silko establishes--from poetry to narrative, from mythic to contemporary time. And finally, these representations manifest the struggle between the inclusionary impulse and the exclusionary impulse that characterizes the Laguna culture.

In *Ceremony*, the characters negotiate the struggles over cultural exchange that involves material goods, ideas, and people in an arena where culturally specific behaviors from several Southwestern Native American tribes, as well as literary traditions from Western cultures, simultaneously enhance and threaten one another. Silko and her protagonist, Tayo, are both aware of the power dynamics at work within their cultures that enable or disallow the authority to speak, to tell stories (thus, to include or
exclude others). When cultures collide and intermingle, these power dynamics shift, some shamans lose their power to heal with stories while new shamans are created by and empowered by the very forces which constrained and debilitated previous shaman-storytellers. Exploring how Silko rehearses these transitions involves not only intra-cultural concerns; it also involves the political and social implications of intercultural exchange as Silko questions and redefines cultural boundaries.
Tayo knew what they had been trying to do. They repeated the old stories about good times in Oakland and San Diego; they repeated them like medicine chants, the beer bottles pounding on the counter tops like drums. The night progressed according to that ritual: from cursing the barren dry land the white man had left them, to talking about San Diego and the cities where the white women were still waiting for them to come back and give them another taste of what white women never got enough of (43, 61).

The first one hundred pages of Silko's *Ceremony* cover only one day in Tayo's life. Tayo wakes and dresses, then Harley arrives and convinces Tayo to ride with him on an old burro and a sway-back horse to the nearest bar for a drink. They ride into the warming morning sun, but they eventually stop and tie their mounts to a fence post and hitch a ride to the tavern to drink. Before Harley arrives, even before Tayo fully wakes, voices and sounds from his past begin to flash into his consciousness. These flashbacks continue as Tayo and Harley ride toward the bar and the memories continue after the men arrive. One of his memories is of an earlier drinking episode with Harley, Leroy, Pinkie and Emo, Laguna war veterans. Tayo remembers that he and Emo argued and they fought, and Tayo stabbed Emo in the stomach with a broken beer bottle. Memories of other people and places flash into Tayo's consciousness. When Tayo emerges from a dense, alcohol-induced fog, he finds himself in the tavern.
alone. Harley has disappeared and Tayo walks home in the dark.

In these first one hundred pages Silko represents multiple drinking episodes framed by one drinking episode. While sitting in the bar with Harley, Tayo remembers during his childhood following Old Benny down to the river to see where he hid his beer and wine, then sampling it with Rocky and Harley. He also remembers that after returning from the war, Harley outsmarted his family by hot-wiring a tractor to go get a drink. He remembers the attack on Emo and the white doctor’s desire to blame the violence on alcohol.

Following a brief review of anthropological discussions of the ritual and social forms of drinking behavior in Southwest tribes, particularly among the Pueblo peoples, I will note more specifically how Silko’s representation of performance rehearses the struggle between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses in drinking behavior in Laguna culture.

**Patterns of Drinking in the Southwestern Tribes**

Jack Waddell and Michael Everett provide a thorough discussion of the drinking behaviors of Southwestern Native Americans.¹ They arrive at three conclusions regarding the variant patterns of alcohol usage among Native drinkers in

the different tribes of the area: (1) a wide variety of intoxicants, including alcohol, were known and widely used; (2) a variety of intoxicants were likely known but not widely adopted into the ceremonial core of the culture; or, (3) intoxicants were known but culturally rejected.² While some Puebloan peoples (or those who adopted a Puebloan lifestyle, such as the Navajo) used alcohol as a "social lubricant," most of the Pueblos knew of alcoholic beverages but rejected them from the ceremonial core of behaviors.³

There is an apparent rejection of alcohol from Pueblo rituals. In fact, according to Donald Brown, Pueblo peoples drink the least of the Southwestern tribes and have the highest level of cultural stability since contact with Europeans.⁴ Nonetheless, medicine people and shaman of these tribes have been fairly successful in maintaining the secrets of the ceremonial chambers and kiva rituals in which alcoholic beverages may have been used. Substantial documentation of ritual drinking for purification exists,⁵

² Waddell and Everett 27.
³ Waddell and Everett 29.
but the contents of the beverages and intoxicating potential of these liquids remains largely unknown.

In one instance, however, the ritual usage of an intoxicating wine is documented among the eastern River Pueblos. In his 1969 study of the Tewa at San Juan Pueblo, Alphonse Ortiz identifies the "Bringing-the-Buds-to-Life" ceremony that initiates the Tewan agricultural calendar. In this ritual, two young women serve a sweet beverage to members of the kiva to mark the transition from the winter moiety to the summer moiety.6

Ritual drinking involves both inclusionary and exclusionary impulses. We may conjecture that as a ritual of purification, drinking would serve exclusive, cultural maintenance functions only; however, inasmuch as the participants invite the support of natural and supernatural spirits and adapt to their environment, the ritual is also inclusionary. Thus, paradoxically, while seeking to maintain the tribal culture and systems of belief, participants in drinking rituals are continually changing the very rituals used to maintain the culture. One could argue this generalization is true for all rituals.

Change is necessary for continuity. For example, among the Zuni who engage in several different drinking-for-purification rituals, whiskey and mocking references to this

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very substance have appeared in the ceremonies. According to Mathilda Stevenson, who studied among the Zuni at the turn of the century, at the ceremonial dance Hle wekwe, the participants drank "bread water" (a beverage made from popcorn), a red medicine, and whiskey. Conversely, the young men's initiation ceremony involved buffoonish dancing in which the participants consumed urine and feigned intoxication. Whiskey was not introduced to the Zuni until 1879, but by the turn of the century it had been incorporated into the events surrounding the most important ceremony, the Shalako. The Zunis and others who came to see the ceremony bought, sold, and socially consumed much whiskey.

Ritual drinking among the Pueblo peoples clearly maintains cultural conventions and, therefore, involves an exclusionary impulse; however, the participants in these rituals indulge an inclusionary impulse by incorporating and adapting to culturally external phenomena.

While ritual drinking of alcoholic beverages among the people of the western Pueblos (Laguna, Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi) is only weakly documented, social drinking among these people remains the primary object of investigation of sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists. Through the mid-twentieth century, critics increasingly documented

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social drinking as one source of severe, detrimental changes in tribal cultures.\(^8\) And following World War II, the number of social drinkers in the western Pueblos expanded dramatically.\(^9\) More drinkers dramatically increased the damage drunken drinkers could do. Homicides, suicides, spouse and child abuse, and violent attacks increased with increased social drinking.\(^10\)

Social drinking, like ritual drinking, serves both inclusionary and exclusionary impulses, and has both positive and negative outcomes. The negative results of using alcohol socially have been the focus of most studies of Native drinking patterns. In his attempt to examine and recover the positive effects of Natives' social drinking, Michael Everett claims "the myth that 'Indians can't hold their liquor' has so dominated Anglo-Indian affairs that contemporary Native Americans, from traditionalists to young militants, view alcohol and drinking as the major culprits

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in the 'breakdown of the old ways.'" When in fact, as early as 1954, studies were being conducted that demonstrated the positive contributions to Native cultures offered by alcohol.¹²

Since the 1950s, three arguments consistently appear in the discourse about Native drinking patterns that assert positive contributions of alcohol consumption: alcohol provides a culturally sanctioned "time out"; alcohol provides a means of acculturation into the dominant culture (i.e., to be like a white person, drink like a white person); and alcohol provides Native Americans with a means of asserting their own unique identities, (i.e., Laguna drinking is distinct from Zuni drinking).

Craig MacAndrew and Robert Edgerton's cross-cultural study of drinking behaviors, Drunken Comportment, argues for the "time out" perspective. They contend that drunkenness merely precipitates disinhibitions within culturally


¹² Edwin M. Lemert, "Alcohol and the Northwest Coast Indians," University of California Publications in Culture and Society 2 (1954): 314-406. Lemert studied the Northwest Coast tribes (Salish, Nootka and Kwakiutl) and determined that as their traditional cultures were increasingly attacked, they turned to alcohol to reinvigorate beliefs regarding leadership, social status and ritual. He notes also a lack of addictive and dangerous drinking. He continues these arguments in his "The Use of Alcohol in Three Salish Indian Tribes," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol 19 (1958): 90-107.
allowable limits. Behaviors not typically permitted become acceptable and excusable when a person is intoxicated.\textsuperscript{13} The Iroquois, for example, include murder in this category of excusable behavior. Similarly, Martin Topper argues that among Navajo male youths, drinking excessively serves a social cohesiveness function and, more importantly, operates as a safety valve allowing drinkers to act out repressed frustrations, release pent-up aggressions, and seek solutions for psychic stress.\textsuperscript{14} In fact, some tribes treat intoxication as a sacred and godly state and believe it is essential for a healthy community.\textsuperscript{15}

Notably, drinking as a "time out" behavior involves both inclusionary and exclusionary impulses. That alcohol rather than tesquinada or various other Native intoxicants is consumed indicates an inclusion and appropriation of "firewater"; however, to the extent that the Native culture determines and sanctions the limits of acceptable behaviors of people under the influence, alcohol becomes a powerful means of maintaining social relationships and cultural ties.


The second argument that consistently appears, drinking as a means of acculturation, is most clearly articulated by Jerrold Levy and Stephen Kunitz.\(^{16}\) While they accept the escapist or "time out" model of Native drinking, they also assert "the pattern of alcohol use differs, depending on degree of acculturation. To be like a white man means, in part, drinking like one."\(^{17}\) In their study of Navajo drinkers, they discovered that while the more acculturated members of the tribe adopted white drinking patterns and were less likely to be classified as pathological drinkers, traditionalists and particularly those tribal members who remain on the reservation were much more likely to engage in binge drinking, to get arrested, and to lose time from work.\(^{18}\)

Unlike drinking as a socially sanctioned time-out, drinking as an acculturative mechanism pre-eminently derives from an inclusive impulse. The acculturation process involves questions of choosing other contexts: where and


\(^{17}\) Levy and Kunitz 184.

when does one drink? with whom? under what conditions? The wider the variety of drinking experiences from outside the tribal group, the greater the inclusive impulse, the more "acculturated" one becomes. Drinking patterns vary across cultures, and, frequently, when Native Americans leave the reservation, they adopt white drinking patterns. Levy and Kunitz found that "Navajos living in town for 10 years or more had adopted white drinking patterns and were not thought to be deviant." 19

The third argument, that alcohol serves as a means of fostering tribal and self identity, has a strong defendant in Nancy Lurie. She claims that "Indian drinking is an established means of asserting and validating Indianness and will be either a managed and culturally patterned recreational activity or else not engaged in at all in direct proportion to the availability of other effective means of validating Indianness." 20 Closely allied to the "time-out" model, Lurie's argument demonstrates that Native Americans' drinking-to-get-drunk serves as one of the oldest

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19 Levy and Kunitz 184. Drinking patterns differ across cultures. So too, I believe that perceptions of drinking behavior vary. Was it perhaps because Natives were drinking like whites that they were not perceived as deviant?

20 Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "The World's Oldest On-Going Protest Demonstration: North American Indian Drinking Patterns," Pacific Historical Review 40 (1971): 312. Lurie suggests three other means of validating Indianness at the conclusion of her article: (1) maintaining one's reputation for honesty, dignity, etc. (2) gaining expertise in Indian affairs, (3) providing leadership roles within the tribal group (315).
on-going protest demonstrations whose goal is to maintain distinctions between cultures.

She offers a four part analysis of recreational drinking: (1) the form of Native drinking is getting purposefully drunk; (2) the function (relationship to other aspects of the culture) is maintenance of the Indian-white boundary by self-consciously conveying the message of the drunken Indian stereotype to prevent being perceived as white; (3) the meaning or affect is to feel good, or at least better; (4) alcohol use occurs according to prescribed form as it is called for situationally among one's own people, other tribes, or white society.21

Lurie contends that Native people have long been aware of the value of the negative stereotype as a form of communication and protest, that this form of drinking initially operated as a socially sanctioned time-out, yet now functions as an institutionalized, cultural adhesive. Native drinkers have appropriated alcohol from whites, but they employ it for their own cultural ends, particularly for defining their Indianness. For example, accepting anthropologist J. H. Hamer's claim that drinking allows "an escape from anxiety about the expression of overt aggression,"22 Lurie puts us in the position of a Native

21 Lurie 315-316.

drinker: "before giving vent to aggressive inclinations, you get drunk or convince yourself and others you are drunk, in order that no one mistakes you for acting like a white man."23

These are strong claims, especially for Native non-drinkers. Who is this white lady that claims Indians drink to gain an identity? Vine Deloria asks, with more proper decorum than I have phrased it, in response to her work.24 And Lurie counters that drinking is only one form of symbolic behavior among many (including dress and manners) that establish and are used by others to establish and determine one's identity.25

Despite the dispute, Lurie's claims for alcohol use as a means of fostering self and tribal identity seem to derive from her perception of a strong exclusive impulse: alcohol is used for recreation (tribally sanctioned), protest (against white cultures), and maintenance of cultural boundaries (inter-tribal and white cultural distinctions). Again, to the extent that Native Americans adopted alcohol, the behavior is inclusive, but the effect of internalizing its use, according to Lurie's argument, indicates a predominantly exclusive impulse at work as well.

23 Lurie 319.


25 Lurie 315.
Both ritual drinking and social drinking in its time-out, acculturation, and identification forms consist of behaviors and beliefs that contain indications of inclusive and exclusive impulses. One example, occurring as a performance representation in Silko’s novel, rehearses a Laguna response to alcohol.

A Drinking Episode in "Ceremony": Rehearsing the Struggle Between Inclusionary and Exclusionary Impulses

At the opening of the novel, Tayo and Harley are riding to the bar, a morning ride. Tayo has flashbacks. One remembrance begins the story of going to the Dixie Tavern with his army buddies, Harley, Leroy, Pinkie and Emo—shortly after he was released from the psychiatric center of a veterans’ hospital in Los Angeles. While this flashback begins on the way to the bar, it is completed only after Tayo and Harley have arrived at the bar and had a few beers.

At first, the memory seems fairly innocuous, a bunch of Laguna war vets going out to drink and tell stories and raise Hell, a sort of social time-out and, perhaps more importantly, a way of fostering self and tribal identity. I construe these as exclusive, boundary-defining behaviors.

The initial, apparent simplicity of this drinking episode belies its complexity. The vets buy booze with U.S. Government disability checks and begin to tell stories. They perform for one another, revelling in the wonders of
unadulterated acculturation. They recall the good old days of being in uniform when they could get a drink, a woman, and be treated like anyone else. By the time Harley tells his story about the blond with the '38 Buick, they are well into the "victories-over-white-women" stories that frequently punctuate this veterans' outing. Interestingly, the cultural identification and negotiation through performance begins with an Us-Them divisiveness, and the closing frame will be signalled by the "Jap-bastards" stories, another Us-Them division. Already, contradictions in impulses are emerging. The veterans are celebrating times of inclusion by recalling behaviors that separated them from others (notably, white women and Japanese men, not white men).

Harley, Leroy, Pinkie and Emo want Tayo to tell stories with them—they are all drunk—but they do not like the story Tayo tells. Singing "America, America, God shed His grace on thee," Tayo begins his performance about stupid Indians. He sees the contradiction: he tells them a story, ostensibly about stupid Indians in which the more the stupid Indians drink and tell stories trying to become "white" again, the more they define themselves as drunk Lagunas. Tayo recognizes an inclusionary impulse at the core of a set of performances seemingly motivated by an exclusionary impulse. The stories that the vets tell celebrate inclusion, but the way they tell them excludes others.
There is a struggle here between characters and impulses, an on-going long term struggle that has surpassed the boundaries of an innocuous night out with the boys. The consumption of alcohol and the construction of stories which surround it become a site of contestation over cultural practices through performance.

In Schechner's terms, the vets "gather, perform, and disperse": but it is in the specific moments of performance, when the vets tell stories, that these men negotiate their relationships to one another and their culture's relationship to alcohol. Unquestionably, all of the men drink, but the reasons that they drink, and more specifically, the impulses that guide their drinking and storytelling are significantly different. Emo, Harley, Leroy and Pinkie drink to get drunk. They tell stories to recover the good old days, celebrating times past when they could "pass" as white men. They perform for one another to share their exploits and re-affirm their positions within their small group's construal of cultural belonging. Tayo also drinks to get drunk, but with a different purpose in mind. He drinks to forget, to blot out the past, to "unremember" it. The four others share an antiphonal call-and-response. Emo says "'But they [whites] got everything. And we don't got shit, do we? Huh?' They all shouted 'Hell no' loudly and they drank the beer faster" (55). Tayo
withdraws, he no longer participates in their shared stories and drinking. He drinks alone. He refuses to tell stories.

With equal swiftness as this flashback began, we are brought forward to the present with Tayo and Harley in the bar talking about when Tayo attacked Emo. Tayo suggests he [Tayo] is insane, Harley blames it on drinking, and the narrator tells us everyone had an explanation, "the police, the doctors at the psychiatric ward, even Auntie and old Grandma; they blamed the liquor and they blamed the war" (53). And here in a much briefer flashback, we are offered the doctor's explanation as he confronts Tayo with, "reports note that since the Second World War a pattern of drinking and violence, not previously seen before, is emerging among Indian veterans" (53). In one sentence, Silko's narrator rehearse the sociological findings on the Western Pueblos' patterns of drinking during this era. The narrator, who may also be construed as an audience of the interaction between Tayo and Harley in the bar, underscores the rehearsed natured of this memory. Noting the responses of doctors and family members temporally situates the attack as a previous occurrence. It is being rehearsed by Tayo and Harley (in the present) within the frame of being reported

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the first time by the narrator (in Tayo's flashback). Notably Tayo does not agree with the doctor's findings. He knows his behavior derives from more than just drinking and the war: "It's more than that. I can feel it. It's been going on for a long time." While he knows it has been going on a long time, he doesn't yet know what IT is.

In the bar with Harley, Tayo listens as Harley claims he would still be in prison if he had committed such an attack, and then Harley drinks "until it didn't sound like English any more. He had another beer and then he was rambling on to himself in Laguna" (54). In this present moment, Harley is motivated by exclusionary impulses. He is defining himself as a Laguna in his drinking, his shift into the Keres language is clearly a discursive indication of his identity construction. In this social time-out with Tayo, Harley is not concerned with acculturation, he is fostering his own Laguna identity as many Lagunas did in the 1950s.

Immediately following Harley's rambling off into "Lagunaland," Silko offers us the full description, returning us through Tayo's memory, to the time of Tayo's attack on Emo. Emo was rattling a Bull Durham sack that contained the teeth of a dead Japanese colonel. He was bellowing about white men taking everything and suggesting that the guys go get their hands on white women. Tayo starts binge drinking, chugging beers as quickly as Harley can shove them at him. His severe drinking steals the focus
from Emo. His drinking becomes a performance itself: "'Hey, look at him!' 'No wonder he doesn't say nothing. How many does that make?' Harley counted the empty beer bottles. He said something but it was difficult for Tayo to hear clearly; their voices sounded dim and far away" (56).27 He goes to the rest room, returns, and Emo starts taunting him. "There he is. He thinks he's something all right. Because he's part white. Don’t you half-breed?" (57). Tayo’s binge drinking elicits admiration from his friends, corroborating anthropological findings on Southwestern Natives,28 even as it irritates Emo who taunts him about his "white" connections. Again, contradictions emerge. Emo desperately wants a white connection, but he attacks Tayo because of his.

Tayo feels Emo’s hatred and the stigma attached to being mixed-blooded.29 But he remains inactive. Emo then tells a story about being in a bar with his European and

27 When the narrator tells readers that the veterans' voices "sounded dim and far away," she echoes the earlier description of the Japanese voices Tayo hears. Metaphorically, the veterans are linked with the Japanese--their others--while in the context of this ritual, they become Tayo’s others.


29 In this particular instance, I would argue not only that Silko is rehearsing her tribal heritage, but her personal heritage as a mixed-blooded person should not be glossed over.
American buddies during the war. He fools two women into believing he is an Italian by using another buddy’s name, Mattuci. Emo succeeds, if only temporarily, in becoming what he knows he will never be, Euramerican—and sleeps with both women. Harley, Leroy and Pinkie enjoy this story, they have heard it many times before. They want Emo to tell about the time when he “was balling that little redhead” and then someone called him "Geronimo" and the woman fainted—but Emo doesn’t like that story. That story makes him an Indian, and the whole point of drinking and telling stories, at least for Emo, is to escape that very identity.

These two drinking stories (Emo becoming Mattuci and Geronimo) again point out the contradictory impulses at work in Emo’s performances. Emo drinks and tells stories both to escape his Native identity and to foster it. In a Laguna social time-out drinking situation, we have performances motivated by exclusionary impulses aimed at fostering self and tribal identity, but what is being celebrated are the times of mutual inclusion among whites and Indians. Emo does not like becoming Geronimo, he is selective in his inclusionary drives, he wants to be Italian, not Apache. But he does not recognize the conflict between what he desires and what he performs.

Then Emo turns on Tayo again. "You don’t like my stories, do you? Not good enough for you, huh? You think you’re hot shit, like your cousin. Big football star. Big
hero. One thing you can do is drink like an Indian, can’t you? Maybe you aren’t no better than the rest of us, huh?” (60). Here again, Silko specifically demonstrates the identity-constructing link between drinking and storytelling. The two must go together, but Tayo is not telling stories now. He simply continues to drink. He only partially joins in the performance. Emo obviously believes Tayo is an inattentive audience member for his stories (an insult for any Laguna storyteller), so Emo tries to insult Tayo by calling him a drunk Indian.

The vets have told their stories about the women, now Emo moves the subject of their stories to the annihilation of the Japanese. Tayo listens as Emo then brags about killing and torturing Japanese people, about how he got the Japanese colonel’s teeth, about the weapons of mass destruction he loves so demonstrably. Then Tayo snaps, he clenches a beer bottle in his fist until it breaks, and Emo turns on him again, “You drink like an Indian, and you’re crazy like one too--but you aren’t shit white trash. You love Japs the way your mother loved to screw white men” (63). But this time the vets do not just finish their drinks with the last story and go home. Tayo moves with the swiftness of a mountain lion, and before anyone can stop him, he stabs Emo in the stomach with the broken beer bottle. Tayo’s action underscores (and rehearses in a concrete instance) studies of drinking and violence among
Southwestern Native people, but more importantly, his stabbing Emo becomes yet another story to be remembered and performed.

With Emo, Silko rehearses the struggle between inclusionary impulses and exclusionary impulses. He seeks to include and appropriate the drinking, carousing, and killing that made him fit in with whites during the war, but he desires to exclude whites who took everything away and Tayo, who, like it or not, partially represents the white world. Emo’s storytelling and drinking performances are rife with competing impulses. Tayo too, feels the struggle within him, he "knew what they were trying to do." They were trying to find their way back to the white world by engaging in storytelling and drinking performances that defined them as quintessentially Laguna.

In Ceremony, this drinking and storytelling episode becomes a site for the struggle over cultural practice and belief. That all the war buddies drink echoes the cultural correlates offered by previously cited scholars' work on the measurement of drinking patterns of post-WW II Southwestern Native Americans. That they drink socially, for time-out, acculturative, and identity-constructing reasons is clear. But more significantly, in the world of the novel, it is the way that they drink, their specific behaviors and beliefs are repeated, rehearsed, performed again and again as
evidenced by Pinkie, Leroy and Harley requesting Emo to tell the one about the redhead.

A Drinking Episode in "Ceremony": Ritual Performance

In the beginnings of Tayo’s memory we discover the ritualized nature of their social drinking behavior: "they repeated the stories about good times in Oakland and San Diego; they repeated them like long medicine chants, the beer bottles pounding on the counter tops like drums" (43). Silko, construing the drinking episode as a ritual, conflates social drinking with ritual drinking: she questions the categories scholars of the western tradition have posited for the study of alcohol use among Native Americans. While drinking beer and whiskey in a bar do not necessarily replicate the drinking-for-purification rituals from the turn of the century, the ritual consumption of alcohol does operate both as an inclusionary means of adapting to significant cultural changes and as an exclusionary means of preserving cultural ties. In their ritual drinking in the Dixie Tavern, Tayo, Harley, Emo, Leroy and Pinkie are rehearsing their past for themselves, and, consequently, this drinking ritual rehearses Laguna lifeways for us.

In the world of the novel, this drinking episode is a performance. The narrator reminds us of the "framing devices" that Bauman and Goffman describe as central to
performance: "The night progressed according to that ritual: from cursing the barren dry land the white man had left them, to talking about San Diego and the cities where the white women were all waiting for them to come back to give them another taste of what white women never got enough of. But in the end, they always came around to it [Japan bashing]" (61). When these Laguna war veterans gather to drink and tell stories, they engage in inherently rehearsed (they know and have told these stories before), self-reflexive (they are aware of themselves as tellers and listeners; and they are the subjects of the stories), socially perceived behaviors.

Their collective stories-and-drinking performance is ritual: they are performing themselves for themselves. They share and subscribe to similar lifeways and values, that is, until the attack. When the attack occurs, the performance shifts from a shared ritual to a secular performance. The audience shifts: other patrons in the bar (presuming there are other patrons) would suddenly become engaged audience members; the police, the bartender and doctors become distanced audience members who have no choice but to construe this attack in relation to what they have seen before. The attack rehearses Laguna cultural patterns of drinking behavior, yes, but it shifts this particular

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30 Granted, Tayo does not share the values of Emo, but through his participation in the ritual he values the ritual itself.
performance representation from one of ritual significance to one of secular significance. The veterans are no longer celebrating their values and lifeways among themselves. They are sharing and disseminating their lifeways (good, bad, or indifferent) among a larger audience whom they do not expect to accept those lifeways. We may well construe this episode as ritual that becomes secular performance. If we push the categories' limits and suggest that the vets were "acting like white men" (to use the acculturative model of social drinking), then the performance assumes an imperialist stature. Under such a construal, rather than rehearsing Laguna culture, the vets would be rehearsing Euramerican culture for Euramericans and thus negating their own culture. While I do not subscribe to such a construal, I can imagine the response, "see what happens when Indians try to act like white people."

Ultimately, Silko is responsible for constructing the performance. Her narrator tells us that the veterans ignore Tayo after he tells the story about stupid Indians trying to be white. Their ritual continues. "Another round and Harley tells his story about the two blonds in bed with him. They go on with it, with their good old times. Tayo starts crying. They think maybe he's crying about what the Japs did to Rocky because they are to the part of the ritual where they damn those yellow Jap bastards" (43).
For readers, who always remain outside the Dixie Tavern, this representation of performance operates as a cultural rehearsal. Silko rehearses for her readers some of the multiple behavioral, spatial, and temporal beliefs of the Laguna-Keres regarding drinking and storytelling. And, since it is the nature of rehearsal to challenge and expand beliefs and boundaries, Silko challenges her own people to reconsider some common assumptions about drinking rituals.

Silko expands the behavioral boundaries of drinking rituals by using alcohol as the potent potable in this episode. In a culture that (as far as we know) does not include alcohol among the "ceremonial core of behaviors," Silko makes known alternate possibilities. Drinking rituals may purify or cleanse. They may also operate in the opposite direction, these rituals may pollute and defile. Notably, after binge drinking, Tayo attempts to murder Emo. Alcohol-induced violence is a very real part of Laguna culture and drinking rituals may well contribute to such violence in spite of the cultural and identity constructing functions such rituals serve. Recognizing that drinking rituals may purify and pollute in no way indicted the power of rituals. Rather, such recognition draws attention to the contradictory forces at work in ritual performances. Readers, both Laguna and Euramerican, adjust and expand their conceptions of what constitutes ritual behaviors and what end these behaviors ultimately serve.
By construing this social drinking episode as a ritual, Silko also challenges traditional beliefs concerning the spatial and temporal aspects of rituals and ritual-making. She asks us to accept that there are many fewer restrictions regarding where and when rituals occur than what we may presently believe.

While this episode, as ritual, demonstrates a reverence for the past, a dependence on story-telling and shared behaviors, more significantly, it also demonstrates a radical re-situating of the space and time in which ritual behaviors may occur. The space is not the traditional kiva or the center of the pueblo, rather it is a dirty, old, run-down bar furnished with fly strips hanging from the ceiling and an old juke box. Silko urges us to recognize that ritual behaviors make ritual spaces, not vice versa. The marking of the space occurs through its repeated use for this particular set of behaviors. The Dixie Tavern is where the veterans repeated the stories "like long medicine chants, the beer bottles pounding on the counter tops like drums." The repetition in choosing this space, the repetition in telling these stories, the repetition in buying rounds of drinks mark the Dixie Tavern as the space for this drinking ritual. Silko debunks the belief that ritual performance is restricted to a "ritual space." Ritual performance makes ritual space.
Similarly, Silko dismisses any assumption that rituals occur only at certain times (e.g., at equinoxes or solstices, at dusk or dawn). These war buddies have no qualms about gathering to drink at morning, noon or night, on holy days or regular days. They have, in effect, eschewed the traditional Laguna-Keres calendar of rituals and inserted in its place their everyday Laguna ritual of drinking and storytelling. Such a substitution does not mitigate against the power of their ritual either, it further demonstrates the flexibility of ritual even as it underscores just how essential the need for ritual is.

Silko loosens and unfixes some of the assumptions we make about Native Americans’ beliefs regarding ritual behavior, space, and time in this drinking episode. In what initially appears an innocuous night out with the boys, Silko reveals the ritual of everyday lives. Through a storytelling-and-drinking performance, Tayo, Emo, Harley, Pinkie and Leroy negotiate their identities, both their culture’s idea of who they are and their own ideas of who they are. The ways they cope with the struggle between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses that motivates them differs, but that they all (particularly Tayo and Emo) must face the struggle is inherent.

Their drinking ritual offers one way for the mentally and physically ill Laguna war veterans to negotiate the terrain between preserving cultural ties and adapting to
cultural changes. Another, and perhaps more culturally sanctioned method, is to seek the advice and treatment of a medicine man. At the end of the first one hundred pages of the novel, which span the first day we spend with Tayo in his drinking and nightmare memories, Tayo agrees with his grandmother's request to go see Betonie, a Navajo medicine man. I turn now to the representations of performance that Silko offers in her telling of the meeting between Tayo and Betonie. In her construction of this encounter, Silko similarly uses representations of performance to rehearse Laguna-Keres culture, and she continues to question and expand traditional beliefs regarding ritual.
We can deal with white people . . . it was Indian witchery that made white people in the first place (132).

Betonie, the Navajo medicine man, is responding to a question from Tayo about how to cope with white peoples' bombs and wars and lies. He goes on to tell a story about the invention of white people, a story that does not quite correspond with ethnographers' versions of the Navajo origins of white people. But, then, I did not really expect to discover a direct correspondence given that: (1) Silko rehearses the Lagunas' relations with the Navajo, not the Navajo themselves, and (2) Silko claims to have simply "made this one up" and finds it quite humorous that her caucasian colleagues do not feel flattered to have been created by witches. What on the surface seems fundamentally exclusionary--white people and witches go together and both should be avoided--is told in an inclusionary story frame:

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whites are not necessarily evil, rather, they are tools that evil Native witches manipulate.

Betonie's Navajo witchery tale has strong ties to the prophecies and practices of the Hopi. Given the relations between the multiple Pueblo tribes and the Navajo, the possibilities of the dissemination of discourse radically multiply until it is possible for us to get a Laguna author's Navajo character telling a Hopi prophecy story. After I situate the old shaman's story as a performance that rehearses the Laguna-Keres struggle with inclusionary and exclusionary impulses regarding white people, I trace the cultural connections between the Navajo, Hopi, and Laguna-Keres regarding the origins of white people. Finally, I offer specific instances in which this performance rehearses the impact of whites in North America.

**Betonie’s Story as Performance**

The witch's predictions in Betonie's performance rehearse the origins and impact of Anglo-Americans in North America. But it is critical to note that these predictions are a story-within-a-story. Reading outward, from the witch's story to the larger context of Betonie's story, and the still larger context of Silko's story, requires that we consider multiple storytellers' performances.

The storytelling witch, of unknown origin and gender, uses traditional Hopi formulas for opening and closing
his/her performance, but even before that s/he offers a brief coda. While others have shown their powerful charms and bundles, this witch says, "'What I have is a story.'/ At first they all laughed/ but this witch said/ Okay/ go ahead/ laugh if you want to/ but as I tell the story/ it will begin to happen" (135). The witch articulates a fundamental assumption of the Southwestern Native people: saying it makes it so. Notably, Betonie's shift into this witch's voice is indicated by a formal device: italics show when Betonie gives full voice to the speaker. S/he begins, "Set in motion now/ set in motion by our witchery/ to work for us" (135) and ends, "set into motion now/ set into motion" (138).

That the witch's performance is inherently rehearsed is indicated by the formulas. That it is self-reflexive is apparent in the opening and closing codas. At first the other witches laugh, but they cease laughing. The witch is aware of his/her performance power, especially when s/he finishes. S/he can even scare witches. They cry, "'Take it back./ Call that story back'"(138). And it is a social behavior. After all, the witches are competing for a prize for the most evil deed--this narrator-witch wins, but responds, "It's already turned loose./ It's already coming./ It can't be called back" (138).

Betonie offers this story to Tayo as an explanation of the origins of white people. In the context of the novel,
his story is a performance: it is inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior. We can recognize Betonie’s story as a rehearsed performance because of the framing devices used within the story and because of the way Betonie sets up the story-as-performance before he begins the telling. He says to Tayo, "we can deal with white people, with their machines and beliefs. We can because we invented white people; it was Indian witchery that made white people in the first place" (132). Betonie then begins his performance with the traditional Navajo formula, "Long time ago/ in the beginning . . ." (132).

Betonie is self-reflexive in his telling. He is aware of himself telling and he adjusts his story as it progresses. He makes it more contemporary for Tayo, the audience on whom this story depends. He describes the witches’ gathering as a "contest/ the way people get together for baseball tournaments nowadays" (133) and soon he corrects himself. He makes the witches more sophisticated, that is, "they were having a conference,/ that’s what it was/ way up in the lava rock hills" (133).

Betonie rehearses traditional Hopi and Navajo beliefs about witches’ behaviors most clearly. Once they enter the caves, they perform rituals that transform them into animals. He says "they circled the fire/ and on the fourth time/ they jumped into that animal’s skin" (134). Witches are known in the Southwest as "skinwalkers." The Navajo and
Hopi believe that witches are able to use human body parts for new witch medicines to curse and destroy their victims--whirls of skin are particularly important--"whirls of skin/cut from fingertips/sliced from the penis end and clitoris tip" (134). Betonie's witches do not necessarily collaborate. Rather, they compete, much like the Laguna deities Nau'ts'ity'i and Icts'ity'i (I address the deities' contest below). The witches try to out-perform each other at their evil deeds. They brag, they tell stories and show off their powers and charms, their dark thunder charcoals and red ant-hill beads. They behave much like Emo and the war veterans describing their conquests and their killing. Emo is proud of the teeth he knocked out of the corpse of the dead Japanese colonel, body parts. The intersections between the mythic world of the story Betonie tells and the world in which Tayo lives are not accidental. The beliefs Betonie rehearses are not just "stories" for Tayo. These beliefs govern this world and the four worlds below.

Readers of Silko's story may identify how this representation of performance rehearses the temporal and spatial beliefs of Native Southwestern cultures. Betonie invokes the Navajo formulas for storytelling that recall time immemorial. He tells this story just after nightfall while sitting near a smoldering campfire, the typical beginning time-and-place for Navajo storytellings. He rehearses the belief that space and distance present far
fewer obstacles to witch people who come "from all directions/ and all the tribes" (133). And the witches, once they have convened, according to Navajo and Hopi belief do "fool around in caves/ with their animal skins" (133).

Silko indicates for readers that Betonie shifts from conversation into a storytelling performance by using a formal device, a shift from prose to verse. We are visually cued to respond differently to this part of the discussion that occurs between Tayo and Betonie. This poem is Betonie's performance of a story about the origins and impact of white people, and this poem is Silko's representation of a performance that rehearses various Southwestern cultures' beliefs (filtered through the Laguna worldview) for readers.

Betonie's story about the invention of white people seems fairly straightforward. Here is a character in a Native American novel seemingly rehearsing the evil origins and horrid effects of white people. The story appears fundamentally exclusionary. But it too engages the struggle between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses. In the larger context of the novel, Leslie Silko rehearses the Lagunas' inclusionary impulse toward other Southwestern tribes (since this story derives from at least Navajo and Hopi origin stories), and she rehearses the inclusionary impulse toward whites. Betonie warns Tayo that white people are not the source of evil. They are simply manipulated by
witchery. He says, "That is the trickery of the witchcraft. They want us to believe all evil resides with white people. Then we will look no further to see what is really happening. They want us to separate ourselves from white people, to be ignorant and helpless as we watch our own destruction" (132). And, even more importantly, Betonie tells Tayo prior to this story, "Some people act like witchery is responsible for everything that happens, when actually witchery only manipulates a small portion" (130). Tayo wants to blame the whites for all the evils. He wants to vilify them in his worldview, despite the fact that he is half white. Betonie again reminds him, "You don't write off all the white people, just like you don't trust all the Indians" (128).

These stories-within-stories offer readers an example of what narratologists refer to as mise en abyme. Ross Chambers identifies two types of mise en abyme: "narra
tional embedding" which contains narrative acts within narrative acts and "figural embedding" which "consists of the incorporation into the narrative of a 'figure' (in the sense of a personage but also in the sense of an image) that is representative in some sense of 'art' or of the production and reception of narrative."³ Silko uses narrational embedding which allows for specific analysis of the

communicative situation on multiple levels. A narrator and narratee(s) may be identified at each level (witch-witches, Betonie-Tayo, Silko-readers). This particular construct is helpful in this instance given that Chambers contends that the reader must decide whether the internal (embedded) audiences offer models or antimodels for responding to the narrative. Is Tayo's response to Betonie's performance shaped by the witches' response to the performance they hear? And similarly, is our response as readers guided by Tayo's response to Betonie's performance? "Meta-responses," if you will, do figure in this performance representation.

Rehearsing the Origins of White People

Native peoples explain the arrival of white people on the North American continent in a multitude of ways. Some tribal explanations include white people during the first creation, some believe whites came from sea foam, others subscribe to a theory of a lost white brother who was created with all other races but migrated and is yet to return. The Pueblo people argue for the latter, but attempting to research their beliefs through ethnographic reports is painstakingly slow. I have more than once agreed with Alexander Stephen, a pioneer ethnologist among the Hopi, who exclaimed in his journal, "Damn these tantalyzing

4 See George E. Lankford, Native American Legends (Little Rock: August House, 1987).
whelps, to the devil with all of them! I have been bamboozled from pillar to post all day, have received no scrap of information!" My problem is just the opposite of Stephen’s: after retrieving so many partial stories and scraps of information from ethnographers of so many Southwestern tribes, it is a struggle to fit the pieces together into a coherent story.

Competing versions of origin stories of just the Navajo tribe are prolific. Trying to uncover the relationship that unfolds between white people, witches and the Puebloan creation stories in the fusion of imaginative innovation and cultural inheritance that Silko brings to her poem is mind boggling. This is not a simple story of how Silko rehearses the Laguna relations with the Navajo and the coming of white people: the early Navajo depended on the Hopi for everything from food to stories. In order to examine this performance representation, I employ a two-stage process. Initially, I trace the origin story of the Navajo (Athabascan language) that emerges from their connections with the Hopi (Uto-Aztecan language). The story accounts for the creation of white people and their connection with witches. Then, I trace how this story may have made its way to Laguna and


6 From Washington Matthews 1880s account to the present, there are 25 different versions of the Navajo origin myth.
been modified through Keres origin traditions, particularly by adding the element of competition. Although Silko claims to have "made this one up," cultural corollaries do obtain for all three tribes.

**The Navajo Tribe.** The Navajo, or Dine Bahane, believe the origin of earth surface people (humans) and many of their panoply of deities results from the magical offerings of four Holy Ones named White Body, Blue Body, Yellow Body and Black Body.\(^7\) The Navajo, like most of the Southwestern tribes, subscribe to an emergence origin myth. In the first world ant people reigned; in the second world, sparrow people reigned; in the third world, grasshopper people reigned; and in the fourth world, locust people reigned. Because of adultery, the animal-peoples were forced from one world to the next until the time, in the fourth world, when the four Holy Ones came to the animal-peoples and instructed them to cleanse themselves to prepare for the coming of a new earth surface creature that would more resemble humans.

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than animals. After twelve days, the Holy Ones returned with two perfect ears of corn, one white and one yellow. Placing eagle feathers with the ears of corn and covering them with a buckskin, the Holy Ones called on the winds to blow from the west and east. On lifting the buckskin, the Holy Ones discovered that the white ear had become a man and the yellow ear a woman. The offspring of this First Man and First Woman were five sets of twins. The first set were nadleeh, or hermaphrodites, and the last four sets contained one male and one female. The hermaphrodites invented pottery and weaving and were barren. Each member of the four other sets initially married the birth partner then separated when the Holy Ones escorted all five sets and their parents to the eastern mountains and taught them the secrets of beautiful living as well as witchery. Witchery retains an association with incest and marital disputes.8

While living in the fourth world, the Dine met a strange, yet friendly group of people whom they called "Kiisaani," the Corneaters (Hopi). These Puebloan peoples

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gave the Dine corn and pumpkins to eat and taught them to raise and irrigate crops. Intermarriages were common and the peoples prospered though they maintained their differences. Reichard notes different attitudes toward intertribal marriages. On one hand, those who marry outside the tribe are not considered the best Navajo, but on the other hand, the Navajo are proud of Hopi descent and believe it to be rather aristocratic.⁹ (At this point in the Navajo origin story, intersections with Western chronology become discernible. Archaeological records demonstrate that in the early 16th century, nomadic Athabaskan people descended from the Northwest of the continent.¹⁰)

The Dine were in the fourth world for eight years before First Man and First Woman engaged in a bitter argument and agreed to separate. First Man led all the Dine men, and some Kiisaani men joined as well, to the opposite side of the river, where they camped. For four years, the men and women lived separately until, overcome with longing for each other, the men invited the women to come across the river and join together again. While ferrying the women across the river, a mother and her two daughters disappeared. Blue Body and White Body came to the people and showed them that the Water Beast had captured the women.

⁹ Gladys Reichard, Social Life of the Navajo Indians New York: Columbia UP, 1928).

When members of the Dine went to retrieve the captured women, Trickster Coyote abducted Water Beast’s two children. A great flood followed and the people were forced again to flee. By entering a magical reed (produced by the Holy Ones and planted by Spider Woman) that ascended to the sky, First Man and First Woman lead the people into this world, the fifth world, and the Kiisaani escort them. Upon discovering Coyote’s thievery, the Dine return Water Beast’s children sparing the fifth world from the flooding that devastated the fourth world.

When the people emerged into the fifth world, Mocking Bird struck each one and changed their languages. When the Dine and the Kiisaani no longer spoke the same language, they separated. And according to some versions,11 the last people to emerge were twelve white-colored people. Two of these become Sun and Moon bearers and are witches because they demand a human life for every day/night they shine. The other ten went to the east and have not been heard from until recently.

Despite their close escape from the flood, the Dine continued to indulge in raucous and adulterous behavior and the women would sometimes use horns, stones, or gourds "to make their vaginas shout." They subsequently gave birth to monsters who devoured all the people except for First Man,

First Woman, two adults and two children. The Holy Ones reappeared to the remaining survivors carrying one piece of turquoise. In a four day ritual the Holy Ones placed the turquoise figure beside perfect ears of white and yellow corn and eagle feathers. They wrapped these objects in buckskins and called the winds to come again. From the turquoise was born Changing Woman. The six survivors departed to live in the sky with the Holy Ones. When Changing Woman slept with the Sun and with the Water Spirit she bore twin sons who, with the assistance of Spider Woman, destroyed the monsters before they departed to join their fathers.

Left alone in the fifth world, Changing Woman moves to the west to live with the Sun. But First Man and First Woman oppose her marriage to the Sun and the Holy Ones banish them to the east. In some versions of the story, they swore undying hatred and enmity to the progeny of Changing Woman, who rubs skin from various parts of her body, holds it in her hands and makes the present-day five-fingered earth surface people. And, for this reason, all

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12 It has not gone unnoticed that only the women are punished for sexual abuses (by giving birth to monsters). Several scholars note this inequality. See for example: Katherine Spencer, *Reflection of Social Life in the Navajo Origin Myth*, (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1947) 100. One version does include punishment for men however. They are punished by lightning or killed by the rattlesnake or bear. See Stephen Alexander, "Navajo Origin Legend," *Journal of American Folklore* 43 (1930): 99.

13 Spencer, *Social Life* 90.
evils come from the east, including small-pox and other
diseases, as well as the white intruder.\textsuperscript{14} Changing Woman
instructs her progeny to migrate eastward to the place of
emergence. On their migration, Changing Woman's children
encounter many other peoples, intermarry and adopt them into
their own tribe under different clan names. Some scholars
locate the origin point of the migration at Santa Cruz,
California, but the preponderance suggest the Navajo
migrated from western Canada.\textsuperscript{15} The Navajo state that they
moved as far south and east as the Rio Grande, home of the
eastern Pueblos, and their origin stories include
significant contacts with Pueblo peoples.

Thus, according to Navajo legend, the Dine descend from
Changing Woman, who receives life from the Holy Ones. White
people appear either at the final emergence and are linked
with witches, or as a result of the anger of First Man and
First Woman, who incidently, learned the secrets of witchery
from the Holy Ones and are, according to legend, the first
and most powerful witches.

\textsuperscript{14} See Washington Matthews, "A Part of the Navajo
Mythology," \textit{American Antiquarian} 5 (1883): 223.

\textsuperscript{15} For discussions of the issue see: David F. Aberle,
Eggan, "From History to Myth: A Hopi Example," \textit{Studies in
Southwestern Ethnolinguistics: Meaning and History in the
Languange of the American Southwest}, ed. Dell Hymes and W.
E. Bittle (Hague: Mouton, 1967); Richard F. Van Valkenburgh,
\textit{A Short History of the Navajo People} (Window Rock, AZ: U.S.
Department of the Interior, 1938).
Hopi Tribe. The similarities between the Navajo origin myth and the Hopi origin myth are far too many to enumerate here, though Elsie Parsons does an excellent job of identifying the virtual duplications between these cultures' origin myths and subsequently their rituals.\textsuperscript{16} It is obvious that in the majority of cultural exchanges that took place in the early 16th century, the Navajo were the recipients. Indeed, they transformed from nomadic hunters and gatherers into an agricultural people. But cultural exchange proceeds both ways, and the Navajo did not adopt all the beliefs of the Hopi. The Navajo directly influenced the Hopi beliefs regarding witchery and divination, yet they differ regarding the role of evil in the creation of white people and their predicted return to the southwest. I am not suggesting that the transition for the Navajo (or any of the other nearby tribes) was peaceful. The Dine Bahane were a violent, rather bloodthirsty tribe of thieves and vagabonds. The Athabascan group (Navajo, Apache, Comanche, Kiowa) were renowned for their ferocity and war-like behavior. The Hopis referred to the Navajo as "Tusavuhta," Headpounders, because of their propensity to kill by crushing skulls with rocks or axes. Despite the close sharing of stories, the Navajo made war on all the Pueblo peoples, including the

\textsuperscript{16} Elsie Clews Parsons, \textit{Pueblo Indian Religion} vols 1 and 2 (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1939). Parsons' work among the Pueblo people, though dated and sometimes inaccurate, remains one of the most thorough examinations of intertribal exchange in the Southwest.
Hopi. While cultural exchanges (ranging from war to trading) diffused similar stories, the Navajo and Hopi maintain different beliefs about the return of white people.

According to the thirty Hopi elders that Frank Waters interviewed,\textsuperscript{17} humans come from Spider Woman (Kokayangwuti) who gathered four colors of earth (red, yellow, black, white) and mixed it with her saliva. She spread a white cape over them and sang the creation song and they came to life. After a rapid population increase and a series of adventures and emergences through three worlds to this, the fourth world, the people were instructed to migrate to the four corners of the earth and return to the center of the universe, Hopiland. The white brother, Pahana, has yet to return. But once, though only briefly, the Hopis believed their lost white clan had come home.

In the Spring of 1540, the Spaniard Pedro de Tovar, seventeen of his horsemen and the Franciscan priest Juan de Padilla were dispatched by Francisco Viscquez de Coronado to

investigate and conquer the villages to the north of Zuni.\textsuperscript{18} In 1520, Hernan Cortes had entered and then conquered the Aztecs and Mayas (who also prophesied the coming of whites), and in the next two decades Coronado was commissioned to seize the fabled seven cities of gold (Zuni). Tovar was offered the pleasure of extending the Spanish empire even further to the north. The Hopis, however, were not caught unaware. They had predicted the place and date they would meet their Pahana and had even made arrangements for the possibility of a late arrival with specific meeting sites for five-, ten-, fifteen- and twenty-year increments of tardiness. Curiously, Cortes arrived in Aztec country when the Hopis had predicted he would arrive in Hopiland. So, Pahana’s arrival was twenty years late for the Hopis but their meeting site was pre-ordained correctly.

Almost immediately the Hopis realized Tovar was not a representative of the true Pahana. When the chief of the Bear clan extended his hand palm raised and expected Tovar to clasp with his palm down to create the sacred nakwach, a gesture of brotherhood, Tovar dropped gifts thinking that the chief wanted a present. Nonetheless, the Hopis believed Pahana had simply forgotten the agreement made at the time of separation and that they would learn to live together in peace on the land. The Hopis fed and housed the Spanish but

when Tovar found no gold and soon departed, the Hopis knew to look for trouble in the near future. Their predictions again proved true. Rather than Pahana, the Spanish were referred to as kachada (white men) or dodagee (dictator) because, by the turn of the century, Spain had conquered all of the southwest, and in 1598 the Hopis offered formal submission to the king of Spain.

For the next eighty years, Spaniards established Catholic missions in all the Pueblos, and the peoples were forced to convert to Christianity. In one recorded instance at Oraibi, a priest, upon seeing a Hopi committing "an act of idolatry," had him publicly whipped and had burning turpentine poured over him. Public hangings, burnings, and floggings for practicing "witchcraft" (traditional Hopi ceremonies) were not uncommon. Without the ceremonies to bring rain, crops failed and famine spread over the land. Many Hopis and Navajos migrated to the villages along the Rio Grande (Eastern Pueblos of Tiwa, Tewa and Keres speaking peoples). Of those who stayed, some secretly conducted the Niman Kachina (midsummer) ceremony, and, according to tradition, four days later it rained. The people decided it was time to rebel against the Spanish and reassert their own beliefs and rituals.

Led by Pope', a Tewan from San Juan Pueblo on the Rio Grande, all the Pueblos joined in a rebellion on August 10,

19 Waters 270.
1680. They killed nearly 500 Spanish soldiers along with 21 priests, and they destroyed the churches and altars. The Puebloans drove the Spanish back to Mexico, but the victory was short lived. A wave of reconquest led by Don Diego de Vargas placed the Pueblos under Spanish subjugation within twelve years. Vargas, commissioned to find the vermillion colored soil the Puebloans used as body paint, believed that it was a high-grade quicksilver ore. He knew if he found the ore, he would receive the governorship. He found it and was proclaimed governor, but almost three hundred years later the quicksilver ore was discovered to be immensely valuable for other reasons as I explain below.

Laguna-Keres Tribe. With the return of Spanish aggressions and the spread of the drought into the Rio Grande area, several people migrated southwest from the eastern Keresan Pueblos, traded with Hopi and Zuni, then traveled south toward the San Jose river where there was, in ancient times, a lake. They stopped at Acoma Pueblo for a short time and then moved just south and east of Acoma where they met 200 to 300 Puebloan people, the Kawaik, who

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had been living at a lake called Kawaiku. The Kawaiks had been living in the area since the 14th century and had recently migrated from one side of the lake to the other when the migrants from the Keresan Pueblos joined them to form what is now Laguna Pueblo, so named by then Governor Cubero in 1699 when he traveled there to take formal possession of Hopi, Zuni and the "new" pueblo by the lake. In such a way, Hopi and Navajo (and many others') tribal stories initially found their way to Laguna. The inter-tribal makeup of Laguna leads Florence Ellis to describe the Pueblo as "cosmopolitan, including a few Hopis, a Zuni family or two, and a sprinkling of Navajos as well as of Zias, Santa Anas, Jemez, Cochitis, and Domingos from the Rebellion period, plus some Acoma additions through accretion and intermarriage."\textsuperscript{21}

Like the Navajos and the Hopis, the Laguna Keres subscribe to an emergence-migration origin myth. They believe Ts'its'tsi'nako, Grandmother Spider, led the animal-people from the four worlds below to this, the fifth world, where she created her twin daughters Nau'ts'ity'i and Icts'ity'i. Ts'its'tsi'nako gives her daughters baskets with small wooden replicas of all living things which they then sing into life to create all plants and animals. After creating the cosmos, the sisters engage in a shamanistic contest. Icts'ity'i is able to identify the tracks of the

\textsuperscript{21} Ellis 18.
turkey; Nau’ts’ity’i fails to identify the tracks of a chaparral cock. Icts’ity’i then identifies the tracks of a serpent. When she calls, the serpent appears, and Nau’ts’ity’i accuses her sister of being a witch. Icts’ity’i transforms herself into a man, and the sisters have intercourse, whereupon Nau’ts’ity’i gives birth to the war twins, Maseewee and Oyuyewee. After shaping the world (e.g., placing mountains and rivers), overcoming various monster/tricksters, and creating the panoply of deities, Nau’ts’ity’i takes Maseewee as her spouse and gives birth to the Keres people, and they dwell near the place of emergence, Shipap. Icts’ity’i takes Oyuyewee as her spouse, moves to the east and becomes White Peoples’ Father, though she must always answer to Nau’ts’ity’i, who is the first born and most powerful creator.

When we turn now to Silko’s text, beliefs from all three tribes—Navajo, Hopi and Laguna-Keres—regarding the origin of white people and role of witchery emerge more clearly. In general, the gathering of witches and the predicted arrival of whites derives from the Hopi, specifically from the Ya Ya ceremony which witches from all over the world attend. The practices of the witches during the ritual, such as becoming animals, use of flint, cinders, and skin whorls derives from the Navajo. And the contestation that leads to the creation of whites derives
from the Laguna Keres, based perhaps on the contest between Nau’ts’ity’i and Icts’ity’i.

Rehearsing the Impact of White People

What we have in Betonie’s performance is a representation of a coven of witches who have come together to show off their powers. They display their ability to change forms, their deadly cooking pots and their magical bundles. But one witch, whose home and gender remain unknown, shows off no special powers. This one simply tells a story. In this story-within-a-story, the unknown witch foretells the coming of “white skin people” who will destroy all the animals, the people, and ultimately themselves. It is the mysterious witch’s prophecy that I now address as it rehearses the impact of the arrival of whites.

The witch makes nine predictions (echoing the nine prophecies of the Hopi) regarding whites. In a temporal inversion, eight of these predictions actually rehearse the past relations between the Native American tribes and the Anglo-Americans who followed and deposed the Spanish conquistadors. The final prediction, World War III and nuclear holocaust, fortunately has not come to fruition.

The first two predictions identify pale people across the ocean and their inability to see that nature is alive. (The Pahana have lost their way and their connection to the mother earth). Their blindness comes from their fear of
anything or anyone different. Their inclination is to destroy what they fear, including themselves. Bound by their Puritanical beliefs and inhibitions, unlike the Spanish and French who intermarried with tribal peoples, the English aimed for wholesale destruction. These are the people, whom in the third prediction, the wind blows across the ocean, "thousands of them in giant boats/ swarming like larva/ out of a crushed ant hill" (137). These were people like Cotton Mather, who wrote soon after the Mayflower arrived and the Pequot massacre occurred, "the woods were almost cleared of those pernicious creatures, to make room for a better growth". And they were people like John Endicott, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony of the 1630s, who believed Native people were a plague "that must be smothered if we want our children to live in freedom." He insisted all Natives be taken out of sight and shot.

In the fourth prediction, white people have guns and begin the real business of destroying the Native people and animals. They were people like New Netherlands colonists of 1641 who offered bounties for Native scalps, and the Reverend Solomon Stoddard in Massachusetts, who urged

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22 Here, the witch invokes a connection between Ant people and witchery that I examine in the last chapter.

23 Waters 278.

colonists to hunt Native people with dogs and guns as they hunted bears. And they were people like Colorado legislators of 1814 who placed bounties for the "destruction of Indians and skunks."  

In the fifth prediction, white people "will poison the water/ they will spin the water away" (136). They were people like the settlers in Oregon who placed a bounty on Native people and coyotes, trailed them with hounds, and poisoned their springs. To save the expense of lead and powder, Oregonians clubbed the Native women to death and bashed the brains of the children against trees.  

The sixth prediction claims, "Entire villages will be wiped out/ They will slaughter whole tribes" (136). Instances of genocide at the hands of white people are too numerous to list, but three examples demonstrate how this witch's prediction rehearses the impact of Anglo-Americans as they moved west across the continent. I choose these three because they are linked by a particularly ugly metaphor. During the Black Hawk War of 1832 the Sauks were chased to the mouth of the Bad Axe river in Wisconsin, where they were slaughtered. One soldier, John House, found an infant tied to a piece of cotton wood bark and shot the child in the head claiming, "Kill the nits, and you'll have

25 Waters 279.
26 Waters 279.
Farther west in 1864, Anglo-Americans massacred the Cheyennes at Sand Creek, Colorado. Led by Colonel J. M. Chivington, a Methodist minister and presiding elder from Denver, the militia killed all the people camped there. The militia shot, bludgeoned and clubbed to death 75 men and 225 women, children and elderly people. Chivington ordered, "Kill and scalp all Indians, big and little; nits make lice." The Colonel took their scalps to Denver and displayed them on the stage of a theatre. And finally, in the same year as the Sand Creek massacre, the Yanans were exterminated in the foothills of Mount Lassen. And again, a soldier exclaimed, "We must kill them big and little, nits will be lice."

The seventh prediction, that the whites will bring deadly epidemics, similarly rehearses the negative impact of Anglo-Americans. Pueblo peoples associate disease with witchery, and they associate whites with witchery. So, it is not surprising that with the colonists and settlers came

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27 Drinnon 199.
28 Waters 279; Drinnon 502.
29 I would argue that this is another instance, similar to Mullaney's example of the French performance of the Brazilians at Rouen, in which a performance rehearses the Anglo-Americans' celebration of the exploitation and destruction of a culture. In a rather limited way, this might be construed as an imperialist performance, Native people (or their body parts) perform the others' culture for those others.
30 Drinnon 502.
smallpox, syphilis, trachoma, tuberculosis, whooping cough, malaria, typhoid and influenza. While with the Northeast and Plains tribes, colonists purposefully traded smallpox infected blankets, with the Southwestern tribes less insidious cultural exchanges provided ample opportunities for spreading diseases.

In the Southwest, the first deadly epidemic hit in 1781. Smallpox killed more than 5000 people, mostly Hopi. They died as the witch predicted, "covered with festered sores/ shitting blood/ vomiting blood" (137). Smallpox was the deadliest disease. It came again in 1788, and 1800. In 1843, the disease completely decimated Hano, a Hopi village. And in 1853 and 1866, the disease combined with drought to further the loss of life. In California during this same time, while the Gold Rush was in full swing, conservative estimates of the Native population suggest that 100,000 people lived in the area. As a result of disease and starvation brought by white land-grabbers, within ten years 70,000 of the Native inhabitants were exterminated. Again in 1898, a devastating smallpox outbreak reduced the total Hopi population to only 1,832 people.

32 Parsons, Pueblo Religions, vol. 2, 973-1065.
33 Drinnon 502.
34 Waters 292.
The final two predictions, like the first two, work together. The whites will conquer "this world from ocean to ocean"; then "they will turn on each other/ they will destroy each other" (137). Anglo-American people have taken everything from Plymouth, Massachusetts, to San Diego, California. All that remains for them is self-destruction. And the mysterious witch predicts a nuclear nightmare. What this prediction actually rehearses is the discovery that the vermillion colored soil Vargas believed to be quicksilver ore contains traces of uranium. And beneath the soft soil are the largest uranium deposits in the United States. The witch claims, "Up here/ in these hills/ they will find the rocks,/ rocks with veins of green and yellow and black./ They will lay the final pattern with these rocks/ they will lay it across the world/ and explode everything" (137). In 1943, white scientists found the rocks on the Laguna Reservation, at Mt. Taylor (also known as San Mateo in Spanish and Tse’pina, "Lady Veiled in Clouds," in Keres). Mt. Taylor is the holy mountain for the Laguna people because there, on the south slope, is Shipap, the place of emergence. The progressive faction of the tribe successfully argued for leasing the rights to mine the uranium, and on July 16, 1945, (three weeks before the annihilation of Hiroshima), several of the Lagunas believed the sun had risen when they saw the first atomic test at Trinity site, 150 miles from Old Laguna. White people have
yet to destroy the world as we know it, but the mechanisms are in place. And according to the Pueblo peoples, World War III will begin with the peoples in the other old countries (India, China, Egypt, Palestine or Africa). The U. S. will be destroyed, land and people. Only the Pueblos will remain as an oasis for "those who take no part in the making of world division, be they of the Black, White, Red, or Yellow race. They are all one, brothers."\(^{35}\)

In the witch's story within Betonie's performance, the other witches who serve as the audience are clearly frightened by the evil unleashed in this telling. It is a horrifying story. But even more horrifying, once something is said, it cannot be unsaid. Once a story is told, it cannot be untold. Betonie's lesson to Tayo is not merely a history of where white people came from and why. Rather, he demonstrates for Tayo the power of language and storytelling. Noticeably, Silko does not report Tayo's response to Betonie's performance. After the old shaman's performance a prolepsis occurs and we flashforward to the next morning with Tayo and Betonie and Betonie's assistant, Shush, riding into the Chuska Mountains. I read Silko's choice of not recording Tayo's response to the performance as an indication of Tayo's silence, both as an act of respect and wisdom. What Tayo learns in the performance is that language may well be dangerous. Out of respect and

\(^{35}\) Waters 334.
wisdom, Tayo knows better than to behave like the witches. They become an antimodel for him. Tayo’s silence also indicates the success of Betonie’s performance. What Tayo learns and that Tayo learns is indicated not by questioning and further talk, but rather, through silence (or better yet, silent meditation). Tayo’s silence then becomes an indicator (or model) of how readers may respond to Silko’s story. We may choose the response of the witches and request that Silko “call that story back” much like her colleagues who were not flattered by such a portrayal of the origins and impact of white people. Or we may choose Tayo’s response as a model—silent thought—and, while engaged in such meditation, we might perhaps consider why Silko chose to tell the story the way she did.\(^\text{36}\)

Silko situates Betonie’s performance in the center of her larger story, *Ceremony*. Half way through the novel, Betonie’s performance offers the beginning of a new direction in Tayo’s life. Half way through the novel, Tayo’s half-white status assumes a new significance for him and for readers. Tayo is not evil because he is part white, nor is he good because he is part Laguna. Betonie’s performance teaches Tayo that his impulses to include or exclude others cannot be race-dependent. The old shaman’s performance demonstrates one tenet of the inclusionary and

\(^{36}\) Ironically, I cannot help thinking that my choice to respond to the story would align me with the witches. But, I do not choose to dwell too long on that subject. . . .
exclusionary struggle: good and evil exist in everyone (not in races or tribes), and discovering the difference between good and evil is central to discovering what to include or exclude regarding other peoples' lifeways.

In this witchery story, Silko rehearses the impact of several cultures on the Laguna people. She rehearses the struggle over assimilation or isolation while never losing sight of the understanding that growth requires change, and change requires a delicate balance between including other cultural views and maintaining one's own cultural views. Despite the massacres, diseases, and imperialist land policies Native Americans have suffered at the hands of Anglo-Americans, Native people endure. And we endure because of the stories we remember and retell. These stories rehearse who we are, where we came from, and where we are going.
He sat in the center of the white corn sand painting. The rainbows crossed were in the painting behind him (141).

The morning following Betonie’s story of the invention of white people from a witch’s curse, the old medicine man and his helper, Shush, escort Tayo on horseback to a stone hogan high in the Chuska Mountains.1 Here, Betonie performs a healing ceremony that starts Tayo on the path to spiritual and physical wholeness. This ritual, perhaps more than any other representation of performance within the novel, most clearly demonstrates how Silko rehearses the contestation between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses in and around Laguna. That Tayo seeks the assistance of a Navajo medicine man rehearses the Laguna’s strong inclusionary impulse toward Navajo healers and the long history of such connections.2 And, yet, within the first

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1 This trip into the mountains echoes the trip made by First Man, First Woman and their five sets of twins as the Holy Ones escorted them into the eastern mountains to teach them beautiful living (hozho) and evil living (hocho). The name of Betonie’s assistant, Shush, is Navajo for "Bear." When the character is introduced, Betonie tells a story about a boy who goes to live with the Bear people. Notably, the elders of the Bear Clan are the ones who perform the Red Antway.

2 Karl Luckert traces the connections between Pueblo peoples and Navajo healers that began in 1750 when the Navajo first moved into Chinle Valley. The shamans were
few minutes of the encounter between Tayo and Betonie, we become aware of Tayo's struggle. At moments, he wants to flee from the old man, "'Go ahead,' old Betonie said, 'you can go. Most of the Navajos feel the same way about me. You won't be the first one to run away'" (118). Tayo looks around the hogan and wants "to dismiss all of it as an old man's rubbish, debris that had fallen out of the years" (120). He wants to yell at the medicine man, "to yell the things the white doctors had yelled at him--that he had to think only of himself, and not about the others, that he would never get well as long as he used words like 'we' and 'us'" (125). Yet Tayo knows better, the white doctors' medicine failed him, and old Ku'oosh's Scalp Ceremony did not help much. He knows "his sickness [is] only part of something larger, and his cure would be found only in something great and inclusive of everything" (126). The process is set into motion for Silko to rehearse the Navajo healing practices that have been accepted and included by Keres peoples.³

³ "Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States the Apaches and various Pueblo peoples share with the Navajo many of the beliefs concerning ants, especially their disease causing properties" (122). See Leland Wyman's The Red Antway of the Navajo (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1973).
Betonie performs the Navajo Red Antway Chant; that is, the old shaman presents inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behaviors. That his behavior is performance will become quite clear in my later discussion of the history of this ceremonial, but even more specifically, in the world of the novel, Betonie's performance is ritual. All of the participants share and accept the lifeways that this performance articulates. For Silko's readers, this representation of performance is secular: Silko does not presume that the audience for her performance will accept these lifeways. Rather, she is sharing and articulating her tribal values for us.

In the character of Betonie and in his ritual, Silko demonstrates the struggle and the necessary balance between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses. By juxtaposing the text of Betonie's ritual against the text of a similar ritual collected by Fr. Berard Haile and by examining Betonie's comments about ritual-making, I present a third site in this novel where cultural rehearsal both maintains and challenges Laguna cultural assumptions. Initially, however, I offer background information on the nature and function of Navajo healing rituals.

**Navajo Chantways**

Betonie's healing ceremony derives from the Coyote Transformation rite and other prayers in the Evilway version
of the Red Antway Chant. To explain this description, a brief review of a taxonomy of Navajo chantways is helpful. The largest group of chantways, the Holyway chants, are used when the illness is traced to offenses against various supernaturals and Holy Ones. The Red Antway is one of the Holyway chants. The second group includes the Evilway chants that are used for curing sickness caused by ghosts, either native or foreign. Notably, the complexities of Navajo ceremonialism do not allow for the Holyway and Evilway chants to be viewed as totally separate or discrete rituals. There are various Evilway forms of some Holyway chants. The third and smallest group includes the Lifeway chants which are used in cases of bodily injury.

4 The myth of the Red Antway, the prototype ceremonial, and the coyote transformation rite are most thoroughly examined in Leland Wyman's The Red Antway of the Navaho (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of Navaho Ceremonial Art, 1973). The Navajo and Pueblo peoples associate ants with witchcraft and the Puebloans believe ants control success in warfare. According to Son of the Late Tall Deschini, who recorded this myth for Father Berard Haile in the 1930s, the Navajo ascended through twelve worlds, three of each color, red, blue, yellow and white. See also Robert C. Bell, "Circular Design in Ceremony," American Indian Quarterly 5 (1979): 47-62.

5 This group of chantways includes seven subgroups containing 25 chantways total. For this taxonomy I follow Wyman and Kluckhohn's "Navajo Classification of Their Song Ceremonials," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 50 (1938). See Figure 6.1.
Holyway Chants
A. Shooting Chant Subgroup
   Hail Way
   Water Way
   Male Shooting Way
   Female Shooting Way
   Red Ant Way
   Big Star Way
B. Mountain Chant Subgroup
   Mountaintop Way
   Prostitution Way
   Way to Remove Somebody's Paralysis
   Moth Way
   Beauty Way
C. God-Impersonator's Subgroup
   Night Way
   Big God Way
   Plume Way
   Dog Way
   Coyote Way
   Raven Way
D. Wind Chant Subgroup
   Navajo Wind Way
   Chiricahua Wind Way
E. Hand Trembling Way
F. Eagle Trapping Subgroup
   Eagle Way
   Bead Way
G. Group of obsolete Chants
   Awl Way
   Earth Way
   Reared in Earth Way
Lifeway Chants
   Flint Way
   Life Way
Evilway Chants
A. Purification from Natives Subgroup
   Upward-Reaching Way
   Various evilway forms of chants appearing in Holyways
B. Purification from Aliens Subgroup
   Enemy Way
   Two Went Back for Scalp Way
   Ghosts of Every Description Way

Figure 6.1
Wyman and Kluckhohn Chantway Classification

Leland Wyman describes the function of the rituals clearly. "Most of the chantways are dominated by a ritual or pattern of behavior governing procedure that is concerned with restoration and the attraction of good, a ritual which may be translated as Holyway. A few of them may also be performed according to Evilway ritual, characterized by acts designed to exorcise native ghosts and thus cure sickness caused by them, and, hopefully, to combat the effects of witchcraft."\(^7\)

To understand why Betonie's ritual derives from the Red Antway, we have to consider the nature of Tayo's illness and we need to return briefly to the Navajo origin story for an explanation of the role of red ants in disease and healing. In what may be construed as his pre-ritual psychological interview with Betonie,\(^8\) Tayo reveals that he believes he is responsible for the drought and for Josiah's and Rocky's deaths. He suffers from a "choked throat" and he vomits numerous times. He has reached the point at which the bad dreams do not wait for nighttime any longer. They come in the middle of the day. Visions of people and places he believes he has wronged haunt him incessantly. In the


\(^8\) I do not construe the conversation between Betonie and Tayo as performance because it is not inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior. However, during the time they spend together, Betonie tells stories and performs the Red Antway—which are inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive and social behaviors.
Laguna-Keres and Navajo belief systems, one way of treating these symptoms is to supplicate the animal spirits who are responsible for them and then to exorcise the evil that the spirits inflicted. In this case, Red Ants are the animal-spirits to be appeased.

Using their wizardry, angry Red Ant people may send various categories of diseases and disturbances to humans. The diseases they send are primarily of a genitourinary nature, although other conditions such as gastrointestinal distress, skin diseases, or sore throat are also Ant-inflicted. Ant People may be offended if a person disturbs, digs up, spits on, urinates on, sleeps on, or merely walks over their house—even if it is inadvertent or accidental. Like snakes, Ant People may carry messages to spirits in the four worlds below, and like toads, Ant People are able to bring rain.

When Tayo curses the rain in the jungle of the Pacific island where Rocky dies, he is not behaving as a Laguna-Keres man should. In the arid Southwest, the old wisdom says never curse rain or her relatives, not even when 3000 miles away in a rain-drenched jungle. Before the war, a strong young man with ambitions of raising a new breed of cattle, now Tayo gags and vomits; he is pursued by nightmares from the past; he sits through the present typically in a dark tavern that smells of urine and

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cigarettes with small whirls of smoke drifting about. In the Navajo and Laguna worldviews, odds are the Red Ant people have something to do with this state of affairs and an Evilway version of the Red Antway is the only cure. This ritual "may be used to forestall evil dreams which would portend misfortune to life and property. The influence of ghosts of animals or other beings that travel in darkness ('witchery of the whirling darkness') is suspected if a person has a feeling of suffocating, loss of sleep or appetite, ugly dreams, loss of weight, or other alarming symptoms."  

Myth of the Red Antway

In the first world, Ant People reigned. The Red, Black, Yellow and Pinching Ants came into being as evil doers, capable of killing and inflicting every known sting. Because of fighting and adultery, the Holy Ones call the Ant People together and discover that they possess powerful weapons, various bows and arrows and suits of armor made of flint. When they refuse to cease fighting and committing adultery, the Holy Ones force the Ant People to flee upward

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10 Wyman, Red Antway 25. Perhaps the Ant People influenced the mysterious witch who tells of the coming of white people, "swarming like larva/ out of a crushed anthill."

from world to world. In the third world, they learn to use wizardry, shooting particles--grains of sand from anthills--into others to cause illness. Then, along with First Man and First Woman, they endure the separation of sexes and the great flood sent by the Water Spirit. Finally, in the fourth world (the present world for the Navajo), the other animal-people seek help from more powerful deities in controlling the Ant People. Horned Toad appears after a great Ant battle and agrees to restore all the dead Ant People if they will give him their weapons. The Ant People agree and are restored and yet rendered defenseless. Horned Toad does allow the Red Ant People to keep their power to sting noting, "with this only, though worthless, you may have a pastime in the future! Even so, the very effects of it will be painful."\(^\text{12}\) First Man suggests replacing their flint armor in their interior because now they are virtually helpless. He suggests, "It shall be a chant by which good shall be produced. Therefore, this evil part which was on it shall be omitted when it is replaced in them. Thus, by reversing it, it shall be a Peacefulway chant, and when in the future earth surface people begin to come into being, it shall be in their chant."\(^\text{13}\) Horned Toad agrees and he restricts the Red Ant Peoples' sacred and deadly weapons to

\(^\text{12}\) Wyman, *Red Antway* 126. Wyman notes red ants are known for their vicious bites in the Southwest, and they are associated with witchcraft (22).

\(^\text{13}\) Wyman, *Red Antway* 128.
wizardry and flint armored interiors that guarantee strength.

After Horned Toad restored the Red Ant People, they offered their witchcraft bows and arrows. Breathing on the weapons four times, Horned Toad then swallowed them, even the zigzag lightning arrow, showing he has no fear of thunder. He waved his hand to cause the Red Ant People to forget they ever possessed such dangerous weapons and sent the animal-peoples on their way.

The Red Ant People make camp at Slim Water Canyon and begin to hunt deer for their food. At this place, a young couple fall in love and marry. But Coyote wants the young woman for himself and while Dark Red Ant Young Man is out hunting, Coyote exchanges skins with the hunter and takes his place, leaving him to die under the trees. The Ant-man’s wife and mother-in-law realize what has happened. After a five day search, they find Dark Red Ant Young Man and ask the elders of the Bear clan to cure him, which the elders do by performing the Prototype Ceremonial--the ceremony which restores his body and mind.

Prototype Ceremonial of the Male Evilway of the Red Antway

The Prototype Ceremonial, the series of ritual prayers and gestures that the elders perform for Dark Red Ant Young Man, are now regarded as the necessary procedures for
healing one who suffers afflictions sent by the Red Ant People.

This five day ceremonial includes repetitions of fifteen different rituals and some 547 different songs that rehearse the period from the Emergence to Dark Red Ant Young Man's capture by Coyote and his final healing via the chantway. (See Figure 6.2.)

In the chantways, the patient, or "one-sung-over", identifies with and assumes the role of the young hero, in this case Dark Red Ant Young Man, in order to symbolically rehearse the events told in the myth and thus appease the Holy Ones who brought the affliction. The patient listens to the story of the Coyote Transformation while sitting on the white corn sand painting. Then the elders chant the Bear's Prayer as they escort the one-sung-over through five large hoops, symbolizing "the removal of a shroud with which evil dreams and visions of ghosts have enveloped the mind, much as the dried skin of the coyote encased the hero's body in the legend."14

In the Prototype, the hoop ceremony with the Bear's Prayer does not completely remove the evil. Dark Red Ant Young Man is unable to breathe, think, see or hear, and he is covered with light hair (which explains why earth surface people have hair on their legs). So they spin him around sunwise and this motion restores all his senses except his

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<tr>
<th>Big Star Way</th>
<th>Male Shooting Way</th>
<th>Male Red Ant Way</th>
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<tr>
<td>Unraveling</td>
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<td>Short Singing</td>
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<td>Fire Making</td>
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<td>Big Hoops</td>
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<td>Sweat-Emetic</td>
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<td>Sandpainting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dawn Procedures</td>
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Figure 6.2
Ceremonies of the Evilway Chants\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\) The information for this figure is derived from Leland Wyman, *The Red Antway of the Navaho* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of Navaho Ceremonial Art, 1973). These chantways last five nights. The numbers correspond to the nights on which the ceremonies are held.
The elders turn to Thunder and offer their prayers. He crashes four times next to the one-sung-over, and his hearing returns, yet all kinds of evil are still upon him.

While singing the six prayers to Thunder, the Ant People gather red herbs for an emetic from beneath a lightning struck tree, they gather limbs for fire pokers from the same tree, and they gather various grasses and braid them together to make unravelings. Thunder Prayers accompany the Fire making ritual, the Sweat-emetic ritual, and the Unraveling ritual. But these do not effect a complete cure either. Thunder asks, "What do you think shall be done next, you who are gathered here?" The elders build a garment of yucca, spruce, fir and assorted grasses. After placing the garment on Dark Red Ant Young Man, the cutting songs begin while two men, representing Monster Slayer and Born for Water, use flint blades to cut the garment from him. "The fact is that, after Coyote had struck him with the dried skin, every evil thing which existed on him was to be cut up, and this it seems got to be the cutting up part at present." Following the

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16 Unravelings "purposed to have the moving power straightened out again. These, of course, were made with snakeweek, grama grass, rock sage, red grass, with one feather of the bundle (brush) placed upon them. In accord with this, at a chant, (the patient) is pressed with them, one is unraveled at his soles, another at his knees, at his heart, at his mouth and at the top of his head" (Wyman 146).

17 Monster Slayer and Born for Water are the twin war spirits born to Changing Woman from her liaisons with the Sun.

18 Wyman, Red Antway 152.
Garment ritual are a Bathing ritual, a Blackening ritual, a Ghost offering, Overshooting rituals, Token-tyings, All-night-singing. The Ceremonial ends with Dawn Procedures on the fifth morning.

Silko uses the sandpainting and the Hoop ritual in combination with two prayers, a song, and a story from the Evilway version of the Red Antway to create the ceremony that Betonie performs for Tayo. The Coyote Transformation rite, the Bear’s Prayer (once known as Red Ant’s Prayer) for praying the patient through the hoops, the Thunder Prayers, and a cutting song from Garment ritual, appear in Betonie’s performance. A closer comparison of two performances of the ceremony reveals how Silko rehearses the struggle over ways of adapting to new cultural conditions (inclusionary impulse) while maintaining familiar cultural conventions (exclusionary impulse).

Betonie and Son of the Late Tall Deschchini: Representations of the Red Antway Chant

The similarities between the performances of the ritual offered by Silko’s character and Father Berard Haile’s chantway singer attest to the persistence of Laguna cultural...
beliefs. We can recognize a strong exclusionary force is at work when sections of the ceremony are virtually identical. Interestingly, Silko claims no working knowledge of the studies by anthropologists in her geographical area, and she generally chooses not to read them. Her knowledge derives from the oral tradition. She reports:

I was never tempted to go to those things . . . . There were some things that I heard and some things that I knew, and I thought, well, you know, you've just got to stick with it, with what you have. I figured that anybody could go to the anthropologist's reports and look at them. I've looked at them myself, but I've never sat down with them and said I'm going to make a poem or a story out of this. The more I think about it, I realize I don't have to because from the time I was little I heard quite a bit. I heard it in what might be passed off now as rumor or gossip. I could hear through all that. I could hear something else, that there was a kind of continuum that was really there despite Elsie Clews Parsons. In 1930, you know, she wrote off Laguna as a lost cause. She said it had no kiva, that it was dead. I think she wrote that somewhere. And the same thing went for the oral tradition. . . . I also know the attitudes of people around here to those reports. You don't know how accurate they are. I started writing a story about ethnologists just continually milking their informants, kind of reversing that. When I started to write, I started to laugh. I never did get past the first meeting. This Charlie Coyote type starting to size up the anthropologist, he's talking about someone else who's been out in the kitchen all this time pretending not to understand what was going on. After he leaves they start discussing, "What'd you tell him that for? Those are outrageous lies." I've always been real leery

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20 Betonie's ceremony on pages 139-144, 153, 258, and 260-261 of Silko's Ceremony directly correspond with the version recorded by Father Berard Haile as told by Son of the Late Tall Deschchini in the 1930s. For Haile's version see pages 131-45, 152, and 189 in Wyman, Red Antway. I reproduce sections of these texts below.
of the kinds of things that the ethnologists picked up, another reason not to fool around with it.\textsuperscript{21}

Since Silko learns stories and rituals through the oral tradition, her working knowledge of specific procedures of the Evilway version of the Red Antway may seem at first quite astonishing given that she was never trained as a shaman of the Red Antway. Nonetheless, here is evidence in abundance of the power of the diffusion of discourse and storytelling as cultural rehearsal. Silko knows the ritual and myth-behind-the-ritual because of the sharing of lifeways among the Laguna-Keres and the Navajo, that is to say, a strong inclusionary impulse exists between these two tribes. And yet, the replication of the songs and gestures that Betonie performs demonstrates a strong exclusionary impulse. This healing ceremony has remained fairly consistent since the elders of the Bear clan first performed the Prototype Ceremonial for Dark Red Ant Young Man.

As prescribed in the Prototype Ceremonial, Betonie begins his ceremonial with the story of the Coyote Transformation and the building of the five hoops made of hard oak, scrub oak, pinon, juniper, and wild rose. He and his helper make sand paintings of mountain ranges and bear prints in dark, blue, yellow and white sand. They paint a white corn sand painting with a rainbow above it. Tayo sits in the middle of the sand painting and Betonie gives him a basket containing prayer

sticks to hold. In the Prototype Ceremonial, the shaman then uses a piece of flint to cut the one-sung-over, a small diagonal cut at the top of the head, and escorts him through the hoops with the Bear’s prayer. In Betonie’s ceremonial however, after giving Tayo the basket, Betonie inserts the introduction of Monster Slayer’s cutting song from the Garment ritual followed by sections of the sixth Thunder Prayer before he cuts Tayo and escorts him through the hoops with the Bear’s prayer.

Though Betonie’s arrangement of prayers and gestures is different from the Prototype, the wording of the Coyote Transformation story and the prayers is strikingly similar. For example, the opening of Betonie’s prayer sequence (from Monster Slayer’s cutting song) in Silko’s version closely corresponds to Son of the Late Tall Deschchini’s in Haile’s version:

Silko
en-e-e-ya-a-a-a-a-a!
en-e-e-ya-a-a-a-a-a!
en-e-e-ya-a-a-a-a-a!
en-e-e-ya-a-a-a-a-a!
en-e-e-ya-a-a-a-a-a!
In dangerous places you have traveled
in danger you traveled
to a dangerous place you traveled
in danger e-hey-ya-ah-na! (142)
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Bottom part of 218
219-222
Top part of 223

University Microfilms International
Haile

En-e-ya-a-a-a, in a dangerous place you are traveling, in danger you travel, in danger you travel, in a dangerous spot you are traveling. E-hey-ya-ah-na! (189)

From the beginning of Betonie’s ceremony, it is obvious that Silko’s telling is as significant as what she tells. Her remarkable recapitulation of the Red Antway text as recorded in the 1930s is comparable to the shaman’s requirement for ritualistic precision and repetition in an actual performance of the chantway. Again, comparing two longer sections of these texts points to remarkable similarities. I present Silko’s version of the Coyote Transformation story followed by Haile’s version:
Betonie acknowledges that "if a singer tampers with any part of the ritual, great harm can be done, great power unleashed" (126), and Silko abides by her character's claim. As in the cutting songs, Silko's representations of the Coyote Transformation story, the Thunder Prayers, and the Bear's Prayer/Hoop ritual are virtually identical to the cultural practices described by Son of the Late Tall Deschchini. The precision with which Silko repeats the prayers and gestures from the Prototype Ceremonial that she uses to construct Betonie's ceremony rehearse the exclusionary impulse at work in her culture.

Nonetheless, many elements of the Prototype Ceremonial are not included in Silko's representation. Only five of the fifteen rituals that compose the full Male Evilway of the Red Antway Chant are represented. Betonie's ceremonial certainly derives from the Red Antway, but the alterations, the differences between Silko's medicine man and Haile's informant cannot be overlooked. Herein lies the heart of the struggle between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses: Silko, through her character of Betonie, changes the
ceremony. What in cultural practice requires a five night ceremonial, Silko accomplishes in one evening. As she is engaged in the very process of repeating the ceremony, Silko also presents the argument for the need for changing it, in other words, she articulates the inclusionary impulse at work in and around Laguna. Betonie, of course, becomes her spokesperson for the need for cultural transformation and his argument, offered to us as he presents it to Tayo, deserves to be quoted in full:

Long ago when the people were given these ceremonies, the changing began, if only in the aging of the yellow gourd rattle or the shrinking of the skin around the eagle's claw, if only in the different voices from generation to generation, singing the chants. You see, in many ways, the ceremonies have always been changing.

At one time, the ceremonies as they had been performed were enough for the way the world was then. But after the white people came, elements in this world began to shift; and it became necessary to create new ceremonies. I have made changes in the rituals. The people mistrust this greatly, but only this growth keeps the ceremonies strong.

She [Betonie's grandmother] taught me this above everything else: things which don't shift and grow are dead things. They are things the witchery people want. Witchery works to scare people, to make them fear growth. But it has always been necessary, and more than ever now, it is. Otherwise we won't make it. We won't survive. That's what the witchery is counting on: that we will cling to the ceremonies the way they were, and then their power will triumph, and the people will be no more (126).

Chambers argues that the mise en abyme (narrational embedding) offers models and antimodels for readers' responses, Tayo's response to Betonie's argument offers us a model: "He wanted to believe old Betonie. He wanted to keep
the feeling of his worlds alive inside himself so that he could believe he might get well" (126). Like Tayo, I argue, we want to believe Betonie, too.

Betonie's argument (as Silko presents it in what I construe as a "speech" to Tayo) is itself a performance. It is inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior. Within this performance for Tayo (Silko's representation of performance for readers), Betonie rehearses the traditional Navajo (and Laguna) beliefs regarding behavior, space and time—all in the process of arguing for change and adaptability as the only means of preserving the past for the present and future. Betonie opens his argument with the Navajo frame, "long ago," and he indicates directly the rehearsed nature of this performance when he refers to his first and most powerful teacher, his grandmother. Betonie appeals to tradition to argue for change. He relies on the strength of exclusionary impulses to argue for the need and benefit of inclusionary impulses. After Betonie performs his version of the Evilway branch of the Red Antway, he tells Tayo more explicitly about his own history, about how he learned the stories and rituals from his grandmother. An interesting connection between names emerges in my research at this point. Betonie's grandmother was taught by her much older husband, Descheeny. Haile's informant is Deschchini. I do not know if this is simply a common name, or if the name has a specific meaning. The similarities are striking.
The remarkable precision with which Silko repeats elements of the Prototype Ceremonial is matched by the remarkable changes she makes in the ceremonial as Betonie performs it. The full Holyway version of the Red Antway lasts nine nights. Son of the Late Tall Deschini's Male Evilway version of the Red Antway ceremony lasts five nights; Betonie's, one evening. The Prototype Ceremonial includes 547 songs or prayers for repetitions of fifteen different rituals, Betonie's ceremonial includes excerpts from prayers and songs and the Hoop ritual. Silko omits rituals that occur on the fourth and fifth nights of the Prototype Ceremonial: the dawn procedures, all night singing, token-tyings, ghost offering, blackening, bathing, and overshooting rituals do not appear. Similarly, two rituals from the first night do not appear, the short singing and consecration of the hogan. These omissions are significant indicators of Silko's awareness of her audiences' willingness to accept her performance on two pragmatic levels. If she included all of the songs and rituals, publishers probably would not support publication because of the repetition and sheer length, and readers not trained in attending to such lengthy and repetitious ceremonies would not continue reading.

Silko does not include the sweat-emetic ritual, the fire ritual or the unraveling ritual, but she does include excerpts of the Thunder prayers that accompany them.
Similarly, Silko does not include the garment ritual but she includes an excerpt of the songs. Of the fifteen rituals that make up the Prototype Ceremonial, Silko features the five most repeated rituals as she includes the songs and prayers that accompany them. The elders make sandpaintings on each of the five nights, and the Hoop ritual occurs on each night. The Sweat-emetic ritual and the Unraveling ritual, accompanied by Thunder prayers, occur on each of the first four nights, and the Garment ritual, accompanied by cutting songs, occurs on the second and third nights. So despite the significant changes in the ceremonial, Silko does concentrate our focus on the five rituals that recur most frequently throughout the five night Prototype Ceremonial.\textsuperscript{22}

One other scholar briefly addresses the relationship between Betonie’s ceremony and its cultural correlate still performed today, albeit infrequently, at the Laguna and Navajo reservations. Robert Bell too, contends that Betonie’s ceremony derives from the Evilway version of the Red Antway, but he claims the ceremony operates as a repetition and recapitulation of the mythic hero-quest

\textsuperscript{22} That Silko directs our attention to the five rituals which constitute the basis of a five night ceremonial should not be dismissed, especially given that the Laguna-Keres believe that the present world is the fifth world, not the fourth world as the Navajo believe.
pattern common in Native American rituals.\textsuperscript{23} Thus, by identifying with and symbolically repeating the behaviors of the hero, in this case Dark Red Ant Young Man, the one-sung-over placates the Red Ants who sent the disturbance and is soon freed from illness. The myth of the Red Antway, however, "departs from the standard Navajo pattern of the hero-quest and adopts the Origin Myth and its personnel as a framework in which to establish the disasters necessitating restoration of the victims with its concomitant instructions as to curing procedures."\textsuperscript{24} Rather than focus on a single hero or heroine who gets into a series of predicaments that requires supernatural aid, and thus provides ceremonial knowledge from the Holy Ones, this chantway rehearses the life-history of all the people and concludes with a brief Coyote Transformation story in order to establish a patient for the Prototype Ceremonial with which most chant myths terminate.

While I agree with Bell in his claim that Tayo must identify with Dark Red Ant Young Man in order to be healed, we cannot ignore the larger picture. After having survived severe internecine strife, wars conducted with powerful weapons, Tayo like Dark Red Ant Young Man, is struck with a Coyote skin; he loses his mind and is unable to function in the human world. The Prototype Ceremonial operates as a

\textsuperscript{23} Robert Bell, "Circular Design In Ceremony" 47.

\textsuperscript{24} Wyman, \textit{Red Antway} 65.
means of restoring him mentally and physically, but, equally as important, it operates as a means of restoring the tribe, since illness in one is illness in all. Old Ku’oosh explains to Tayo when he performs the Scalp Ceremony:

You understand, don’t you? It is important to all of us. Not only for your sake, but for this fragile world. . . . There are some things we can’t cure like we used to, not since the white people came. The others who had the Scalp Ceremony, some of them are not better either. I’m afraid of what will happen to all of us if you and the others don’t get well. . . . The old man only made him certain of something he had feared all along, something in the old stories. It took only one person to tear away the delicate strands of the web, spilling the rays of sun into the sand, and the fragile world would be injured. Once there had been a man who cursed the rain clouds, a man of monstrous dreams. Tayo screamed, and curled his body against the pain (36-39).

Unlike old Ku’oosh’s ritual, the ceremonial that Betonie performs for Tayo tells the story of the people. It instructs Tayo regarding his place within the ongoing story, and it tells him what he must do to ensure that the witchery of the whirling darkness does not prevent the story from continuing. That Betonie’s ritual must aid the people, not just Tayo, clearly affects his performance. Betonie’s Red Antway, compared to Ku’oosh’s Scalp Ceremony, is much longer, and tells a full story. Similarly, while Ku’oosh performs alone, Betonie requires assistance. Shush, the bear-boy places the hoops, helps paint the bear prints and the rainbow arches. When Shush approaches Tayo in the ceremony, he is testing the early effects of the ritual. The bear clan elders would (for an extra fee) have a
representative dressed like a bear rush at the one-sung-over during the ritual. If the patient recoiled he or she required further treatments.

Betonie's ceremonial actively engages the never ending struggle over the means of and necessity for cultural transformation and cultural continuity. The ceremonial rehearses the "old ways" of combatting the evil of the whirling darkness while it also rehearses the changes that are necessary to maintain the old ways for the present and the future. Betonie's performance of the Red Antway ceremonial necessarily rehearses the temporal, spatial, and behavioral beliefs of the people and helps Tayo find his place among those beliefs.

Tayo's understanding of the balance of inclusionary and exclusionary impulses through time emerges in his revelation as he rides into the mountains later in the story. After the ceremonial, Betonie informs Tayo that it isn't finished yet. "'One night or nine nights won't do it anymore,' the medicine man said" (152). The old man has had a vision involving a pattern of stars, a woman, a mountain, and the lost cattle. Tayo sees the pattern of stars, meets Ts’eh and rides into the mountains to find the cattle. While riding in the moonlight, he realizes:

The anticipation of what he might find was strung tight in his belly; suddenly the tension snapped and hurled him into the empty room where the ticking of the clock behind the curtains had ceased. He stopped the mare. The silence was inside, in his belly; there was no longer any
hurry. The ride into the mountain had branched into all directions of time. He knew then why the oldtimers could only speak of yesterday and tomorrow in terms of the present moment: the only certainty; and this present sense of being was qualified with bare hints of yesterday or tomorrow, by saying, 'I go up to the mountain yesterday or I go up to the mountain tomorrow' (192).

The past and the future are both included and excluded from the present moment. Despite more travails and self-doubts, Tayo finds his uncle’s cattle and returns them to his family and the people. He goes back to the mountains to spend time with Ts’eh and soon discovers that, because of Emo’s lies, the government agents and tribal elders seek to return him to the hospital. With Ts’eh’s guidance, he escapes the government men and tribal elders, but he must face Emo’s evil.

Tayo’s understanding of the balance between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses within the Laguna behavioral beliefs emerges clearly when he confronts the evil thrust upon him by his former friends. When Emo, Pinkie and Leroy cannot find Tayo, they turn on Harley and torture and kill him. Tayo, witnessing this evil episode, wants desperately to destroy Emo. But he realizes that the evil will destroy itself, it will turn on itself as Betonie had said in the ceremonial. Tayo alters his own behavior, "It had been a close call. The witchery had almost ended the story according to its plan; Tayo had almost jammed the screwdriver into Emo’s skull the way the witchery had
wanted, savoring the yielding bone and membrane as the steel ruptured the brain. Their deadly ritual for the autumnal solstice would have been completed by him" (253). But Tayo has learned restraint. He has acquired the ability to see which behaviors would include him among the evil ones and which behaviors will exclude him and keep him safe.

Notably, it is during yet another ritual, this time a witches' ritual, that Tayo learns his place in the story that is still being told. Emo, Leroy and Pinkie assume their full roles as witches, they are cutting the whorls of skins from Harley's body, and the narrator tells us they are conducting an evil ritual for the "autumnal solstice." An autumnal solstice must be a witches' ritual: there is no autumnal solstice in the Laguna holy calendar, or in the western calendar for that matter. The winter and summer solstices (longest night and day, respectively) and the spring and autumnal equinoxes (day and night are equal) occur in both calendars. They are holy days for the Laguna, but no autumnal solstice appears.\(^{25}\)

After witnessing the deadly witches' ritual, Tayo's understanding of the inclusionary and exclusionary impulses regarding space itself becomes clear.

\(^{25}\) I do not more fully explore this particular witches' ritual, since I have examined already Betonie's witchery performance. Nonetheless, a comparison of the veterans' witchery ritual with the ritual in Betonie's performance would prove quite interesting.
Big clouds covered the moon but he could still see the stars. He had arrived at a convergence of patterns, he could see them clearly now. The stars had always been with them, existing beyond memory, and they were all held together there. Under these same stars the people had come down from White House in the north. They had seen mountains shift and rivers change course and even disappear back into the earth; but always there were these stars. Accordingly, the story goes on with these stars of the old war shield; they go on, lasting until the fifth world ends, then maybe beyond. The only thing is: it has never been easy (254).

Tayo's reintegration into his culture is only fully completed when he returns to Laguna and tells the story of his actions to the elders in the kiva. Actions alone mean nothing to the Laguna elders; Tayo must engage them in a performance. He must tell the story of his personal journey. Performance thus legitimates experience, it rehearses the past such that it becomes important for the present and the future. "It took a long time to tell them the story; they stopped him frequently with questions about the location and the time of day; they asked about the direction she [Ts'eh] had come from and the color of her eyes. It was while he was sitting there, facing southeast, that he noticed how the four windows along the south wall of the kiva had a particular relationship to this late autumn position of the sun" (257). He recognizes his place in a story that is still being told. He recognizes that the cosmogonical patterns of continuity and change, which, on the human level are fueled by inclusionary and exclusionary
impulses, will always be engaged in struggle and yet must always be in balance. Such recognition is powerful. Tayo cried the relief he felt at finally seeing the pattern, the way all the stories fit together—the old stories, the war stories, their stories—to become a story that was still being told. He was not crazy; he had never been crazy. He had only seen and heard the world as it always was: no boundaries, only transitions through all distances and time (246).

As Tayo recognizes his place in a story that is still being told, we too, as reader-participants in Tayo’s story, begin to recognize our place in a story of our own lives. And, like Tayo, we continue the telling.
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

Performance, rehearsal and culture are slippery concepts that mean different things to different people. For example, Edward Schieffelin defines performance as a construction of symbolic reality "in which the participants experience symbolic meanings as a part of what they are already doing." 1 Richard Bauman construes performance as the performer's "assumption of responsibility to an audience for the way in which communication is accomplished, above and beyond its referential content." 2 In this study, I construe performance as inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior.

Similarly, Steven Mullaney contends rehearsal is a "period of free-play during which alternatives can be staged," 3 while Richard Haas contends that "rehearsals harrow our pre-performance decisions and reveal what we will eventually produce." 4 I work with multiple concepts of


rehearsal that deal with both cultural re-tellings and preparation for performance. Rehearsal is simultaneously a re-telling or narrating in detail of lifeways and an authorizing pretext for performance.

Definitions of culture vary as well. Stephen Greenblatt situates culture as "the particular network of negotiations for the exchange of material goods, ideas, and people,"\(^5\) while Raymond Williams suggests the most recent construal of culture is "the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity."\(^6\)

In this study, I do not try to resolve the contradictions and slippages that surround these concepts. Rather, I employ these concepts in their multiple meanings as a point of departure for studying Native American novels. This chapter (1) reviews my construal of performance, rehearsal and culture; (2) outlines the conclusions that follow from using these concepts to analyze Leslie Silko's *Ceremony*; (3) articulates advantages of using a performance-centered approach to analyze Native American discourse; and (4) suggests directions for future research.


\(^6\) Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford UP, 1983) 93.
Performance, I argue, is inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior. As rehearsed behavior, that which is performance has always already happened. Performances re-make, re-do, re-present. For example, the veterans’ drinking ritual, that I explored in chapter four is repeated behavior. They gather on multiple occasions to celebrate and commiserate. They repeatedly tell the same stories and buy rounds of drinks. The witchery story that Betonie performs regarding the origin and impact of white people is also repeated behavior. Betonie has told this story before, and, in fact, it precedes him. He indicates that he learned his stories from his grandmother. Betonie is not simply making this story up. He is repeating his own previous re-tellings and also the re-tellings of others that preceded his telling. Finally, Betonie’s performance of the Red Antway chant is rehearsed or repeated behavior. Betonie is a Bear clan elder. Accordingly, it is his job to repeat the medicine chants.

Performance, as rehearsed behavior, joins the knower and the known in a process of knowing again. The veterans know the stories they perform and witness, and they know the drinking behaviors in which they engage. More importantly, they know they engage in these behaviors to know again the feeling of being included in the white world. Betonie knows

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7 See page 132 of Silko’s Ceremony for the indications of previous tellings.
the history of white people and the procedures of the Red Antway. Through performance, he knows these stories again—and significantly—Tayo comes to know his culture again. The culture re-members Tayo through performances he shares with Betonie. That is, when Tayo leaves Laguna to fight in the war, he is dis-membered, severed from his culture, and, as a result, he suffers physical and psychological ills. Only through the performance of his culture is Tayo’s memory restored, and, as he remembers, he is re-membered (made whole again).

Notably, before Tayo can return to the center of his culture, he must first go to the margins of his culture to visit a Navajo medicine man. (Performance operates at and on the boundaries of culture.) Because of the encroachment of Western ideas of science and medicine, the Navajo medicine man, once the center of Navajo culture, has come to assume a marginal status. Not only is Betonie’s occupation marginalized within the Navajo culture, he literally lives at the geographical margins of the Navajo reservation. He lives on the north side of Gallup, near the white peoples’ garbage dumps. Betonie’s performances rehearse (narrate in detail) the cultural boundaries between Navajo, Laguna and Euramerican people, and significantly, his performances occur at the physical boundaries where these cultures converge.
As self-reflexive behavior, performance positions the performer in dual positions of heightened critical self-awareness and self-negation. Schechner's "not me and not not me" phrase begins to describe such a complicated positioning. The veterans are simultaneously themselves and not themselves when they celebrate the old days. They think they are negating their Laguna identity when they drink and tell stories, while actually they are defining themselves as drunk Lagunas. Similarly, Betonie is simultaneously himself and not himself when he performs. During the witchery story he steps into and out of the position of the narrating-witch. During the Red Antway, he is simultaneously a powerful elder of the Bear clan and a silly old Navajo man who wears ragged clothes and collects telephone books. As a shaman, he cannot be himself when he conducts a ceremony, but he cannot not be himself either.

As social behavior, performance requires an audience, and an understanding of the performer-audience relationship is essential for understanding a performance. For example, exploring the performer-audience relationship between Betonie and Tayo provides answers to questions regarding why Betonie performs what he does. Only after the old medicine man spends time talking with Tayo is he able to "diagnose" the cause of Tayo's affliction and prescribe the Red Antway as a treatment. Similarly, examining the relationships among the veterans is crucial to understanding their
drinking ritual. Knowing Emo is their "leader" helps explain why he drinks whiskey and the others drink beer. The veterans attend to Emo's stories differently--the narrator tells us that they laugh more when Emo is telling stories because he is mean when he is drinking.

I posit three types of performances based on the performer-audience relationship. Ritual performance occurs when performers rehearse their own lifeways for members of their culture who already share those beliefs and behaviors and consider them sacred and holy. Ritual celebrates and re-vivifies the lifeways of performers and audiences who already accept and are part of those lifeways. Secular performance occurs when performers rehearse their own cultural behaviors and beliefs for members of other cultures who do not share those lifeways. Secular performance presents and disseminates the lifeways of performers without assuming the audience accepts those lifeways. Finally, imperialist performance occurs in two directions. One variety of imperialist performance occurs when performers rehearse the beliefs and behaviors of other cultures for those other cultures in a manner that negates and eschews the performer's own culture. A second variety of imperialist performance occurs when performers rehearse the lifeways of other cultures for themselves in a manner that consumes the other's culture.
Construing performance as inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior bears important implications for Silko's novel. Some critics--Carol Mitchell, for example--consider Leslie Silko a shamanic performer. According to these critics, her novel becomes a living ceremony in which Tayo and readers both move toward mental and physical wholeness. While I recognize that some critics construe *Ceremony* as a performance, I do not think the novel we hold in our hands is a performance.

My definition indicates that the novel offers representations of performance, not that the novel is a performance. The difference is crucial. For example, a representation of a coat is not a coat; it will not keep you warm. Similarly, representations of performances are not performances. I contend that the novel is a record or trace of Silko's performance that contains within it multiple representations of performances. While Silko's text is not behavior actualized in the here and now, it contains representations of behaviors actualized in the here and now of the story. Those representations become the objects of my inquiry, and, subsequently, one focus of my study is an understanding of Silko's perception of the roles and functions of performance within Laguna-Keres culture. Rather than construe her novel as performance, I contend

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that Silko’s novel offers readers representations of performance, and that these representations rehearse her culture and the functions of performance within that culture.

In addition to performance, rehearsal also figures as a central concept in this study. Drawing primarily from Steven Mullaney’s work, I construe rehearsal as repeating, retelling, narrating in detail. I supplement and enlarge his claims by suggesting that rehearsal offers actualizable beliefs and behaviors—that is, witnesses may subsequently "try on" the lifeways that are repeated or retold. While performance is behavior actualized in the here and now, rehearsal is behavior that is actualizable at some later time. Performance operates in the present tense; rehearsal is geared toward the future. Rehearsal functions as an authorizing pretext for a future event. Leslie Silko, by rehearsing her culture, authorizes the subsequent trying on of Laguna-Keres lifeways. I am not claiming she assumes readers will try on her culture’s lifeways, only that she authorizes future attempts to do so.

Important implications emerge from my construal of rehearsal. Rehearsal challenges and expands temporal, spatial, and behavioral beliefs of a culture because, as Mullaney claims, it is a period of free-play, offering a license to explore and a safe space to test boundaries (from cultural to aesthetic boundaries) where rules of decorum do
not apply. Silko, using representations of performance, does not merely repeat or narrate her culture in detail. She explores and challenges her own cultural and aesthetic boundaries. Rehearsal then, is not sheer mimetic practice. While Silko reflects her culture, she simultaneously changes it. For example, while Silko reflects the healing rituals that happen at and around Laguna, she also alters the rituals as she represents them. The alterations challenge, at the very least, the Laguna practices regarding healing.

As another implication of rehearsal, I note that Silko is fully aware of herself rehearsing her culture's lifeways for an outside audience of primarily Anglo-American readers, cultural others. For example, she does not include the entire Red Antway ritual. Rather, she adapts it to her perception of what her readers will read. By acknowledging her various readers, Silko authorizes the trying on of her lifeways on various levels. Some readers may vicariously experience the beliefs of the Laguna people and be quite content. But other readers, myself included, may well choose to try on the beliefs and behaviors of the Laguna people in a fully staged performance. Silko allows both responses.

Culture, like performance and rehearsal, is construed in many ways. I turn to Stephen Greenblatt who claims the central features of any culture are constraint (technologies of control) and mobility (mechanisms of exchange). I modify
and extend his terms by advancing the concepts inclusionary and exclusionary impulses. Inclusionary impulses fuel the desire for change, adaptability, acceptance and incorporation of others' lifeways. Exclusionary impulses fuel the desire for preservation, continuity, maintenance, and refusal of others' lifeways. I argue, first, that these forces engage in constant struggle within cultures and within individuals, and, second, that seeking a balance between these forces is critical for a culture's survival. Silko's representations of performance demonstrate her culture's struggle with these impulses. In the world of the novel, the characters use performance to negotiate their own and their culture's positions vis-a-vis inclusionary and exclusionary impulses.

The implications of construing culture as competing forces are significant for an examination of Ceremony. Positioned as they are, between "American" culture and Laguna culture, the characters in Ceremony clearly feel the struggle between forces to include and exclude others' lifeways. How much of a person's cultural lifeways can she or he change or discard and still be a part of that culture? In her rehearsal of Laguna lifeways, Silko changes them. Does her inclusionary impulse toward Anglo-American readers diminish or strengthen her lifeways? This is a difficult question, but Betonie suggests an answer when he claims that only change keeps the ceremony strong.
The variety of thinkers who have addressed related issues testify to the significance of the conflict between inclusionary and exclusionary impulses. Inclusionary and exclusionary impulses are the basis of what behavioral psychologists call "approach-avoidance behavior." These impulses are also central to what Darwin calls "transformation-preservation," a process Darwin contends is essential for the survival of a species. Greenblatt also bears witness to the importance of inclusion and exclusion when he employs the related concepts constraint and mobility. Inclusionary and exclusionary impulses may not be universal, but they are prevalent indeed. The questions they generate are significant for all cultures, not just the Laguna-Keres.

Using the concepts of performance, rehearsal and culture to generate a performance-centered method of reading Native American novels, I argue that performance and representations of performance rehearse the culture from which they emerge. Leslie Silko's novel *Ceremony*, contains many representations of performances from Southwestern Native cultures. In the world of the novel, these performances rehearse multiple temporal, spatial, and behavioral beliefs and thus provide Tayo with several actualizable lifeways. Similarly, for readers, these representations of performance rehearse multiple behaviors and beliefs and offer us actualizable lifeways. Through
Silko's representations of performances that rehearse Laguna lifeways, Tayo regains and readers gain access to this culture. In the world of the novel, the performances rehearse Laguna-Keres culture. In the world of the reader, Silko's novel rehearses the Laguna-Keres culture, as well as Silko's perception of the nature and function of performance in that culture.

I advance four contentions in this study. First, I contend that Leslie Silko rehearses her culture in Ceremony and that she does so by offering representations of performance that repeat, retell, narrate in detail, the lifeways of the Laguna-Keres people on the Laguna Reservation in New Mexico. Her representations offer readers actualizable beliefs and behaviors that derive from her home and culture. For example, the veterans' drinking ritual rehearses the sociological findings on post-World War II Lagunas. As a result of Silko's rehearsal of the drinking behaviors, readers may potentially actualize the drinking ritual. Similarly, we may try on the beliefs and behaviors surrounding the witchery performance. We may even attempt to replicate Silko's version of the Navajo Red Antway chant. Silko offers more than enough detail in her rehearsals to make subsequent performances possible.

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9 This drinking ritual is loosely based on Silko's uncles who fought in World War II, returned to Laguna, and successfully drank themselves to death. See Per Seyersted, 78.
Importantly, what is actualizable as a result of Silko’s rehearsal is not the behaviors she rehearses, but rather her rehearsal of those behaviors. As I noted in chapter six, Silko’s version of the Red Antway both corresponds with and departs from the version presented by Father Berard Haile. Based on a reading of Ceremony, a performer could not actualize Haile’s version of the Red Antway; however, a performer could actualize Silko’s rehearsal of Haile’s version of the Red Antway.

Second, I contend that the Laguna people have relationships with others, worldwide, and Silko rehearses these relationships as well. People as diverse as Navajo medicine men, Japanese soldiers, and American atomic physicists figure in the lifeways of the Laguna people and affect how they negotiate their cultural boundaries. Tayo’s visit to Betonie, the old Navajo medicine man, follows patterns of beliefs and behaviors established in the 16th century. Tayo’s contact with the Japanese in the South Pacific islands rehearses the U.S. Army’s recruiting and enlisting of many Laguna men at the outbreak of the war. The atomic physicists who discovered the soft vermilion soil on the south slope of Tse‘pina, Lady Veiled in Clouds, (the same soil that made de Vargas a wealthy governor in the 17th century), have clearly affected Laguna lifeways. Silko rehearses the impact of these people on the Lagunas as well.
Third, I contend that performances are sites where people negotiate the boundaries of their cultures. They are spaces, times and behaviors where active struggles between impulses to include and to exclude emerge. As inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behavior, performance occupies space and time. The particular spaces and times of performance are critical for reconstructing self- and culture-identities. For example, during the drinking ritual held at the Dixie Tavern (held on frequent occasions we could fairly surmise), the men drink and perform stories in an effort to regain what they perceive as a privileged "white" status. They celebrate times of mutual inclusion, but the way they remember--drinking and storytelling--are exclusive behaviors that define them as quintessentially Laguna.

Fourth, I contend that Silko's representations of performance posit answers to important questions: How and with whom do the veterans "socialize"? Why and from where does evil come? How and with whom does one overcome sickness? Given that Tayo participates in drinking rituals, that he attends to Betonie's performance about a witches' ritual, and that he participates in a healing ceremony, these are questions that are profitably addressed through performance analyses. These are inherently rehearsed, self-reflexive, social behaviors; they are performances. And they are performances that rehearse the Laguna-Keres
responses to questions regarding major issues in their own culture—namely, alcohol use, witchery, and healing. The representations of performance in Ceremony rehearse Laguna-Keres responses to these issues.

The approach to Silko's novel employed in this study focuses, first, on performances as rehearsals of cultural lifeways and, second, on representations of performance as rehearsals of the nature and functions of performance within a given culture. More succinctly, performance rehearses culture, and representations of performance rehearse the role of performance within a culture. This "bifocal" approach affords readers access to numerous insights not available through other approaches. The methodological approaches reviewed in chapter two—structural-social scientific, archetypal-mythic, content analysis, ethnic criticism, feminist, Marxist, and postmodern—fail to adequately account for the prominent role of performance in Native American cultures and, subsequently, fail to account for the importance of representations of performance in Native American novels. Conversely, critics who view the novel as a performance fail to distinguish adequately between performance as actualized event and rehearsal as an invitation to actualize. While a focus on performance yields significant insights, a focus on the relationship between performance and rehearsal and on the relationship between performance in the culture and representations of
performances in novels (i.e., rehearsals of performance) multiplies these insights. Specifically, I claim that four advantages accrue from the approach employed in this study.

First, performance inquiry "unfreezes" the synchronic moment of social-scientific approaches. Social-scientific approaches define a culture based on what is, not what was or could be. Culture is construed as fixed rather than fluid, product rather than process. Such a view distorts the fact that Laguna culture is under constant negotiation. While Elsie Parsons could authoritatively declare the Laguna culture dead in 1930, as history has demonstrated, she could not have been more authoritatively wrong. After noting the presence of kivas in other pueblos and the absence of kivas at Old Laguna, Parsons pronounced the Laguna culture dead. Her premature death sentence resulted from two unfounded assumptions: first, that kivas determine the existence of a pueblo culture and, second, that she could accurately predict the future (there will be no kivas) on the basis of the present (there are no kivas). The performance-centered approach I propose allows researchers to examine both the synchronic moment of a performance and the diachronic moments of cultural rehearsal through which a past is recounted in order to shape a future.

Second, a focus on performance and rehearsal reveals how the Laguna people redefine and remake their culture rather than what the Laguna culture is. It moves beyond the
fairly narrow methodological limits of archetypal-mythic analysis, content analysis, ethnic criticism, Marxist and feminist criticisms. These methodological approaches make important contributions to our knowledge about other cultures (i.e., about what they are), but, unlike them, a focus on performance and rehearsal features a processual analysis that resists closure. By the time I can say what a culture is, it is something else. As Heraclitus noted for us, nobody can step into the same river twice because on a second attempt the person is older and the waters are different. The approach I employ neither opposes nor replaces other methods of inquiry. Rather, it extends these methods, accounting not only for what a culture is but also how it changes and negotiates those changes. If Parsons had asked how the Lagunas temporarily adapted to life without their traditional ritual performances (e.g., what performances substituted for the religious rituals?), she probably would not have concluded that without such rituals, the people are no more. The approach I employ, by focusing on strategies of adaptation (i.e., the inclusionary impulse) and maintenance (i.e., the exclusionary impulse), recognizes the inherently processual nature of cultural evolution.

Third, performance inquiry asserts the explanatory power of performance as method and object of inquiry. That Silko represents performances for readers offers us objects of inquiry, that she authorizes the subsequent trying on of
lifeways in her rehearsal of Laguna culture offers us the opportunity to perform, a method of engaging the novel that no other approach shares.

On a related note, the approach I argue for in this study expands the object of investigation of performance studies scholarship. To date, most performance studies scholars have taken as their object of investigation performance practices. Throughout this study, I have argued that while performances themselves are significant, performance studies scholars should attach no less significance to representations of performance. Performances rehearse a culture; representations of performance rehearse the author's view of the role of performance within a culture. Put differently, the approach employed in this study maintains that the object of performance studies scholarship includes not only performance but also "performance."

Finally, since performance provides the means through which people negotiate cultural boundaries, performance makes a difference in whether cultures survive or die. More than a method-and-object of inquiry, performance is culture re-making itself. We can study performances and representations of performance, and we can perform, but it is critical to note that what is happening in performance is the work of culture re-making itself. For instance, when I directed productions of Ceremony, the cast were engaged in a
process of re-making their own culture, offering a representation of Laguna-Keres culture, and negotiating the boundaries between the two cultures for themselves.

With regard to the scope and usefulness of this approach, several critical issues involving the heuristic value of my performance-centered study become apparent. First, I make no substantive claims in terms of evaluating the performances within the novel. I do suggest what the impact of performances are, but, whether Betonie's performances of the Red Antway or the witchery story are "good" is less relevant than whether he performs at all. That he and the veterans perform is more important than how well they perform given that performance is a primary site of cultural negotiation. Notably, I would argue that "poor" performances may well help to shape cultures in ways that are as significant as good performances. The question of evaluation is problematic for at least three other reasons as well. First, with respect to the labels "good" and "bad": good and bad according to whom? And according to what standards does one employ such language? Second, and this follows from the first, can "authenticity" be considered a basis of evaluation? For example, is Betonie's fictional performance of the Red Antway any less authentic than Son of the Late Tall Deschchini's actual performance of the same ceremony? ("Authenticity," of course, proves no less problematic than the terms good and bad: authentic for
whom and by what standards?) Third, to the extent that *Ceremony* is not a performance but instead offers representations of performance, evaluation is further problematized. For a critic to evaluate performances she or he has not seen raises serious ethical questions. I have not seen the performances in *Ceremony* and, therefore, cannot evaluate them. I can, however, evaluate Silko's representations of these performances. The fact that I have engaged in this study for an extended period of time, that I have twice directed full-length productions of the novel, and that I have taught the novel in three classes are clear indications of my high regard for *Ceremony*. My appreciation for the novel and for Silko's representations of Laguna-Keres performance practices grows with each encounter.

Secondly, when I examine how *Ceremony* negotiates the struggle between preserving the old traditions and accommodating the ever-changing present conditions, I am working in narrow rocky territory. While the method I have employed opens many trails, I have explored only one in this study--the usefulness of the method for investigating *Ceremony*. Several promising trails are yet to be explored.

Employing a performance-centered approach to analyze other Native American novels promises significant insights. Silko is not the only contemporary Native American novelist whose work includes numerous representations of performances. Such representations assume prominent
positions in Gerald Vizenor's *Bearheart: The Heirship Chronicles* and Louise Erdich and Michael Dorris' new novel *The Crown of Columbus*, to name only two. Employing a performance-centered approach to examine multiple Native American novels that depict different tribal cultures makes possible cross-cultural comparisons of the nature and function of performance in various Native American cultures.

Furthermore, a performance-centered approach is not limited to explorations of Native American novels. It might also be profitable to examine shorter works by Native American writers. Using this performance-centered approach as a means to discover how narrators of short stories and speakers of poems rehearse the struggle between competing cultural forces may provide insights into the differences among the various forms of Native American literary production.

Comparing representations of performance in novels from western cultures with novels from non-western cultures according to their negotiation of inclusionary and exclusionary impulses also promises significant advances in cross-cultural analyses. Such analyses may reveal, first, how different cultures struggle to maintain and adapt to changing cultural pressures and, second, how performances and rehearsals function in this process. For instance, an examination of British colonial narratives juxtaposed with texts produced by indigenous Indian peoples of the colonial
period promises valuable insights regarding how dominant-subordinate roles were negotiated, how the two cultures maintained their differences while adapting to each other, and how cultural performances function within this process of negotiating cultural boundaries.

A final example, one that extends far beyond the scope of the present study, involves expanding the inquiry regarding performance and rehearsal beyond representations of performance in novels. We could profit from a study of prime-time soap operas as cultural rehearsals that offer millions of viewers actualizable lifeways. These very behaviors and beliefs already re-appear, in yet another form, in the voguing contests, the "Balls" held by African-American drag queens in New York City. With categories for Ball entrants labeled "Alexis" and "Krystal," prime-time soaps clearly impact a variety of groups just in North America. Similarly, we could learn from a study of Marvel comic books as cultural rehearsals--that they repeat, narrate in detail, and simultaneously challenge the beliefs and behaviors of readers in the last decade of the twentieth century seems quite clear.

For Tayo, surviving the drinking ritual, attending to Betonie’s performance about a witches’ ritual, and participating in the healing ceremony, provide the necessary cultural rehearsals to enable him to balance old traditions with new conditions. He acquires the wisdom to know which
impulse to follow and when. In his refusal to kill Emo with the screwdriver, Tayo rebukes his own instinct to include and accept the world around him at that moment. Exclusive boundary defining behaviors and beliefs protect him from stepping into the witches’ circle for life. Treating these three episodes in the novel as performances offers us ways of describing not only why he makes the choices he does, but more importantly, how his choices are culturally constructed.

Tayo survives because he recognizes that in the Laguna lifeways, the world is an ongoing, continuing series of stories. Discovering and understanding which stories to live by is critical for individuals and cultures. Performing stories rehearses cultures, performing stories provides equipment for living.


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VITA

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